

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Thousands say no to draft sign-up

Carter's conscription drive in disarray

By Harry Ring

The opening of draft registration—intended by Washington as a show of strength—has turned into a stunning display of political weakness.

Thousands of antidraft protesters rallied and picketed across the country on the first day of registration. Often there were more antidraft youth outside the post offices than registrants inside.

In New York some 3,000 people, half of them women and nearly all of college and high school age, gathered in the sweltering heat at a street rally against conscription.

Diligent reporters could find some nineteen-year-olds who said they were glad to sign up. But there was no disguising the fact that the great majority of those who registered did so only to avoid the threatened five-year jail term and \$10,000 fine.

And just three days before registration was slated to begin, its legal authority was thrown into question when a federal circuit court ruled it unconstitutional.

Supreme Court Justice William Brennan issued a stay of the lower court order so that the sign-up could proceed. But wide publicity was given to legal opinions that the government would have a hard time prosecuting anyone who failed to register.

The rulers of this country are fully determined to reinstitute military conscription in preparation for new Vietnam-style wars. But popular opposition runs so deep that their plans have been thrown into disarray.

Their problems are reflected in the media.

'Light turnout'

"Registration Is Beginning Amid Controversy," declared a July 21 *New York Times* headline. The front page

story was accompanied by a photo of youth preparing placards for a demonstration that evening.

The *New York Daily News* emphasized that, according to a Selective Service spokesperson, the first day's turnout was "exceptionally light."

A July 22 *Christian Science Monitor* editorial entitled "Premature draft dodging" assailed the administration for what it saw as bungling.

"By instituting draft registration," it declared, "President Carter said he intended to send a signal of national resolve to the Soviet Union. The Russians must be smiling."

Far from a signal to anyone that American youth are ready to sacrifice, fight, and die for an alleged "national" interest, Carter's campaign for draft registration has provoked dramatic proof of the deep-going opposition to new wars.

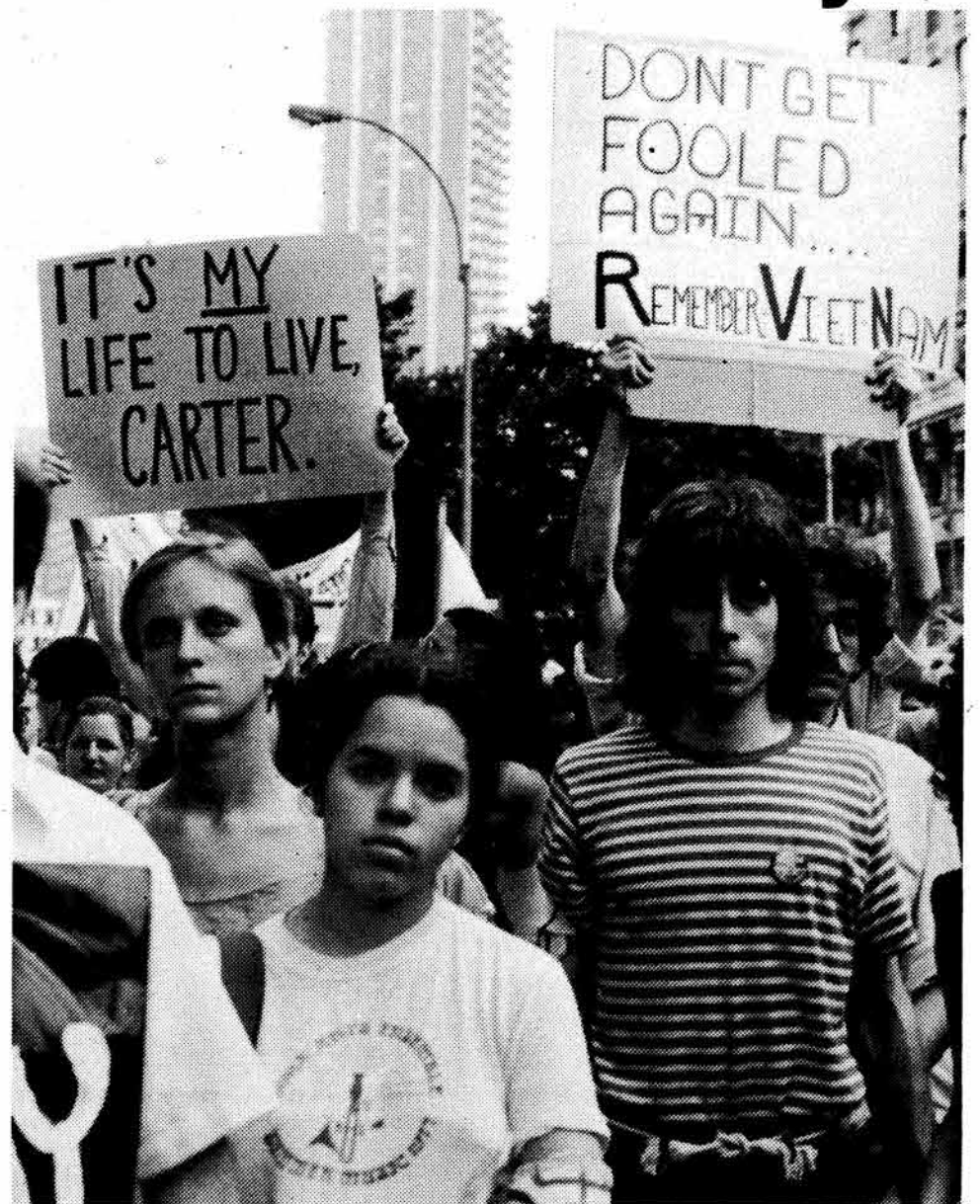
Iran & Afghanistan

Last winter, the government and big-business media proclaimed the end of the "Vietnam syndrome." Playing up the small right-wing demonstrations that took place here after Iran's seizure of the U.S. embassy, they pretended to see broad support for beefing up the U.S. military and pursuing more interventionist policies against revolutions abroad. American students and youth were especially gung-ho, the media assured.

Then when Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan to help fight CIA-backed rightist guerrillas, Carter thought the time was ripe. His State of the Union message in January called for draft registration and vowed readiness to use military force to protect U.S. "vital interests" in the Persian Gulf.

A January 25 editorial in the authoritative big-business voice, the *New*

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NEW YORK, July 21—Three thousand rally against draft on first day of registration. Washington's attempted show of strength has turned into demonstration of weakness.

**500,000
celebrate
first year of
Nicaragua's
revolution**

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**Grenada: educating for
class-struggle
unionism**

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Militant/Diane Wang

Grenadian union leader Vincent Noel, left, talks with Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley during Pulley's fact-finding and solidarity tour of the Caribbean island.

Solidarity with Cuba!

Secretary of State Edmund Muskie discussed U.S.-Cuba relations at a meeting of state and local government officials July 15.

Diplomatic interests sections were opened up in the two countries three years ago, but further progress toward full diplomatic relations has been stalled and current relations are obviously tense.

What reason did Muskie cite for the impasse?

Cuba's grievances, he explained, center on the U.S. economic embargo against Cuba, on U.S. spy flights over Cuba, and on continued U.S. control over the naval base at Guantánamo.

Washington, on the other hand, views Cuba as "intervening in the affairs of countries around the globe, particularly in Africa, and is seeking to export its revolution in the Central American area."

A few comments about the two positions are in order.

Cuba's demands are eminently fair and reasonable. No country in the world would freely tolerate spy flights or the forcible occupation of a military base on its territory. The U.S. is violating Cuban sovereignty and should cease immediately.

As for the economic blockade, it is a form of blackmail to pressure the Cubans to change their revolutionary course. It is an act of aggression against Cuba—indefensible diplomatically in any state of normal relations, and indefensible morally under all circumstances. Its sole effect is to subject the people of Cuba to hardship and deprivation.

What about the U.S. demands?

It is, first of all, outrageous hypocrisy for the U.S.—the chief interventionist power in the world—to point the finger of accusation at Cuba. Let Washington instead pull out of its foreign military bases, stop arming the dictators of the world, and halt all CIA machinations abroad.

What does the alleged Cuban intervention in Africa consist of?

Cuba sent troops to help the government of Ethiopia fend off an invasion by the U.S.-backed regime in Somalia. The people of Ethiopia welcomed Cuba's support. They saw



Militant/Lou Howort

it as a defense of the progressive changes that they made after ousting the archreactionary Selaissie-dictatorship.

Cuba sent troops to help the government of Angola fend off an invasion by the U.S.-backed racists of South Africa. The people of Angola, and Blacks throughout southern Africa, welcomed Cuba's resolute defense of their freedom struggle.

Cuba has also sent health workers, teachers, and construction workers to countries all over the world.

That's the kind of "intervention" that Washington cannot stomach.

And in Central America?

Cuba has sent teachers to Nicaragua to help in the literacy drive; doctors to help in the health campaigns; and technicians of all sorts to help rebuild the war-torn country. The aid has been generous beyond compare, while wealthy Washington has grudgingly promised a pittance in proportion to the lavish backing it gave to ousted dictator Somoza.

As for the charge of exporting revolution, Castro responded in a speech in Managua on July 19, celebrating the first anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution.

"It is impossible to set fire to a people, to bring a torch of revolution. As one of you recently said, the best and most fundamental and decisive help you can give to the revolutionary movement is your example because people are like volcanoes. No one sets fire to them. They explode by themselves."

The Cuban revolution is a living example to

the fighting people of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras; and to the peoples everywhere who resist the tyrants armed by Washington.

What the U.S. rulers cannot stand, above all, is the inspiration Cuba gives to the peoples of the world who fight for freedom and justice. Including fighters for freedom and justice inside the United States.

The power of example is what enables Cuba to play such a big part in world politics.

That is why, as the July 26 anniversary of the Cuban revolution is being celebrated this year, we reaffirm our defense of the Cuban revolution and all that it stands for.

And we insist that Cuba's fair and just demands for normal relations be met:

Halt U.S. spy flights over Cuba!

Withdraw from Guantánamo!

End the economic blockade!

Killers on the loose

• **Chattanooga, Tennessee.** Two Ku Klux Klansmen were acquitted and a third given a slap-on-the-wrist sentence and fine of \$225 July 22 by an all-white jury for shooting and wounding four Black women.

• **Greensboro, North Carolina.** The prosecution permitted selection of an all-white jury for the trial of Klan and Nazi members responsible for killing five antiracist demonstrators.

• **Miami, Florida.** The federal government has still failed to bring indictments against the four cops who beat Black insurance executive Arthur McDuffie to death last December. The acquittal of the racist killers by a Tampa court sparked the May rebellion in the Black community.

The failure to prosecute—to the full extent of the law—those responsible only encourages further acts of racist violence.

It demonstrates that neither the courts, the Carter administration, nor state and local officials can be trusted to stop the racists, whether they are wearing white sheets, brown shirts, or blue uniforms.

Massive united protests on the part of Blacks, labor, and all supporters of civil rights are needed to force the government to bring to justice these racist killers.

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July 26—Cuba's social gains

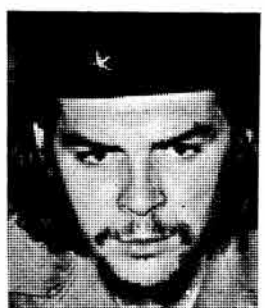


Free, quality health care for all

A Los Angeles Times medical reporter describes Cuba's health care system. **Page 9.**

Sports: a right of the people

Alberto Juantorena, Cuba's top runner, discusses sports and revolution. **Page 12.**



Back in print: Che Speaks

Writings and speeches of legendary revolutionary hero again available. See review **page 16.**

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What does Reagan stand for?

By Gus Horowitz

The Republican Party's nomination of Ronald Reagan, longtime darling of the party's right wing, as its candidate for president and of George Bush, a former head of the CIA, as his running mate would ordinarily have evoked a touch of alarm among middle-of-the-road capitalist commentators.

In basic views, after all, Reagan is much the same as Barry Goldwater, the 1964 nominee, who was treated as an unreliable extremist by most of the media.

This year, however, Reagan has been portrayed in respectful, even deferential tones.

One reason for the change is that Reagan is now favored to win the election. So prudent journalists and newscasters render him proportionate courtesies. It's all part of what *Newsweek* columnist Meg Greenfield called "taking Reagan seriously."

More important, though, is that Reagan's policies do accurately represent the capitalist mainstream today, while his campaign style—in contrast to Goldwater's—fits in with the general image that the capitalist ruling class wishes its leaders to project.

Whereas Carter is seen as bungling and irresolute, Reagan is presented as decisive, yet prudent and flexible.

Whereas Goldwater personified narrow, doctrinaire conservatism, Reagan has sought to widen his appeal.



Republican running mates visit Houston

As *New York Times* reporter Adam Clymer put it, "the Republicans are trying to look like Democrats this year. Last night Ronald Reagan was nominated with a speech that stressed his concern for the poor and the disadvantaged. His acceptance speech tonight was barely begun before he called for an end to discrimination against women, and as he finished he was quoting Franklin D. Roosevelt."

That, at least, is the current public relations image.

The Republicans' real policies were spelled out more candidly in the platform, adopted early in the convention. It included the following planks:

- **Taxes:** An "across-the-board" tax cut, that is, a cut that would grant

most benefit to the rich.

- **Government spending:** They favor "fiscal and monetary restraint" as regards social services; and an "immediate increase in defense spending."

- **Women's rights:** Withdrawal of support for the Equal Rights Amendment; opposition to Medicaid funds for abortion.

- **Labor:** Reaffirmation of support for the antilabor "right to work" laws.

- **Unemployment and welfare:** They "categorically reject the notion of a guaranteed annual income"; they attack the welfare system as "fostering dependency."

- **Blacks and Latinos:** They reject any new measures to meet the needs of Blacks and Latinos, claiming only that

incentives to business would provide new jobs.

- **Environment:** They favor "revision of cumbersome and overly stringent Clean Air Act regulations."

Does the program of the Republican Party sound different from life under Carter? Not at all. *On every one of these planks Republican proposals are virtually identical to Democratic practices.*

Foreign policy

As for foreign policy, the tone of the Republicans is decidedly beligerent.

The platform "contains some of the most alarmist rhetoric either major party has used against the Soviet Union in a decade or more," comments *New York Times* reporter Hedrick Smith, "but it is less hard-line on specific programs and it gives Ronald Reagan, the expected Presidential nominee, considerable flexibility to set his own policies."

Indications of that flexibility are the planks in the platform against peacetime draft registration and in opposition to the grain embargo on the Soviet Union. The Republicans, sensing the adverse reaction to these moves among young people and farmers, are hoping to score a few more points in the voting booths over these issues.

On this or that foreign policy measure the Republicans and Democrats

Continued on page 14

Heat wave: elderly poor die due to gov't neglect

By Martha Pettit

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—The heat wave that has held the central and southwestern United States in its grip since late June is a life-and-death political issue.

Some 1,100 people have died so far. None of them have been rich. Most have been elderly. Many were already in poor health, and many are Blacks who are victims of sickle-cell anemia.

Such natural disasters as floods and tornadoes affect the population more broadly—hitting homes and businesses. They may quickly qualify an area for federal disaster relief funds. But the deadly effects of the heat wave are more selective. They hit hardest at the old and poor—those the government cares least about.

Kansas City has been suffering record-breaking temperatures day after day. Often around 110 degrees. When the wind blows it feels like a wall of hot air hitting you.

A woman I know called me last night and we talked for about an hour. She is seventy-six years old, on Social Security, totally disabled, and has been a staunch socialist for fifty years. She supports the Socialist Workers campaign in any way she can.

She told me her story of trying to get her broken-down second-hand air conditioner fixed. The over-worked mechanic who came out blew her last two fuses when he was checking the unit, and left her without lights for two days because she did not have the money to buy new fuses. And he left without being able to repair the unit.

When I talked to her, she was making plans to

Martha Pettit is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Missouri.

leave her home—at the high risk of it being burglarized in her absence—to stay with a relative, if the unit was not fixed soon. She will not be able to stand the heat much longer.

Her story is being repeated dozens of times across a half dozen states.

The utility companies are making a killing. Electric bills are expected to double or triple for July. For the most indigent, they kindly tell us, some plans are being made so that their electricity will not be turned off if full payment cannot be made immediately.

They also inform us that our electric bills are going up even if no air conditioner has been run. The reason? Electricity costs more in peak periods.

The newspaper blared headlines the other day that free fans were going to be distributed to the poor. At city or federal expense? No. They were to be donated by individuals, fire fighters were to be utilized to repair them, and the Red Cross would distribute them. Not a penny for this "charitable" project from the government. And fans don't really help that much. They mainly blow hot air around.

It's not just those of us in the city who are in trouble. Farmers may suffer a 100 percent loss of their corn crops. An editorial in the paper here said, well, farmers get federal disaster subsidies. Maybe a few operating on the margin may go under, but that's not so serious.

Except most small farmers are operating on the margin.

The newspapers are full of articles about heat stroke and heat exhaustion. They say it's normal to be irritable and even depressed. I say it's normal to be mad as hell. Any government that gave two shakes about its people would find a way to protect each and every one of them from this disaster.



Heatstroke victim in St. Louis

Let Washington take a few piddling dollars from the military budget and buy an air conditioner for everyone. And put some people to work assembling a rush order of them. I could use a job myself.

Cancel all utility bills for June, July, and August. And if the companies don't like it, nationalize them.

To establish the need for action, let every governor, senator, and representative from the sweltering states spend just three days without air conditioning.

The heat belongs on the government. Not on us.

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Draft protests hit post offices across land

By Suzanne Haig

In a mood of spirited defiance, women and men picketed and rallied against the draft at post offices and federal buildings across the country as Carter's registration program began July 21.

"Hell no, we won't go, we won't fight for Texaco!"

"One, two, three, four, we need jobs not war!"

"Employ me, don't draft me!"

"Are you willing to spill blood for oil?"

"One, two, three, four, no Vietnam in El Salvador!"

These were some of the chants resounding throughout the country.

The actions had strong participation by women, sometimes 50 percent. And popular were such chants as "No draft, no way, ratify the ERA," "Up with ERA, down with the draft."

Protesters noted that many who went into the post office to register said they were doing so only to avoid the penalties. Many opposed the draft and another war. Some joined the picketers or took leaflets.

In Albuquerque, New Mexico, many of the Chicano youth who were registering joined the picketline or took leaflets to pass out during the two weeks of registration. They eagerly took "register under protest" stickers to place on their registration forms.

All areas reported widespread media coverage. Many reporters were sympathetic to the pickets. In Minneapolis, a high school student, sent by his school paper to cover the events, joined them.

In Washington, D.C., at a July 19 rally of 350, speakers included Suzanne Kelly, president of the Virginia Education Association and co-coordinator of Labor for Equal Rights Now; Vince Benson, president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, Local 1906; a representative of the Committee in Solidarity with El Salvador; and Leonor Carillo, from D.C. Nica, a Washington solidarity group with Nicaragua.

In New York City, 200 people picketed the main post office at noon on July 21. That evening, 3,000 demonstrated at Seventy-second Street and Broadway. Speakers included Barry Lynn, chair of the National Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD); Kevin Lynch, District 65, United Auto Workers; Cora Weiss, peace activist; and others.

In Los Angeles, 200 rallied and 150 picketed at the federal building on July 21. Two of the people there were Nick Loza and his seventeen-year-old son Davy. It was the first time they had ever been to a protest action.

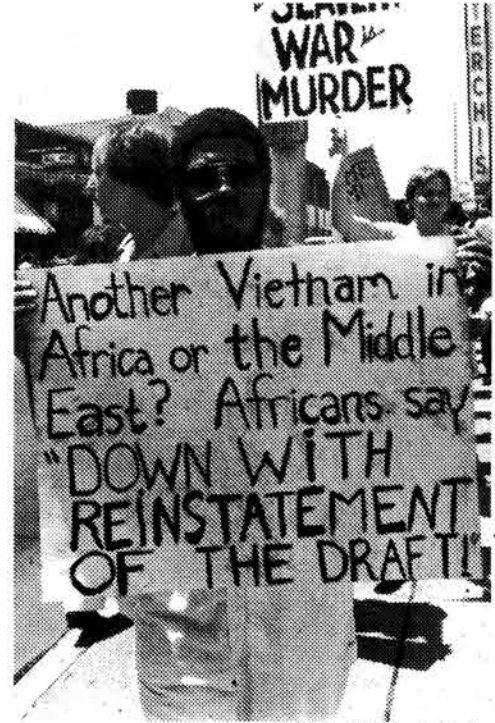
Nick opposes the draft because of his two sons. He believes there is no need for the draft, and if they are going to start another Vietnam war, forget it.



Militant/Elizabeth Ziers



Militant/Della Rossa



Militant/August Nimtz



Militant/Barry David

DETROIT

LOS ANGELES

ATLANTA

ST. LOUIS



NEW YORK CITY

Militant/Lou Howort

Davy said, "I don't want to kill anyone."

In Kansas City, 200 rallied. Earl Graham, local vice-president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, was one of the speakers.

In Cleveland, 350 protested at the post office. Car went by honking at the marchers in solidarity. One carload of young Blacks stopped and shouted, "Right on, \$400 a month isn't worth it. No to the draft!"

In Portland, 600 marched and rallied on Saturday, July 19. On the way from the courthouse the marchers passed striking county workers. Strikers and

marchers exchanged cheers of "Keep up the good work." The march broke out into the chant, "Give us jobs, not war!"

In Newark, a rally at Military Park grew from 100 to 150 when a demonstration of Blacks, protesting discrimination at Ideal Toy Company, joined the rally. Speakers from both protests chaired the platform.

In Detroit 200 picketed the main post office. One nineteen-year-old Black, William Drantles, asked if he would register, said, "Not likely. A draft will lead to war, registration to the draft. I'm staying right here with my little

girl and my fiancé. Why should I go fight a war? There's no gain in it for me. Why should I go into someone else's country and blow out the brains of someone I've never met? It's just stupid."

He examined the form and decided not to fill it out.

Pickets and rallies were also reported to the *Militant* from Minneapolis-St. Paul (400); Chicago (300); Philadelphia (300); Atlanta (200); Baltimore (150); Cincinnati (150); Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Birmingham, Alabama; Dallas, Texas; Morgantown, West Virginia; Newport News, Virginia; and Norfolk, Virginia.

...draft

Continued from front page

York Times, urged Congress to "move quickly to meet the President's request."

Sending the bill to Congress February 8, Carter declared, "Even in the nuclear age, we must be prepared for conventional conflict."

In an editorial February 10, the *Times* spelled out the basic proposition:

"At the moment, we can see only one powerful reason to ask young Americans to register for an eventual military draft: to demonstrate that the public, and especially the generation that grew up with Vietnam, is once more ready to contemplate conscription for military action abroad."

The only problem being, it wasn't so.

Within hours after Carter proposed registration, protests erupted on major campuses. Negative reaction was so swift and sharp that he felt compelled

to moderate his rhetoric.

On February 15 he gathered student leaders at the White House and tried to persuade them there had been a "gross overreaction," that no draft was in sight, and that registration was "symbolic."

The students were unconvinced. Protests continued to grow, culminating in a march and rally of some 20,000 in Washington on March 22.

Although largely student based, these actions spoke for the sentiments of millions of workers. Opposition to the draft was heard even in top circles of the AFL-CIO.

The threat of conscription actually spread debate over U.S. foreign policy into homes, schools, and factories throughout the country. Slogans linking the draft to the interests of the giant oil companies showed how consciousness was developing about the class nature of Washington's actions.

By April 30, the *New York Times* decided something had gone amiss. Carter's plan, it now declared, was "a half-baked measure that would do little

for the armed forces and could further erode the constituency that real preparedness now requires."

Congress, too, sensed the moment was not as ripe as it had seemed. It hemmed and hawed for four months before approving the proposition. And all of Carter's capitalist-party rivals for the presidency—Kennedy, Reagan, and Anderson—announced they were against registration at this time.

As the appointed days grew near, the administration almost seemed to be soft-peddling its own plan, fearing to stir up yet more opposition. A piddling \$400,000 was allocated for publicity. Contrary to plans announced earlier, there were hardly any radio or TV spots informing young men they were supposed to register, or when and how to do so.

And at the widespread July 21 pickets, police had evidently been instructed to be on best behavior. In New York, they stood and watched benignly as protesters marched right through the main post office.

What must be understood, however,

is that the rulers have not retreated one inch on their basic goal of militarizing U.S. society.

They are confronted with anticapitalist rebellions in all parts of the world and, if their system is to survive, they must be able to put U.S. troops in massive numbers directly into battle.

Their aim was well described by a speaker at the New York anticonscription rally. Cora Weiss, who was active in the movement against the Vietnam War, alluded to the suffocating heat and declared, "If you think it's hot here, try El Salvador in September or the Iranian desert in October."

That's still what they have in mind for American youth. But the imperialists are lashing out not from great strength but from weakness.

They have been dealt some jolting blows abroad this past year—from Iran to Nicaragua to Grenada. And they're now suffering some serious blows here at home.

This gives the antiwar forces the time and the opportunity to build their movement for the battles to come.

Court case on drafting women: what are the real issues?

By Suzanne Haig

A big legal question mark now hangs over Carter's draft registration plan.

A three-judge federal circuit court in Philadelphia on July 18 voted the Selective Service Act unconstitutional for excluding women.

The ruling was based on a nine-year-old Vietnam-era suit filed on behalf of four men then eligible for the draft. The suit, *Goldberg v Rostker*, contended that excluding women, half of the draft-age population, arbitrarily increased the chances of induction for men.

The Justice Department says it will appeal the decision to the Supreme Court, which probably won't hear the case before October.

Antidraft fighters should take a close look at this case. Will it help stop the draft? Is it in the interests of women or men?

The ruling is not antidraft but pro-draft. It is not for stopping the draft but for widening it by including women.

The court dismissed arguments against the draft itself. "The fact that individual rights are infringed in a draft has already been held to be constitutional," they wrote.

Sweeping aside Carter's pretense that he wants registration in order to avert the need for a draft, the judges wrote that registration is legal only "to conscript armed forces in an orderly manner to meet the defense needs of the nation."

"This purpose is clearly valid," they ruled.

Stronger military

The judges argued that drafting women can make for a stronger U.S. military. They approvingly noted that "women in the military as a group suffer only about half the lost time of men." Women's smaller size "at times can be an advantage," they said.

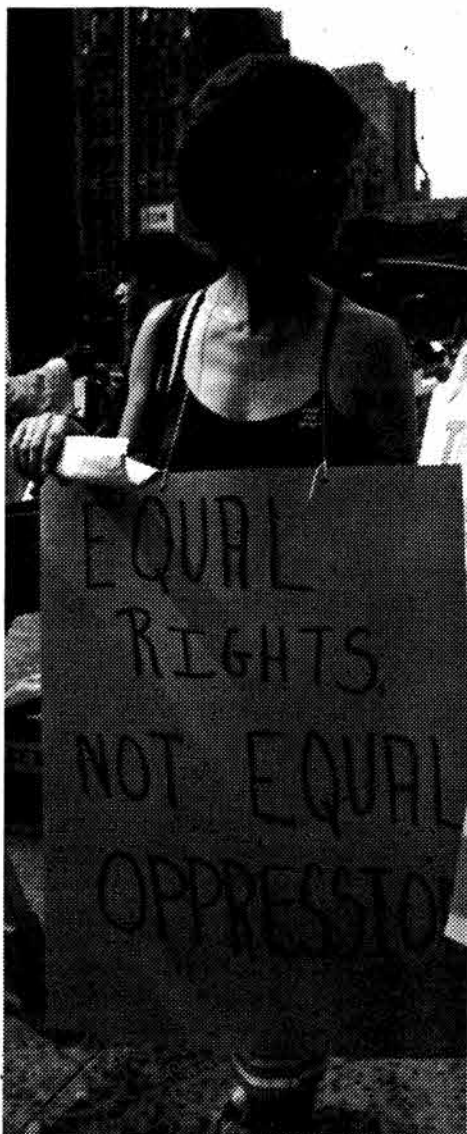
The court's ruling simply echoes Carter's initial registration call last January when he said women should be included. Congress, however, in approving his registration request, declined to include women. The administration still favors it.

A Pentagon spokesman told the *Wall Street Journal*, "Either a male registration or a male-female registration is adequate for us." If Congress has to reconsider the matter, he said, "we would recommend a coed registration as we did the first time."

Whether it comes from the Pentagon or the courts, the proposal to draft women "equally" is an attempt to defuse and derail the antidraft movement.

It tries to shift the debate from whether there should be a draft to what constitutes a "fair" draft.

It tries to divert attention from the nature and function of the U.S. military to a discussion of how to build the most effective military.



Militant/Keith Jones

Equal rights for women has nothing to do with helping to build a better army for warmakers in Washington.

It tries to make conscription and the U.S. Army look progressive by linking them to the idea of equality for women.

And it seeks to maneuver antidraft fighters into the position of *advocating* the draft . . . so long as women are included.

Trap

The American Civil Liberties Union has fallen right into this trap. ACLU attorney Isabelle Katz Pinzler, director of their Women's Rights Project, is quoted in the July 16 *Guardian*: "Registration of women is a possible result of our suit. But we prefer that to allowing a men-only registration program to discriminate against women" (emphasis added).

The top leadership of the National Organization for Women takes a similar position. In the March issue of the *National NOW Times*, the leadership wrote a position paper boosting the idea of women in the military.

They stated opposition to the draft, but argued for including women if men are forced to register and be drafted. This stand has met with widespread disagreement among NOW members.

The *Guardian* took the occasion in a July 16 editorial to "reiterate its view

that the present male-only registration plan is sexist and discriminates against women."

The Philadelphia court ruling has nothing to do with ending discrimination against women. Its concern is how the government can build a stronger, more effective combat army. It deliberately refuses to deal with discrimination against women in the military once they are drafted.

The court says: "We need not decide if women must serve in all roles in the military, including combat" or "if women must be conscripted in equal numbers to men."

In fact, the proposal of the ruling is the opposite: to bring women into traditionally "female" positions—clerical, nursing, and so on—to free up more men for combat. The judges suggested that "inducted women could be moved into noncombat jobs with little or no training and release men for immediate deployment into combat."

Thus, far from the drafting of women helping men, as this suit contends, both men and women have a life-and-death stake in opposing it.

Equal rights?

Women's fight for equality is a struggle against discrimination, for an end to the second-class status so long imposed on women. It is a fight for *equal rights* in education, jobs, and every aspect of society.

Being conscripted to fight and die for Exxon is not a "right." Equality doesn't mean that women should submit to new attacks on the rights of all working people—and that's what the draft is.

Nevertheless, the ACLU and some others involved in the antidraft movement have hailed the court ruling as a victory.

Donald Weinberg, the plaintiffs' lawyers, said the objective was to "make the political cost of declaring war much more immediate for a president and for a Congress, and much more costly."

The notion that the U.S. capitalists' war drive can be stopped by such a maneuver is, at best, naive. The court dealt with it handily by suggesting a sexual division of labor in the army so that the most reactionary congressman can vote to draft women and still assure that he's keeping American womanhood out of combat.

The rulers have a long-term strategy. To force through the draft and launch new Vietnams, they know they must proceed step by step, dividing and confusing antiwar forces any way they can.

The antidraft and women's movements must not fall prey to this confusion. We need a long-term strategy too, educating, organizing, mobilizing the sentiment of millions who oppose another Vietnam.

Our demands should be clear: "No draft, no war—women or men!"

Victims of black lung fight for aid

By Pat Hayes

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—The National Black Lung Association has called a protest rally for July 27 in Morgantown to fight recent attacks on the right of disabled coal miners to receive compensation.

"It's time to hit the streets again," says Bill Worthington, a disabled miner and president of the Black Lung Association.

The rally proposal was unanimously adopted by a July 19 planning meeting attended by more than eighty working miners, black lung victims, and other activists. They came from Kentucky, Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Illinois as well as West Virginia.

At a news conference after the meeting, Lee Smith, president of Coal Miners Political Action Committee (Compac) at Eastern Coal's Federal No. 2 mine, called for "all young miners to attend the rally."

Also on hand was Crystal Lee Sutton, whose drive to organize the J.P. Stevens textile mill in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, was portrayed in the hit movie *Norma Rae*. She said that she had first learned of brown lung—the crippling lung damage textile workers suffer from breathing cotton dust—from a coal miner.

"If anything gets taken away from the coal miners it will make it harder for the textile workers seeking compensation for brown lung," Sutton said.

The right of retired miners—their lungs scarred or destroyed by coal dust—to receive compensation has come under new attack in recent months.

The coal companies, which are responsible for paying the compensation, routinely contest whether a miner has black lung. Their stalling means it can take years to qualify.

The government has cut back on funding for the clinics that have helped miners get over the legal and medical hurdles to qualify.

Recent nationwide coverage was given to a bogus "Black Lung Study" by Keith Morgan, a long-discredited bitter opponent of the miners. Morgan claims that black lung is really caused by cigarette smoking.

Black lung benefits were won through big demonstrations and political protest strikes in the late 1960s. The victory was closely tied to the Miners for Democracy movement that ousted the pro-company dictatorship of Tony Boyle over the United Mine Workers union.

That upsurge also succeeded in forcing the government to pass the 1969 Mine Health and Safety Act, whose provisions have reduced the number of deaths in the mines.

But today the "burdensome costs" of workers' health and safety are at the center of the employers' takeback drive. Congress, the White House, and the Supreme Court have all taken aim at the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), its authority to carry out inspections and set limits on hazardous substances.

In this context, the stakes are high indeed in the battle to save black lung benefits.

Typical of the 350,000 unsettled black lung claims is the case of Christine Powley, sixty years old, of Mt. Morris, Pennsylvania. She attended the protest planning meeting.

Powley has not received the black lung compensation due her since the death of her husband. She gets only \$203 a month social security to live on. She has a \$162 monthly trailer payment and a \$57 monthly payment on her husband's grave plot.

"If my children weren't feeding me I don't know what I'd do," she told the *Militant*. "Why do they make people with no money coming in have to wait?"

YSA urges on-going fight against draft

The following statement was issued July 23 by Margret Jayko, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The first day of Carter's draft registration was met with spirited protests in cities across the country. These protests are an important beginning in the fight to stop the draft.

To stop the government's conscription plans a massive protest movement needs to be built. Continuing demonstrations, rallies, teach-ins, and other activities must be organized.

These actions should educate on the war aims of the American government. They should be used as a way to move people into action against the use of youth as cannon fodder in Vietnam-type wars.

More public actions like the initial protests at the post offices are needed.

These demonstrations and rallies will show millions of people that there is a movement that is organizing and mobilizing to stop Carter's draft plan.

Above all, the antidraft movement has to be built with the aim of involving the ranks of the organized labor movement.

The union movement has every reason to be involved in the antidraft fight. The very lives of its members are at stake. And the jobs of working people, especially young workers, are more and more in jeopardy as the economy worsens and the government wastes billions of dollars on bigger and more sophisticated bombs and weapons instead of putting people back to work.

The antidraft movement has great potential to turn the American people's extreme hatred for war into action against the Carter plan. That's the way to stop the draft and reverse registration.

'Workers unity is workers strength'

Grenada: educating for class-struggle

By Diane Wang

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada—The house on a hilltop overlooking this city once belonged to a minister in the corrupt Gairy regime. Now thirty-two trade unionists, seventeen of them women, sat on folding chairs in what was once the living room.

Posters proclaim solidarity with international struggles; another publicizes a women's conference. One hand-made sign urges, "Youth man—Forward on and take your revolutionary stand."

This was the final session and commencement ceremony of a week-long seminar cosponsored by the Bank and General Workers Union (BGWU) and the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union (CIWU).

The home of the former Gairy official is today a center of Youth for Reconstruction, and it is used for gatherings and conferences of many other groups.

Speaking at the July 11 commencement were several of Grenada's trade-union leaders: Anslem DeBourg, CIWU vice-president; Danny Roberts, general secretary of the BGWU; John Ventour, general secretary of the CIWU and of the Grenada Trade Union Council; and Vincent Noel, president of the two unions and a leader of the New Jewel Movement (NJM).

Grenada's best weapon

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States and a member of United Steelworkers Local 1066, had been invited to attend the session and give greetings. Pulley is visiting Grenada to see the progress made since the revolution on this island in March 1979.

"The most important weapon Grenada has to defend itself is the truth," Pulley commented following the ceremony. "That's what we'll use, telling people in the United States what has been done here." Pulley will tell campaign audiences this fall what he has seen in Grenada, the achievements in education, health—and in the labor movement.

This was the tenth seminar of its



Participants in trade-union seminar sponsored by Grenada's Bank and General Workers Union and Commercial and Industrial Workers Union.

kind, each lasting a week. Since the seminars were negotiated into contracts, bosses have to pay workers for the time spent studying unionism.

Under the former regime, unions were hedged in by repressive antilabor laws and by the dictator Gairy's connivance with the bosses.

Since the revolution, trade union membership has boomed. Now some 80 percent of the work force is organized, according to Vincent Noel. The seminars are important for training a new generation of labor leaders.

The seminars are important, too, for revolutionary Grenada as a whole. On the way to the session, Anslem DeBourg told Pulley, "We teach about why it is important for people to participate in their unions. This makes it harder for the reactionaries, because workers get used to democratic procedures."

'Wider focus'

John Ventour, who had conducted the seminar, explained in his speech, "When we educate workers in this manner, we expect that when you go back to your workplaces you'll see things in a wider focus."

By teaching workers to see their

struggles in a "wider focus," the seminars help strengthen the revolution and promote the campaigns of the new government.

Workers' Voice, published for trade unionists by the NJM Workers Commission, says the seminars are aimed not only at "giving workers a basic knowledge of trade unions," but also at "increasing discipline and production, and encouraging a better industrial climate."

"Of course," Pulley pointed out, "this government's idea of a 'better industrial climate' is one that advances the interests of the workers. The fight for increased production here is not aimed at raising the bosses' profits but at raising the living standards of the masses, getting another school or clinic for workers, another industry opened to provide new jobs and funds to develop the country."

Seminars included classes on trade-union history and functioning. Judging from the students' and leaders' comments, the main lessons were trade-union democracy, solidarity, and political action.

"Before, I thought that only the people elected took part in the unions," commented one woman participant.

"Now I know that we are the union."

The ease with which participants spoke up, the mutual respect shown by the union students and leaders, were evidence of the democratic unions being built here.

Solidarity

Workers solidarity is urged on billboards throughout the country and in the unions. "Workers unity is workers strength" is the slogan on CIWU T-shirts.

"How can we achieve that unity?" DeBourg asked the class, "if workers on the picket line or workers we pass on the street are only trying to go about their own business, trying to keep their own heads above water, trying to seek only their own interests?"

Workers' Voice also pursued the question: "A few workers are saying that they do not care what happens to other workers. Others say that they do not care about farmers, that farmers are not important to them. Yet others feel that agricultural workers are not important to dock workers, commercial workers, bank, electricity, telephone, or other workers. . . ."

"Where does the money come from to pay . . . workers employed by the government?"

"Where does the money come from to buy . . . goods from other countries?"

"Discuss these questions with your co-workers and make sure to get the next issue of *Workers' Voice* to hear what we have to say."

Political action

In a country where the governing party's slogan is, "Let those who labor hold the reins," the unions' political action is also the subject of a lively discussion. That political action must be based on working-class independence was a basic lesson of the seminars.

DeBourg reminded the unionists, "Workers feel they cannot do without a capitalist. But what we have to understand is, who are the capitalists? Where does capital come from? Capital can only come from labor. And if you

Pulley's greetings to Grenada union seminar

John Ventour, general secretary of the Grenada Trade Union Council and seminar leader, asked Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley to present greetings to the closing session.

"Comrades, we have a comrade from the United States of America," Ventour told the seminar participants.

"He is not a North American imperialist. We've talked about imperialism and capitalism in America, and about the working class in America. I think it is fitting to have with us a comrade who will be running against President Carter and Reagan and to have him say a few words to us."

Below are Pulley's greetings.

To all the comrade workers gathered here today, the leading members of the revolutionary movement here in Grenada, I want to say it is a great honor for us from the United States to be among you, and to have the opportunity to sit in on a portion of your class and say a couple of words to you.

Your slogan, "Forward ever, backward never," is a slogan that aptly and correctly describes not only your perspectives for solving the problems that confront Grenada. It is also the perspective that must be adopted by the rest of the workers movement of the Caribbean, the United States, and the world.

And it is precisely the pursuit of this idea, this simple idea, that drives the U.S. rulers up the wall.

It is this idea that has forced the Pentagon, the CIA in the United States, and their media, their newspapers and radio and television, to go on an incredible slander campaign denouncing Grenada. They are trying to turn the population of the United States against Grenada in the same way that they are trying to do with regard to Cuba and Nicaragua.

In truth, the slogan of the U.S. rulers is "Forward never, backward ever," as it relates to the working people of the United States and the world.

And for themselves, the capitalists' slogan is, "Forward ever, backward never," as it relates to their profits.

This is very true. Because what we find in the U.S. today is that the money for education, for child care, for medical care is all being cut back. While the money for the bombs and the war machine and the CIA is all being increased.

While down here the money for education is being increased. The money for social needs is being increased.

In Cuba social services and other needs of the people are receiving increased financial commitment,

and real forward motion is being achieved. And in Nicaragua the same thing.

So, as the American people learn more about what is really happening here, especially the Black community in the United States, they will increasingly come down here to see what is going on. They will identify with the revolutionary movement here and begin to call it their own movement.

The U.S. rulers know that this will occur.

I'm sure this is the first time any of you have heard there is a socialist running for president of the United States.

Well, most people in the United States don't know that I'm running either. That's because the capitalist media does not tell anyone that there are alternatives. They simply lie about the elections, about Grenada, about everything else.

We're here today to try to find out more facts and go back to the United States and tell the working class and the Black community about the great things that are happening here, and to tell the working class in the United States of the need to oppose U.S. military perspectives against Grenada, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Cuba, and elsewhere in the Caribbean.

Thank you.



Andrew Pulley addresses trade-union seminar

Militant/Diane Wang

unionism

Grenada and its revolution

Grenada, a small island of 100,000 people, is the scene of big revolutionary developments whose effects are being felt throughout the Caribbean.

In March 1979 the dictatorial regime of Eric Gairy was overthrown by the New Jewel Movement. The new government has launched efforts to provide jobs, raise wages, wipe out illiteracy, and improve health care. Most important, it has organized and

mobilized the workers and small farmers to fight for their own interests.

Although Grenada is farther from the United States than most Caribbean countries, its revolution is likely to have special significance here. The Grenadian people are Black and English-speaking. Thousands of Grenadians live and work in the United States.

Washington has been hostile to the Grenadian revolution from the beginning. The Carter administration threatened Grenada for establishing relations with Cuba, and has provided a haven for Gairy to organize right-wing mercenary forces to invade the island.

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, conducted a week-long fact-finding and solidarity tour of Grenada in July. He was accompanied by Steve Clark, managing editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, and Diane Wang, a steelworker and SWP member.

This week the *Militant* continues publication of their reports.



ask yourself who labors, isn't it the workers? So is it the workers who need the capitalists or the capitalists who need the workers?"

Opponents of the Grenadian revolution influenced by the AFL-CIO in the United States have criticized the unions for participating in the new government. For example, Vincent Noel has come under fire because he is Minister of Home Affairs.

Workers' Voice answered these attacks sharply: "These same people will come to Free Grenada and run their mouths on Brother Vincent Noel because he is a member of government and a leading trade unionist. But they will never say that the employers should not be in government, where they always make laws and do things to suit their interests. If the workers' representatives should not be in government, then who should be, the employers?"

'Come see for yourself'

Part of the Carter administration's drive against the Grenadian revolution has been an attempt to sabotage tourism, a key source of income for the island.

The Grenadians' response is, "Come see for yourself!"

U.S. workers and students will find that a trip to Grenada offers a fascinating picture of a revolution in progress. People in all walks of life are eager to talk with visitors about their struggle for freedom from exploitation and oppression.

In addition, Grenada is widely acknowledged to be one of the most beautiful Caribbean islands. Vacationers can enjoy swimming, fishing, skin-diving, or just soaking up sun on pristine beaches, far from the noise and pollution of U.S. capitalism.

For more information, contact the Permanent Mission of Grenada, 141 East Forty-fourth Street, Room 905, New York, New York 10017.

The seminar lessons on political action extended to international questions as well. Most of the students had copies of the Cuban paper *Granma*. That afternoon the class had seen a film about the CIA.

The CIA exposés have especially angered the bosses. *Workers' Voice* scolded the electrical company manager: "Rodney, why you did not want electrical workers to see the CIA film? You afraid workers will see the light?"

John Ventour stressed that the seminars, like every other gain since the revolution, need to be defended. "The capitalists will resist holding further seminars. We have to struggle for it. Whether we can get it depends on the struggle."

The unionists sounded ready for that fight. Many talked about sharing the lessons they had learned with co-workers, and, about the need for more classes.

"The bosses say the trade unions are brainwashing the workers," Matilde Chase, a CIWU member from the Buy-Rite supermarket told the seminar. "But really the unions are educating us."

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

'For Every One of Us They Kill, Ten Thousand More Will Come Forward!'

—a speech by Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop

This is a tape of Maurice Bishop's fifty-minute radio address to the nation on the night of the June 19, 1980, terrorist bombing. The device, intended to kill top leaders of the Grenadian revolution, exploded at a mass rally, killing two young women and injuring dozens of other participants. \$4.00

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Include \$.75 for postage and handling.)

'Everything is the workers business'

The following is the speech by Grenadian trade-union and New Jewel Movement leader Vincent Noel to the final session of a week-long union seminar.



VINCENT NOEL Militant/Diane Wang

As you know, we in the progressive labor movement have been trying for some time now to do what we can to improve the consciousness of the entire working class of the country.

This ninth and tenth seminar is the first time in the history of the trade-union movement in this country that any unions whatsoever, or any group of unions, are coming together to have as much as ten seminars—regardless of size, because some of them have not been very big. And this has taken place in under one year.

It is an achievement of which we in the progressive leadership of both unions are very proud. And I'm sure—judging from the response that we have received from all the previous seminars, and from what you yourselves have said here this afternoon in calling for more of these seminars, more of this type of thing—that you have been touched by it and want to continue it.

As you have learned from the period here over the last five days, we have basically two purposes for carrying out these seminars.

One, and definitely the lesser one, is to help with the technical tasks of trade unionism, to help comrades identify and solve problems, how to negotiate and bargain, and so on. That's what we call technical tasks. That's about the operation of trade unions in general.

Class consciousness

The other is much more fundamental to the survival of the working class and of the revolution. And that is to try to raise and improve, awaken and then raise the class consciousness of workers. This is what we see as the second reason, fundamental and very important.

We have done this by trying to show you, first of all, the development of human society itself.

There is a trend of thought being thrown around in Grenada and elsewhere that we have always had the capitalists, we have always had the poor, that we've always had the masters. We have shown you why this has been so, but doesn't have to be so.

We have shown you the origin of trade unionism, why it arose in human society, at what point it arose, what its present mission is now, how it is being used by different class forces, how it is being used by imperialists, and how we as workers, as progressive workers, should use it in our own interests.

There are some who tell us that the trade unions should have nothing to do with whether or not we have full employment, what the cost of living is, whether or not we have education, whether or not we have health services, whether or not we have corruption in the government, whether we have brutality, and all the other ills. There are some who tell you that is not the trade unions' business.

What we are saying here is that every single thing that affects the society is the workers' business, because workers form the majority of society, and in fact they support the entire society through their labor. So fundamentally anything that affects the worker is the workers' business.

Comrades, brothers and sisters, at this time, we face a very difficult period in our history. We have to decide for ourselves what the future will be.

And there's no other appropriate group to decide what the future will be than, of course, the working class. Because we are the ones who are working; we are the ones who are producing; we are the ones who are keeping

the economy afloat, keeping the country afloat.

And therefore in what is done, we have to play a leading role in guiding and shaping it. We have to make sure that what is done is always in our interests.

He who pays the piper calls the tune. We are right now not only paying the piper, we are also making the flute! And therefore we will damn well dictate what tune is played on that flute.

There are some who see Grenada as a threat at this time and are trying their best to see what levers they can throw in our spokes to keep us back. They are slandering us throughout the region and North America and, in fact, throughout the world.

Answer slanders

We, as a small country, do not have the resources to in fact launch the kind of international campaign to help in beating back these rumors and slanders and lies. But each of us, of course, can do a little bit.

For one, we can write to our families abroad. We can encourage our friends who have families abroad to write to them.

We can write to the international newspapers, although they won't publish it. But they will see how the working class feels.

We can talk to tourists when they come here, all kinds of visitors, and encourage them to come back and tell them something about our beautiful country.

And we can of course struggle to make sure that the pro-working-class government remains a pro-working-class government. And that we struggle and we fight to keep our revolution afloat.

In the final analysis, it is we who will suffer. You know what happened in Chile; I don't have to tell you, it was the working class that was massacred.

And when they come, as we are sure and know that they are coming, it is the working class that will have to bear the brunt of their attempt.

Because it will only be an attempt. Because as we have already made it known, if they come you know what will happen to them.

If they don't drown in the sea, they will have to drown in their blood.

You have called this afternoon—as in fact has every group that has been in this room for the different seminars we have had—you have called for continuing education. You can only do that in close contact with us in the political movement.

We do have advanced education classes. If you want to do that, we can assist you with that, wherever you may be or which village you are, we can try to help you to develop your working-class education.

Those of you who would like to volunteer to improve your understanding of the local and regional situation, can put your name down, with your address and workplace, and we will get in contact with you.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

New land reform law decreed

Half million celebrate Nicaragua's revolution

By Fred Murphy
and Mary-Alice Waters

MANAGUA—Even before the sun rose on July 19, revolutionary songs and slogans were ringing out from one end of this capital to the other.

Tens of thousands of Nicaraguans, having traveled throughout the night from all parts of the country, were arriving in trucks and buses for the celebration of the revolution's first anniversary.

By 7 a.m. marchers were pouring into the huge July 19 Plaza, constructed especially for the occasion.

Contingents from Managua's neighborhoods, all organized by their Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), joined workers from other major cities and peasants from remote villages.

Waving thousands of red and black flags and homemade placards and banners, the multitude gathered behind the disciplined ranks of militia, army, and police units.

By the time the rally got under way at 10 a.m. more than half a million people were assembled in the plaza—some 20 percent of Nicaragua's population.

It was the largest demonstration in the country's history, a striking reaffirmation of the support and confidence that the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) enjoys.

'We will never stop'

Around the edges of the plaza were freshly painted billboards bearing the revolution's most characteristic slogans, including a quote from General

July 19 celebrations in solidarity with Nicaragua were also held in many U.S. cities. Next week's Militant will carry a round-up report.

Augusto César Sandino—"Only the workers and the peasants will go all the way . . ."

A block-long banner carried the words of martyred Sandinista intellectual Ricardo Morales Aviles—"After taking the first step we will never again stop walking."

Following musical presentations and a vibrant performance by a Black dance troupe from the Caribbean port city of Bluefields, army Commander-in-Chief Humberto Ortega and militia Commander Eden Pastora reviewed the assembled troops.

The crowd chanted, "One single



Daniel Ortega and Fidel Castro at first anniversary celebration of Nicaraguan revolution

army," a slogan that sums up the readiness of the Nicaraguan people to defend their revolution.

An international event

The rally, chaired by FSLN leader Julio Lopez, began with the introduction of the many international delegations in attendance. Three heads of state were present: President Fidel Castro of Cuba, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop of Grenada, and Prime Minister George Price of Belize.

Among the government delegations were those from Vietnam, Kampuchea, North Korea, the Soviet Union, and most Eastern European states; from Algeria and other African states; from Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, and Panama; from Iraq and South Yemen; and from the United States.

Former Venezuelan president Carlos Andrés Pérez was present, as were Puerto Rican patriots Irving Flores and Lolita Lebrón, and a delegation from the Socialist International that included Spanish SP leader Felipe González.

Palestinian leader Yassir Arafat had planned to attend the celebration, but was delayed by transportation difficulties and arrived in Nicaragua only after the rally had ended. But solidar-

ity with the Palestinian struggle was evident on banners and T-shirts worn by many Sandinista supporters.

Other liberation groups included the Polisario Front, which is fighting Moroccan attempts to annex the Sahara, and FRETILIN, which is battling the Indonesian takeover of East Timor.

By far the biggest applause was reserved for the representatives from El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), who were greeted by repeated chants of "Nicaragua Won, El Salvador Will Win."

Example of Cuba

Grenadian revolutionary leader Bishop led off the speakers list. July, he said, is an historic month for the people of Latin America, not only because of the Nicaraguan revolution, but also because the opening battle of the Cuban revolution, the attack on the Moncada barracks, took place on July 26, 1953.

"Who can doubt," Bishop said, "that if there was no Moncada movement and if there was no Cuban revolution in 1959—we say without the Cuban revolution, there could have been no Grenadian or Nicaraguan revolution."

"It must therefore be our task, the task of the free peoples of Latin Amer-

ica—by our unity, by our solidarity, by our cooperation—to continue to show the way forward, to make sure that by 1981 we will be able to speak not only of revolutionary Cuba, not just of revolutionary Nicaragua, but also of revolutionary El Salvador. . . ."

Following remarks by Price of Belize and Pérez of Venezuela, Fidel Castro came to the podium amid prolonged applause and chants of "Fidel! Fidel!"

Once the acclaim died down, however, there was a striking silence as the huge crowd listened with intense interest and respect to hear what the Cuban leader would have to say.

Fidel's tribute

Castro returned the respect with a unique tribute of his own to the workers and peasants of Nicaragua.

Recalling that Somoza had told the counterrevolutionary troops that invaded Cuba from Nicaragua in April 1961 to bring him at least one hair from Castro's beard, Castro said: "I have come with my entire beard in order to offer it—if only symbolically—to the heroic people of Nicaragua."

Standing in the July 19 Plaza, Castro said, "reminds me so much of our own people, of our own rallies, and since you constitute a profoundly revolutionary people, we have the impression that we are in our own homeland."

Castro went on to recall the admiration he felt for the Nicaraguans in 1978 and 1979 as they fought the Somoza dictatorship. He named off battles, events, and heroes from Nicaragua's long epic of antidictatorial struggles. "The pages of heroism you have written will go down in history," he declared.

Castro hailed "the men who at an hour when freedom seemed most distant, sought, organized, and elaborated a strategy of struggle—those men are the Sandinistas—the Sandinista National Liberation Front."

"They managed to pull the entire people behind them. They are the vanguard, not because they want to give themselves the title of vanguard, but because they learned how to win for themselves the place of vanguard in the history and in the struggle of their people."

Solidarity without conditions

Before Castro spoke, ex-President Pérez of Venezuela had sought in his remarks to lecture the Sandinistas on the blessings of "democracy," "pluralism," and independence from "the great bloc that seeks to commit us to their policies and manipulate us."

"There are those who seek to teach the Sandinistas what to do," Castro said, implicitly responding to Pérez, "but we will never try to tell the Sandinistas what they should do or offer you fortuitous advice. We are ready to give you all of our support, all the solidarity of our people without conditions and without advice."

"We do not come here to teach or to influence. We came humbly to learn and to be influenced. We are sure that the Sandinista revolution will teach us a great deal and that the Sandinista revolution will have a great influence on us. Just as we are also certain that your example will extraordinarily influence the rest of Latin America."

"Some might claim," Castro noted, that we have come to Nicaragua "to try to set fire to Central America or to Latin America. . . ."

"It is impossible to set fire to a people, to bring a torch of revolution. As one of you recently said, the best and most fundamental and decisive help you can give to the revolutionary movement is your example, because people are like volcanoes. No one sets fire to them. They explode by themselves. And Central America and the Andean mountain range are volcanic."

Continued on page 13



Young Sandinista liberation fighters returning from southern front after victory of July 1979 revolution

Free, quality health care for all The Cuban example

Despite the wealth of the United States, most people here find decent medical care hard to come by. Medical and drug fees are an outrage. Insurance plans provide coverage that generally ranges from fair to worse than poor.

Those not covered by insurance can have the savings of a lifetime wiped out by a single major illness.

Those on welfare are subjected to the indignities of clinics and the abuses of municipal hospitals. And even these are being shut down across the country in the current round of budget cutbacks.

Medical care doesn't have to be that way. A socialized health plan could change the situation virtually overnight.

Free medical care for all? Wouldn't the cost be so astronomical as to make it impossible?

Only if the plan continued to assure the superprofits of the medical industry.

Revolutionary Cuba has a system of socialized medicine. It provides free medical care and extensive preventive care to all its citizens. And it is able to do so despite the economic hardships imposed on the country by decades of imperialist exploitation.

Cuba can do so because it has taken the profiteering out of medicine. Doctors don't enrich themselves off the misery of the sick. There is no profit-gouging drug industry, no lavishly paid hospital administrators.

Yet the service provided is impressive.

That's not simply the way Cubans see it. That was the finding of Harry Nelson, medical writer for the *Los Angeles Times*.

The following are major excerpts from a report by Nelson that appeared in the June 16 *Los Angeles Times*.

By Harry Nelson

HAVANA—Twenty-one years after revolution drove half of its medical manpower into exile, Cuba today has reached a level of health that exceeds that of nearly every other country in Latin America.

And whatever the problems of Fidel Castro's Socialist regime—more than 100,000 people have fled it in recent months—Cuba has shown other developing countries that enormous gains can be made in a relatively short period of time when top priority is given to health care.

A recent visit to the island revealed that unlike virtually all of the other 100 or so developing nations, Cuba has carefully planned and executed an approach to health problems that it believes reaches every one of its 9.8 million residents.

As a result, its mortality rates have dropped sharply, especially among infants and children, and great progress has been made in reducing the incidence of malaria, tuberculosis, polio, typhoid fever, typhus, venereal diseases, dysentery and a number of other infectious and parasitic diseases that incapacitate large numbers of people in other developing countries.

The percentage of Cuban children who have been vaccinated against diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus and polio exceeds that in many areas of Los Angeles. (Measles are an exception because the vaccine was only recently developed.)

The incidence of tuberculosis in Cuba has dropped from 63.5 cases per 100,000 population in 1965 to 13 cases per 100,000 people today. By comparison, the rate for Los Angeles County



Militant/Harry Ring

Cuban children get frequent medical checkups from the cradle on. Preventive medicine has been big factor in health gains.

as a whole is 19 cases per 100,000, and in some parts of the county the rate exceeds 100 cases per 100,000.

Low infant mortality

Although Cuba's mortality rate for infants under 1 year old still exceeds that of the United States, the island country has made great advances. Today there are 19.3 deaths per 1,000 live births in Cuba; according to Cuban officials, the rate before the revolution was about 70 per 1,000. (Today in the United States there are 14 deaths per 1,000 live births.)

Two major reasons for this decline in infant mortality in Cuba are improved sanitation and better water, both of which have reduced deaths from diarrheal diseases that plague nearly all developing nations.

In 1962, three years after the Cuban revolution, the rate of children's deaths caused by diarrhea was 50 per 1,000 live births. By 1977, Cuban health officials reported, that rate had plummeted to 1.6 deaths per 1,000 live births.

Better nutrition, which enhances immunity, is also cited as a reason for the decline in children's deaths from diarrheal diseases.

"A child with diarrhea doesn't die here because he is well nourished," Dr. Daniel Joli, the World Health Organization's representative in Cuba, said.

Joli, an Argentine physician, said that biostatisticians from the World Health Organization, which is based in Geneva, had verified the Cuban statistics.

"There is no question that Cuba has the best health statistics in Latin America," Joli said.

Lower birth rate

Coincidentally, at the same time that it has been lowering infant mortality rates, Cuba has also been lowering its birthrate. In a region that has a higher birthrate than either Asia or Africa, Cuba now has the lowest birthrate. In 1978 there were 15.3 live births per

1,000 population; in 1957 the number of live births was 26.1 per 1,000 population.

Cuban officials said the decline in the birthrate has been accomplished without an official government program. Instead, according to Dr. Celestino Alvarez Lejonchere, a gynecologist responsible for infant protection and women's equality, the birthrate has dropped as the educational level of the population increased and as the Cubans improved their ability to solve their health and social problems. Another factor is the increasing number of Cuban women who work full time.

The key to Cuba's success in health care, according to Cuban officials and to U.S. public health authorities who have visited the island, is the way the government has integrated health care into the nation's overall development.

That means not only making sure everyone has equal access to care and that doctors, hospitals and other resources are available, but also improving nutrition, housing, water, sewage disposal, reading levels and jobs. The island's national health program does not appear to have been stunted by its periodic agricultural and economic crises.

Government role

The main difference between the Cuban and U.S. health systems is the government's role in planning health care and delivery of medical services in Cuba. In the United States, the location and magnitude of medical resources such as doctors, nurses and hospitals is largely determined by the professions themselves, based on market demand.

From an American's viewpoint, Cuba's health and medical care system may have the impersonal aura of a large clinic, but its availability to everyone and its demonstrated success in recent years cannot be denied.

The Cuban government is obviously proud of its health care system and for

that reason, perhaps, was extremely cooperative in showing a *Times* reporter its various facilities.

A World Bank report issued this year showed the contrast of Cuba's health care system to those of other developing countries.

The overwhelming majority of people in the developing countries, especially the poor, have no access to the services that are offered, the report says. The efficiency of those services is generally poor and there is little attention paid to prevention.

But in Cuba the goal has been to develop a single, integrated preventive and curative system whose services are free to everybody.

An urban dweller who becomes ill in Cuba goes first to an outpatient clinic—called a polyclinic—that is staffed primarily with specialists in internal medicine, obstetrics and pediatrics. Polyclinics handle about 70% of all medical needs. They are open about 12 hours a day—from 8 a.m. till 8 p.m.—and are each designed to care for about 3,000 people, although some serve more people.

If the patient needs to be hospitalized—or if the ailment happens when the polyclinics are closed—he is referred to a hospital or hospital emergency room.

Rural hospitals

Of Cuba's 255 hospitals, 44 are in Havana, 56 are in the countryside—often surrounded by sugar cane fields—and the rest are in other provincial cities and towns. Except for the rural hospitals, each has between 300 and 600 beds.

In the countryside, the 56 hospitals serve primarily the same function as the polyclinics in addition to having beds for non-surgical cases. Before construction of a road system in rural areas, rural hospitals did surgery. Such patients are now referred to the local provincial hospital.

Patients who require heart surgery,

Continued on next page

...health care

Continued from preceding page

neurological surgery, kidney transplants, cancer treatment or certain other specialized care are sent to one of the 22 regionalized specialty hospitals.

The provincial hospital at Cienfuegos, a principal port city about 140 miles southeast of Havana, is the pride of the Cuban hospital system. It is only 14 months old and cost \$26.4 million to build.

It has 624 beds, 19 operating rooms, an eight-bed intensive care unit, a kidney dialysis unit, physicians of all specialties—including psychiatry—and an outpatient clinic that sees 500 patients a day. It is also a teaching hospital.

The wards are three- or six-bed units, plain but neat and clean. There are no TV sets or telephones in the rooms but each bed is equipped with its own oxygen, suction and voice communication with the nursing station.

Although Cienfuegos is in a major agricultural area (sugar cane) where there is extensive use of pesticides, Dr. Raul Fernandez, the hospital's deputy director, said there have been no cases of pesticide poisoning of workers because care is taken to protect the workers.

"In the 12 years that I have been in this area I have not seen a single case," he said.

The hospital has recently installed elaborate X-ray equipment of the latest design manufactured by a British company. But much of the accessory equipment has been made in Japan, Sweden, and East Germany.

Fernandez admitted that there is a serious problem in trying to mesh complex pieces of equipment into a single system when each has a different origin.

Medical blockade

"The American blockade on Cuba causes many problems for the hospital," he said, "but we learn to live with them."

A number of physicians interviewed during a 10-day stay in Cuba said the blockade often delays medical supplies, medical journals and drugs.

Professor Zoilo Marinello, director of the Cuban Cancer Institute in Havana, a surgeon who trained at Memorial Hospital in New York in the 1940s, displayed a plastic material for breast prosthesis made in Santa Barbara.

"We must buy it from Spain," he said.

"The same thing with anti-cancer drugs, medical books and journals. We eventually get all of these things but we must use many different ways to get them."

An hour's drive from Cienfuegos, Dr. Francisco Izquierdo and Dr. Adelaida Rodriguez run a 12-bed rural hospital in the village of San Blas.

San Blas is a mountainous farming community that only recently was connected with Cienfuegos by road. Before the road, horseback was the only way to get to the big city.

About 10,000 people live in the surrounding mountain valleys, which belong to the rural hospitals trust. According to Izquierdo, more than 99% of the local children have been vaccinated against the common infectious diseases.

Mass organizations

"If they don't show up for shots, the mass organizations go to their homes and give them shots," the physician said.

So-called mass organizations are encountered all over Cuba. The three leading ones are the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution, the National Association of Small Farmers and the Federation of Cuban Women.

These volunteer organizations perform all sorts of social functions, one of which is to form "sanitarian brigades" in each community. In San Blas and in the nine small settlements in the area, sanitarian brigades dispense the Sabin oral polio vaccine, give lectures on where to get vaccina-

tions, do population surveys and get in touch with people who do not show up at the rural hospital for doctor appointments.

The hospital's annual budget is only \$151,800, including the salaries for the two physicians, a dentist (who is Izquierdo's wife), six nurses, a clinical laboratory technician and 14 others. The drug bill—\$96,000—is the largest single item.

Drugs in Cuba are free to patients in the rural areas but not in the cities unless the patient is hospitalized.

Dental care

Dr. Eloisa Espinosa, chief of the Provincial Department of Dentistry in Cienfuegos, says that all children between the ages of 5 and 12 years see a dentist at least once a year. The average number of cavities for children up to 14 years is 2.5, which is considered low.

Cuba, she said, has adopted a dental program similar to New Zealand's, which trains medium-level technicians in a three-year course to fill cavities and clean and pull teeth. (A similar training program attempted a few years ago in Los Angeles at [the University of Southern California] caused the dental profession to force the dental school dean's resignation.)

Physicians, university professors, dentists, and engineers in Cuba all make about the same amount of mo-



Before revolution, disease-ridden slums like Panama, left, were common in Cuba. housing and community facilities, center, reducing illness. Cuban farm workers, exposed to dangerous pesticides as in countries.

Why some (

The following are major excerpts from an article that appeared in the July 16 'Miami Herald.'

By Dan Williams

They came to America, tried it on for size, and found it didn't fit.

After braving the scorn of their countrymen and 90 miles of open sea to get here, some Cuban refugees want to return to the island they fled.

"I just can't adapt myself to this system," said Andres Sergio Alvarez, a plump blue-eyed teacher from Havana.

"In Cuba, you don't have to pay for electricity, water, things you need to subsist. I see the inflation here, taxes. You buy a car and you have to pay insurance, too. Everyone works all the time, there's not a moment even to read the newspaper," he said.

Alvarez, 31, served as spokesman for a group of six men living under the end zone of the Orange Bowl who say they wish they hadn't joined 116,000 in the Cuban exodus that began in April.

Officials say the six are among at least 20 who mill about the dusty

Latin American health and nutrition indexes

Infant Mortality (rate per 1000 live births)	Child Mortality (rate per 1000 children 1 to 4 years old)	Maternal Mortality (rate per 10,000 live births)	Infectious and Parasitic Diseases (percentage of deaths)
Paraguay..... 94.3	Guatemala..... 24.2	Paraguay..... 47.8	Honduras..... 44.5
Guatemala..... 80.7	Ecuador..... 13.9	Peru..... 23.2	Guatemala..... 62.5
Peru..... 72.4	El Salvador..... 9.5	Colombia..... 17.1	El Salvador..... 38.6
Chile..... 63.3	Honduras..... 9.2	Guatemala..... 14.5	Chile..... 24.5
Colombia..... 52.5	Peru..... 7.5	Chile..... 13.1	Costa Rica..... 21.4
Venezuela..... 43.7	Paraguay..... 5.6	El Salvador..... 9.5	Venezuela..... 24.6
CUBA..... 19.3	Colombia..... 4.9	Venezuela..... 6.8	Peru..... 54.2
	Dominican Rep..... 4.8	CUBA..... 4.7	Ecuador..... 50.7
	Venezuela..... 3.8		CUBA..... 2.1
	CUBA..... 1.0		
Deaths from Measles (rate per 100,000 inhabitants)	Acute Poliomyelitis (reported cases)	Malaria (reported cases)	Calories (per capita per day)
Guatemala..... 79.9	Brazil..... 2502	Brazil..... 89,959	Haiti..... 1700
Ecuador..... 48.1	Colombia..... 558	El Salvador..... 83,289	Colombia..... 1802
El Salvador..... 12.9	Peru..... 131	Colombia..... 37,306	Bolivia..... 1858
Paraguay..... 11.8	El Salvador..... 73	Peru..... 18,463	Dominican Rep..... 2156
Honduras..... 8.1	Bolivia..... 32	Haiti..... 15,087	Ecuador..... 2084
Venezuela..... 6.2	Venezuela..... 28	Guatemala..... 9,616	Guatemala..... 1988
Dominican Rep..... 4.0	CUBA..... 1	Venezuela..... 4,759	Peru..... 2350
Colombia..... 2.4		CUBA*..... 298	Honduras..... 2049
CUBA..... 0.1			Venezuela..... 2388
			CUBA..... 2728
		*Cases of workers returning from abroad. National cases, none.	
Life Expectancy at Birth (in years)	Deaths from Tuberculosis (rate per 100,000 inhabitants)	Deaths from Tetanus (rate per 100,000 inhabitants)	Proteins (grams per capita per day)
Bolivia..... 48.3	Chile..... 19.1	Ecuador..... 11.9	Haiti..... 41.0
Haiti..... 52.2	Guatemala..... 18.3	Paraguay..... 7.0	Colombia..... 46.1
Guatemala..... 55.7	Paraguay..... 16.9	Dominican Rep..... 4.8	Bolivia..... 48.4
Honduras..... 56.2	Colombia..... 11.7	El Salvador..... 4.8	Dominican Rep..... 44.8
Peru..... 58.1	Venezuela..... 7.8	Costa Rica..... 3.8	Ecuador..... 47.3
El Salvador..... 60.7	Puerto Rico..... 7.6	Colombia..... 3.1	Guatemala..... 52.7
Colombia..... 63.4	Costa Rica..... 5.2	Venezuela..... 1.6	Peru..... 64.0
Brazil..... 63.6	CUBA..... 1.8	CUBA..... 0.2	Honduras..... 52.1
Venezuela..... 63 or 64*			Venezuela..... 62.6
CUBA..... 70.4			CUBA..... 70.1

*Cited from memory. (Data from international health and food indexes, as reprinted in June 22 English-language weekly *Granma*.)

ney, according to Dr. Moises Jaime Baly-Baly of the Department of Control of Medical Doctors and other technicians.

For physicians, there is a pay differential between those trained before and those trained after the revolution. A specialist trained since the revolution makes \$600 a month, a general practitioner makes \$563 and a resident physician in training makes \$400. Those trained before the revolution make about 15% more. There are plans to give both groups substantial pay increases, Baly-Baly said.

Medical schools

Approximately 50% of the 6,000 doctors who were in Cuba before the revolution left the country soon after Castro came to power in 1959. However, the Castro government's heavy emphasis on health and education has resulted in the sharp rise in the number of doctors being trained.

Instead of the one medical school before the revolution, Cuba now has three medical schools plus four affiliated medical faculties that teach in training centers situated mostly in provincial hospitals. There are plans to have at least one medical faculty in each of the country's 14 provinces.

As of January, 1979, Cuba had 13,247 physicians, or 153 for every 100,000 persons. The U.S. rate is 193 doctors per 100,000.

The medical training emphasis in Cuba is on specialists (internists, obstetricians, pediatricians) to give primary care, rather than on family practitioners, as is now the case in the United States. The Cuban Ministry of Public Health believes it is essential to train doctors who are capable of practicing either in specialized hospitals or in outpatient clinics in the city or country.

After graduation, all physicians must spend three years in rural hospitals and clinics, which is how Cuba assures a continuous supply of doctors for remote areas. According to Dr. Fernando Llerdo, dean of the Institute of Basic and Clinical Sciences in Havana, it was common before the revolution for a new graduate never to have worked in a hospital.

Special training

A half-hour drive inland from Havana is a novel health facility called the Institute for Health Development. It was once a 1,200-bed tuberculosis hospital, but its main structure now houses economists, biostatisticians and various kinds of theorists whose chief job is to do research.

Their research is not biological, but rather is directed at finding ways to improve the manner in which health care is delivered to the people. Another function is to teach health administration.

"We educate to change the already established system," Prof. Mario Escalona said in an interview. "We teach people who will become the leaders of health administration in their countries."

Besides Cubans, the health administration class currently has five students each from Mexico and Spain and one each from Costa Rica, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Uruguay and Mozambique. Escalona said there may be an American student soon.

Dr. Ordonez offered an example of the kind of change triggered by the institute's research:

Until recently, he said, doctors working in polyclinics were not sufficiently oriented to the psychosocial needs of the patients. They were overspecialized and too much concerned with the diagnostic and curative aspects of medicine.

The new approach is what Ordonez called "the social conception of medicine—holistic and a better way to handle psychosomatic patients."

In line with Socialist thought, it stresses the social causes of biological problems—poor housing, discrimination and exploitation. (Cuban officials define holistic medicine as taking in the whole environment and not just what doctors do.)

Medical students spend part of their time working as nurses or sanitarians, according to Ordonez, in order "to

create workers with knowledge, skill and human attitudes—in other words, to develop the service mind."

In 1978, 579 new doctors were graduated from Cuba's medical schools and the output has been increasing sharply, according to Escalona. Plans call for 1,000 graduates a year in the near future.

About 10% of these graduates are expected to go to underdeveloped countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America with which Cuba has medical collaborative programs.

According to Ministry of Public Health figures, Cuba now has 2,626 health workers abroad, 1,316 of whom are doctors.

Cuban health officials seem unconcerned about overproducing doctors or building too many hospitals—topics that are of major concern in the United States.

Prof. Escalona stated the thinking this way: "In a Socialist country where the government is responsible for the people and where the needs of the people rather than the wants of the people are taken into account, the government has established that there is a need for a lot of doctors."

When the domestic need for doctors has been met, he continued, there will still be an international need. "It is a revolutionary duty," he said, "to meet the needs of other people."

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Harry Ring
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Militant/Harry Ring

uban emigres want to go back home

temporary refuge at the stadium, lamenting their decision to flee. Perhaps hundreds more in refugee camps elsewhere want to return to their homeland, said a United Nations official who is trying to help them return.

The regretful refugees are alone and miss their families. They are homeless and miss guaranteed housing in Cuba. They say longtime Cuban residents of Miami are too wrapped up in their work to bother with them.

More habituated to socialism than they may have known when they left Cuba, the refugees have become instant dissidents in the world's leading capitalist country. What Americans call the job market, these refugees call exploitation. What U.S. residents term competition, they call inhumanity.

For the moment, they have nowhere to go. The government of Fidel Castro in Cuba says the refugees cannot return.

The refugees wait, meanwhile, lulling in the cot-cluttered Orange Bowl. They are fed once a day and may sign up with social service agencies to find sponsors to clothe and feed them. Some

had stayed briefly with sponsors or friends before seeking shelter in the stadium.

The six in Alvarez' group said they had made an impulsive decision to come to the United States, and most left wives and children behind. If earlier in their short exile they echoed the tales of Cuban repression told by other refugees, they don't now.

"We abide by the laws; we're not criminals. We have no trouble with the authorities," Alvarez said.

"It was the excitement," said Alberto Estrada, explaining why he came to the United States. "I wanted to see what it was like. We don't have tourist flights from Cuba."

Estrada, 31, is a shoemaker. He said he never intended to stay, but he complained that the U.S. government has done little to help the refugees.

"If an immigrant arrived in Cuba, Fidel would dress him up and feed him, at least. Here we have this," he said, motioning to gate of the Orange Bowl's west end zone.

Estrada said Cuban residents of Miami take advantage of their new

compatriots. "They raise rents, they want to pay only the minimum wage—to exploit us. They say they suffered at the beginning. So why do they want to make us suffer? I expected more humanity," he said.

Luis Lopez Quiala, a young stevedore, nodded. He said he came to stay, hoping to bring his family. But he is disillusioned.

He combed his bushy, curly hair and said exile visitors to Cuba "cheated" on tales of the good life in the United States.

"They came to Cuba with pictures of themselves standing in front of a Cadillac. They said everything was marvelous. They didn't say you had to know English to get a job. They didn't tell you about the expense of medical care," he said.

Some Cuban exiles of longer U.S. residence say it was predictable that not all of the new refugees would fit in.

"They've never been in a competitive market before," said Cesar Odio, assistant Miami city manager and the official directly in charge of the Orange Bowl refuge.

Protest at Orange Bowl

MIAMI—A police SWAT team was brought in July 20 to put down a demonstration by 200 Cuban emigres housed in the Orange Bowl.

Police said some of the Cubans claimed they got the idea of a demonstration from successful attempts by Black Miamians to focus attention on their problems.

The homeless emigres, part of the 750 sleeping on cots under the stands of the sports stadium, had set up barricades to protest unsanitary living conditions, as well as reports that they might be moved to a military camp to make way for an August 9 exhibition football game.

When cops tried to arrest one of the demonstrators, a scuffle broke out.

The cop in charge of the operation said his team had used force "to show them they are guests in this country. . . . We had the SWAT officers mobilized anyway for the disturbances at Liberty City."

Cuba's top runner on sports and politics

'When we made our revolution, sports became a right'

By Harry Ring

Despite Carter's boycott, athletes from most countries will participate in this summer's Moscow Olympics. Among them will be Cuba's Alberto Juantorena, one of the world's greatest runners.

In the 1976 Olympics, Juantorena did something no other athlete had ever accomplished. He won both the 400-meter and 800-meter races, setting a new world record in the 800.

This past January, the U.S. magazine, *The Runner*, had a lengthy feature story on Juantorena.

The writer, Cary Goodman, was impressed with Juantorena and also with Cuba's national sports program.

Goodman went to Havana to interview Juantorena on the eve of the Barrientos Memorial Games, Cuba's national track and field championships, in which Juantorena was competing.

No-frills stadium

Arriving at the Havana stadium, Goodman noted that the facilities were modest compared to U.S. equivalents.

"Yet," he observed, "the stadium has a kind of dignity; it's not unlike a small-town high school football field that stands as the pride of the local booster club. The sheer enthusiasm of the crowd makes up for the plain surroundings."

After Juantorena ran to an easy victory in a 400-meter race, Goodman joined him and his children in the stand.

"The fans follow him as he moves up into the stands," Goodman writes. "But once he's settled alongside his family, his presence is taken for granted. There are no mobs crowding him for autographs, . . . Juantorena is accessible, therefore his privacy, when he wants it, is respected."

"He is a natural resource," Goodman explains, "that the Cubans take care not to exploit. He's public property in a country where public means 'ours.' In Socialist Cuba, sports is a constitutional right. All sports facilities are open to everyone all the time. . ."

A new ball game

To get a comparison with the past, Goodman talked with Raul Ruiz, vice president of the Cuban Sports Ministry (INDER) and an official of the International Council on Sports and Physical Education for UNESCO.

"Before the revolution," Ruiz said, "Cuba had athletes but no sports. Sports were the exclusive preserve of the rich and were dominated by what the United States wanted. . ."

"Racism and professionalism dominated the sports scene. The athletes in track and field, who were poor and mostly Black, had to resort to running or jumping because they couldn't afford any other sport."

"After the revolution," Ruiz continued, "INDER emerged. We have the power to direct, orient, and plan for the development of sports, physical education and recreation as an integrated whole."

"In line with this task, we have created Voluntary Sports Councils in workplaces, schools—all over. These councils are composed of people who have a talent for sports and want to contribute something by working in sports with others. These councils plus our voluntary sports activists are the backbone of sports in Cuba."

All major sports

The program is sweeping in scope, embracing every major international sport.

With INDER coordinating their efforts, thousands of Cubans manage or coach baseball and basketball teams and track clubs in their neighborhoods or workplaces.

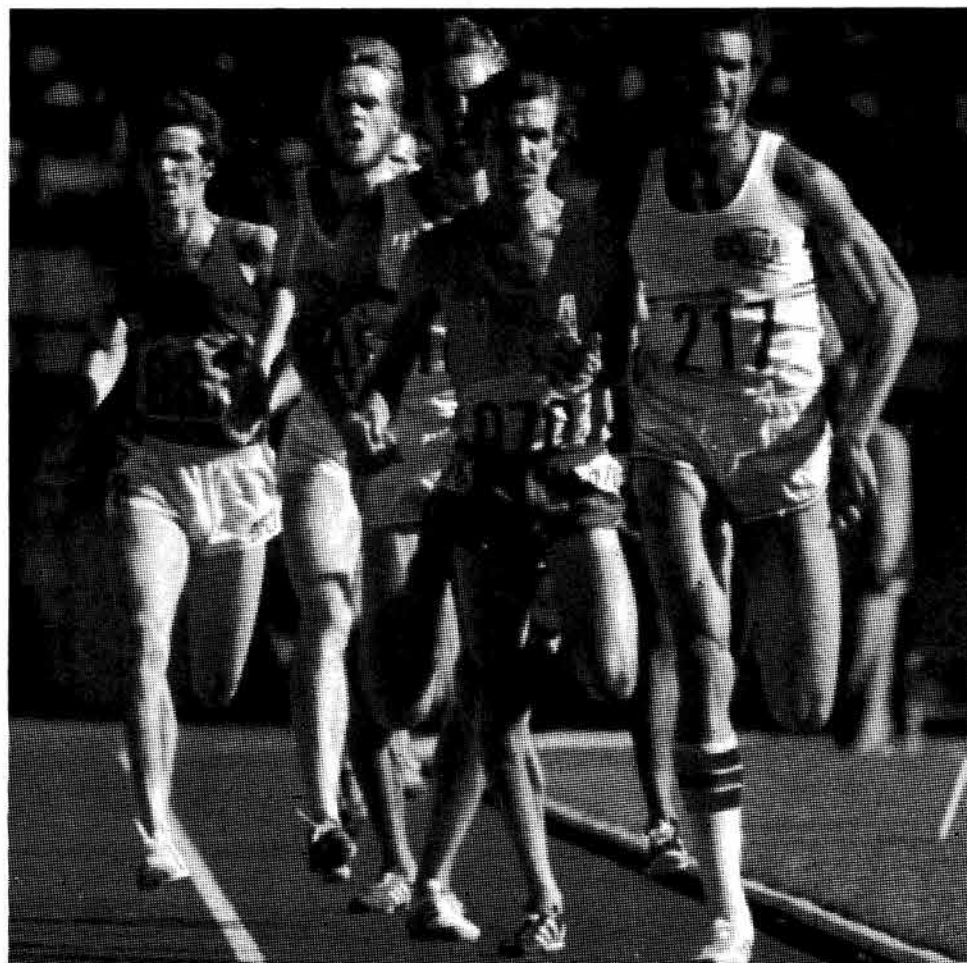
Ruiz estimates that about 1.6 million people between the ages of ten and forty participate in sports. Before the

physical exercise."

Elaborating on this, Juantorena says, "The capitalist athletes don't have the support of their government or the social-economic system. We do, every time. Often Fidel comes to the airport (to greet teams that have traveled) and says, 'Very good. Congratulations. Continue fighting for the Cuban people, for socialism.' This is the difference."

Discussing his own rigorous training schedule, Juantorena talks about the importance of his relationship with his coach.

Goodman adds, "We talk about how in the United States the relationship of trust between coach and athlete is sometimes distorted by the demands of a system which push a coach to get more out of an athlete than might otherwise be healthy."



Alberto Juantorena setting record in '76 Olympics

revolution it was only 25,000. But noting that Cuba has a population of 10 million, he adds, "You can see how far we must yet go."

Goodman comments: "If indeed Cuba has a long way to go . . . then it's clear they are determined to get there. A tour of Havana reveals that determination."

"Every neighborhood has at least one physical culture center, complete with baseball diamonds, running tracks, exercise rooms, Olympic size pools, a sports library, medical facilities, and a staff of trainers and coaches."

Returning to his interview with Juantorena, Goodman gets the Marxist view of sports. Marx, he's told, criticized capitalism because it "spares man the need of either fresh air or

Juantorena comments, "This does not happen in Cuba."

He explains how his coach is able to motivate him to do the necessary training and Goodman interjects, "But you don't run for your coach. Why do you run?"

'My revolution'

Juantorena, he says, replies "as fast as his burst from the starting blocks at the Barrientos games."

"I run for the Cuban people. I run for my revolution. I don't run for myself; I can't run for myself."

"I come from a poor people, my family was very poor. When the revolution came, my family had a job, had a normal standard of living."

"So now I can run. Before my revolution, my family did nothing sure."

Sometimes they were farmers, sometimes carpenters, sometimes fighting in the street. It was very difficult—unemployment. Horrible."

Goodman continues: "As he talks about his family and their plight before the Cuban revolution, Alberto's face is gripped with a look of sadness and resolve that lets you know he intends to do all he can to prevent a return to those days of great poverty and little promise. 'Without the revolution, I would not be a runner,' he notes pointedly."

"And perhaps this is why he volunteers to work some Sunday mornings in the factories of Havana or in the fields of its suburbs."

Juantorena explains: "The athlete is not superior to the whole society. You are a member of the society and sometimes I go to the field to work with the farmers and sometimes to the factory to be with the workers."

He continues: "As you see in Cuba, socialist athletes are normal people. They are working or studying or in the military. Teo Stevenson [the famed boxer] works in the sugar mills. I study economics, and when I graduate, I'll work as an economist for the government. We are the product of the socialization of sports."

Can you mix sports and politics? asks Goodman.

"Sports and politics are mixed; they always have been," Juantorena replies.

Sports are a right

"Take Cuba as an example. When the social relations changed, when we made our revolution, sports became a right. We began to produce national champions and to improve the health of our people."

"In most of the Latin American countries, on the other hand, there is much talented and yet they have no champions. Instead they have dictators."

Goodman asks Juantorena, twenty-eight, how long he expects to continue running.

Juantorena says that after the Moscow games, he hopes to participate in the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics and figures that will probably wrap up his career.

U.S. people OK

He comments that he likes Los Angeles and the people of the United States. He says:

"Luckily, the American people are different than the United States government. The American people fight against the U.S. invasion of Cuba at Playa Giron [Bay of Pigs], against the neutron bomb, against the Chinese invasion of Vietnam and the Vietnam War of the U.S. government."

"Our people have similar international points of view, but the governments are different."

Conceding he'll feel regret when his running career is over, Juantorena vows, "But when I can no longer compete, I'll continue to exercise and fight against the pot belly."

Belafonte, in Cuba, urges an end to blockade

In June, Harry Belafonte, the noted performer, had singing engagements in Cuba and in the country of his birth, Jamaica.

While in Cuba, he was interviewed by Gabriel Molina for the Havana paper, *Granma*.

In the interview, which was retranslated for the June 22 English-language issue of the paper, Belafonte said that the exchange of Cuban and U.S. performers should help pave the way for normalization of relations between the two countries.

"I want to be part of that," Belafonte

said; "I firmly believe the blockade should be lifted."

Belafonte described how his experiences with racism in the U.S. theater, and society generally, had radicalized his thinking.

He said that in 1948, he supported Henry Wallace on the Progressive Party ticket and in the McCarthy period he had been among the black-listed entertainers.

During that time, he said, as well as during the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1960s, he came to see

the world character of the liberation fight.

He added that through Cuban friends he had become familiar with the revolutionary struggle in Cuba before its triumph in 1959.

"Cuba's victory made me very happy," he said, "because I admire Fidel a lot. He came to the United States and extended a friendly hand to us."

"He went to Harlem, to the universities, and he gave some marvelous speeches. The people gave him an enthusiastic, joyful welcome and

flocked to see him.

"He went to Washington and I don't think any other world leader has ever had to fight so much indignity."

"We admire his integrity and his dignity," Belafonte continued. "Since then Cuba has survived . . . not only apart from the United States but even despite the blockade, and that constitutes a message to the peoples and to liberation movements the world over."

"My coming to sing here," Belafonte declared, "gives me an opportunity to express my warm feelings toward the Cuban people."

Workers resist Bolivian military coup

By Ernest Harsch

Within hours of the military coup in Bolivia on July 17, the workers movement began to mobilize massively to resist the takeover.

The powerful Bolivian Workers Federation (COB), which had been in the forefront of the resistance to previous coup attempts, again took the lead.

The National Committee in Defense of Democracy, in which the COB is a central participant, issued a call for an indefinite general strike.

It declared a "state of emergency and general mobilization" throughout Bolivia to fight the coup and called for organized civilian resistance, including the setting up of barricades to impede military traffic.

In La Paz, the Bolivian capital, students and workers erected barricades on July 17, digging up the streets for paving stones and gathering wood and tin from construction sites.

Signs reading "Death to the Fascist Coup Makers" and "Long Live the Bolivian Workers Federation" went up in the streets.

The general strike call met with a

good response from workers in La Paz.

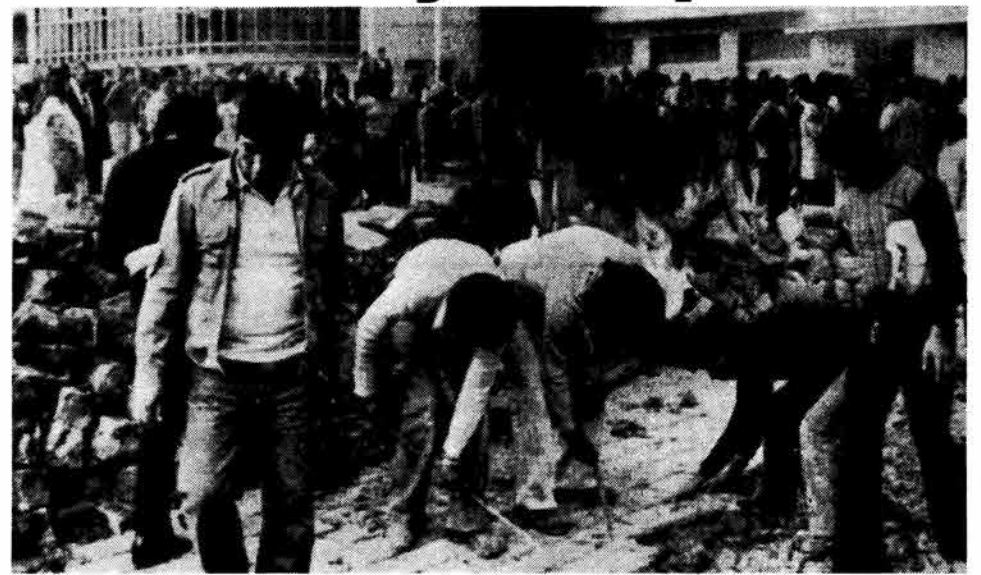
In the mining region in the south, thousands of unionized miners, many of them Indians, took up arms and barricaded mountain roads leading to the mines.

Radio stations under the control of the miners' union broadcast appeals for opposition to the coup. "We are going to resist the coup until the ultimate consequences," one broadcast declared.

The new military junta dispatched troops and tanks to the mining region to try to crush resistance.

The Democratic Solidarity Radio Network, which includes five union-controlled stations, reported July 20 that workers had clashed with troops in the tin and zinc mining region of Santa Ana, resulting in "many casualties." "A lot of working-class blood has been shed," it said.

Hernán Siles Zuazo, who received the largest number of votes for president in the general elections in late June, went underground following the coup and called for support to the COB-organized general strike.



Workers and students build barricades in La Paz streets.

Siles Zuazo, the leader of the bourgeois Left Revolutionary Nationalist Movement, was supported by the Bolivian Communist Party (CP). He had failed to win an absolute majority in the elections, but was widely believed to be the likely choice for president when Congress was scheduled to convene on August 4.

Siles Zuazo stated in a taped message that the new junta would try to make Bolivia "a huge cemetery in the very heart of South America." He appealed for "international solidarity to strengthen the struggle of the Bolivian people in quest of its freedom and its rights."

The military coup was not unexpected. For months, various military figures had made it clear that they were unhappy with the increasingly turbulent political situation, especially with the growing influence of the COB.

Worried that the weak and divided bourgeois parties would be unable to contain the resurgence of worker militancy, the generals finally decided to act.

The coup began in the northern city of Trinidad early on the morning of July 17. Troops then seized the Government Palace in the capital and detained President Lidia Gueiler Tejada, whose "resignation" was announced over the radio.

In La Paz, troops occupied the head-

quarters of the COB and seized a number of union leaders, including COB head Juan Lechín Orquendo.

Simón Reyes, a leader of the COB as well as of the Bolivian CP, was killed, as was Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, the presidential candidate of the Socialist Party-1 in the June elections.

Since 1978, when the Bolivian ruling class took some initial, timid steps toward relaxing the repression and restoring a semblance of democratic rights, the COB has greatly strengthened its political influence in the country. The Bolivian workers have also been inspired by the successful Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua and by the rise in revolutionary struggles throughout Central America and the Caribbean.

In a previous right-wing coup attempt in November 1979, led by Col. Alberto Natusch Busch, the COB led the resistance. After sixteen days of strikes and demonstrations, in which more than 300 people were killed by the military, Natusch was forced to step down.

The American imperialists are clearly uncomfortable with the coup—at least for the moment. Washington issued a statement expressing its "extreme disapproval." The U.S. government fears that it could backfire, like the Natusch coup attempt.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Int'l unions come to defense of kidnapped Guatemala unionists

The International Union of Food & Allied Workers Association, in a statement issued in Geneva, has sharply protested the kidnapping of twenty-seven Guatemalan trade-union leaders June 21.

The IUF said it held the Guatemalan government "entirely responsible for the physical and moral health" of the unionists, and demanded their immediate release.

In the United States, the AFL-CIO also protested the kidnapping.

The Guatemalan union leaders were abducted from the headquarters of the National Workers Federation (CNT), where they were meeting to discuss their response to the murder, within the preceding days, of several fellow unionists.

The complicity of the Guatemalan

government is indicated by the circumstances of the abduction.

The CNT headquarters is located in a crowded area of downtown Guatemala City. The area was cordoned off at the time of the kidnapping. The IUF reports that about sixty heavily armed men identifying themselves as state security forces broke into the headquarters with a jeep and stormed the building.

It was the boldest attack yet on the organized trade-union movement, and fear for the lives of the missing is high.

Workers at twenty Guatemalan enterprises went on strike to protest the kidnappings.

The IUF has also called on all its affiliates to protest the escalation of violence against trade unions in Guatemala.

...July 19

Continued from page 8

Castro devoted the final portion of his thirty-five-minute speech to Nicaragua's continuing and pressing need for reconstruction aid from abroad.

Despite the "miracles wrought in the revolution's first year," he said, "we must sadly conclude that only a few tens of millions of dollars is the effective aid received by Nicaragua up to now."

"We declared a year ago that a campaign of emulation was necessary among all countries" to aid Nicaragua. "We take the opportunity of this anniversary to reiterate the challenge and to appeal for this emulation in aid to Nicaragua."

"We even salute the aid that the United States is reportedly going to give. I only lament really and sincerely that it is so little, given the wealth of the United States."

"It is little for a country that devotes \$170 billion [a year] to military spending, for a country that according to projections is going to spend a million million dollars in the next five years on military items."

"How much more fruitful and beneficial those useless expenditures on the arms race would be if they were devoted to aiding the underdeveloped countries of the world—countries like Nicaragua that need so much."

U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Donald McHenry, who headed Washington's delegation to the July 19 event had "no further comment" when asked about the Cuban leader's chal-

lenge at a news conference after the rally.

Following the Cuban leader's speech, FSLN founder and Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge led the crowd in swearing renewed commitment to the revolution's goals—to carry the literacy campaign through to a successful conclusion, to join and strengthen the mass organizations and the Sandinista People's Militia, to keep boosting production in industry and agriculture, to provide solidarity to other peoples struggling for their liberation.

Expropriation of land

The final speaker at the rally was government junta member and Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega, who used the occasion to announce a new government measure that will mean an important deepening of the revolution in the countryside—the expropriation of huge tracts of idle land.

"The Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction," Ortega said, "will bring before the Council of State a draft law on agrarian reform covering the rational use of land. . . ."

"The revolution has provided facilities to the small, medium, and big landholders so that they could put their land to use, helping economic reactivation."

"But there are those who are not interested in responding to this call from the revolution, those who prefer to keep their lands idle instead of renting them out at the just prices the revolutionary government has established."

"It is not possible that while there are peasants who have to dig among rocks to plant their crops, latifundists and big proprietors hold fertile land they are not putting to any use. For this reason of elemental justice these lands will cease to be idle by means of the new agrarian reform law."

Terror in El Salvador

Ortega's speech also included a ringing condemnation of the terror and repression carried out by the Salvadoran junta and a stern warning against imperialist military intervention in El Salvador.

While Salvadoran government representatives sat uncomfortably on the platform, Ortega declared:

"We are in solidarity and we identify with the just and unstoppable struggle of the heroic Salvadoran people and their search for a new society dedicated to freedom and justice. . . . We condemn the crimes committed against that heroic people."

"We demand of the free, democratic, and progressive peoples of our continent and the world an attitude of firm condemnation in face of the genocide the Salvadoran people suffer and we demand a policy of nonintervention on the part of those who promote such solutions."

Ortega also condemned the July 17 military coup in Bolivia, pointing to it as a part of a broader effort to "halt the new winds" in Latin America and "destroy the example of unity the Latin American governments gave when Nicaragua was fighting against the Somoza dictatorship and against the threat of foreign intervention."

Finally, referring to U.S. Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan's support for Somozaist counter-revolutionaries, Ortega warned:

"Make no mistake, Mr. Reagan. Don't come on a witch-hunt in Nicaragua. Because we are ready here to sweep away all the garbage you want to throw at us."

"But none of our enemies forget that all the people of the world are with the Nicaraguan revolution—including the North American people, who enjoy our entire respect."

An impressive military parade by newly formed militia units from across the country, regular army troops, and police followed the rally.

It was led off by a contingent of some fifty weather-beaten peasants, seventy or more years old—veterans of the plebeian army that drove U.S. Marines out of Nicaragua under the leadership of General Sandino in 1933.

Also included in the parade were newly purchased artillery and anti-aircraft weapons as well as a display of armored vehicles, tanks, helicopters, and jet fighters, refurbished from the equipment Somoza's National Guard left behind.

A few moments after the last unit of the parade passed the reviewing stand, a heavy tropical downpour began to soak the departing crowd.

Its cooling effects were welcome after a long day in the hot sun, but it could not dampen the revolutionary spirit of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants or drown the thousands of voices still chanting, "In Nicaragua It Will Always Be the 19th of July."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Friedman urges indictment of Klan-Democrat

By Judy White

SAN DIEGO—"This rally is historic because it launches the Socialist Workers campaign against a Democrat who is an open Ku Klux Klan member," said Mark Friedman, SWP candidate for Congress in the Forty-third District, at a July 19 rally of his campaign supporters.

"Ever since the Ku Klux Klan was formed in 1865 and became the armed wing of the Democratic Party," he continued, "they have attacked and killed Blacks, and other working people."

"Last November, the KKK in Greensboro, North Carolina, gunned down five antiracist demonstrators in cold blood."

"On March 25, in Oceanside [California], my Democratic opponent in this congressional race, Thomas Metzger, led an armed assault on peaceful demonstrators."

"Ten days ago, Dovard Howard, a Black communications worker in Riverside, was shot down off a phone pole by racists believed to be the KKK. This took place just prior to a Klan rally at the local city hall."

Prolonged applause interrupted Friedman when he continued: "The KKK has carried out this violence and Metzger and the others should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law."

"The labor movement has a lot at stake in this race," Friedman pointed out. "We know that Republican incumbent Burgener voted against the common situs picketing and labor law reform bills in Congress. We know he supports increased military spending, which means fewer jobs. We have seen Burgener try to crush the Farm Workers union."

"Needless to say, the KKK does not support organized labor."

The socialist candidate addressed himself to the problem of small farmers, who make up 5 percent of the electorate in the Forty-third C.D.

"Working farmers are caught in the crisis of capitalism. The government denies their demand for parity, that is, recovery of their costs of production and a decent living standard for themselves and their families."

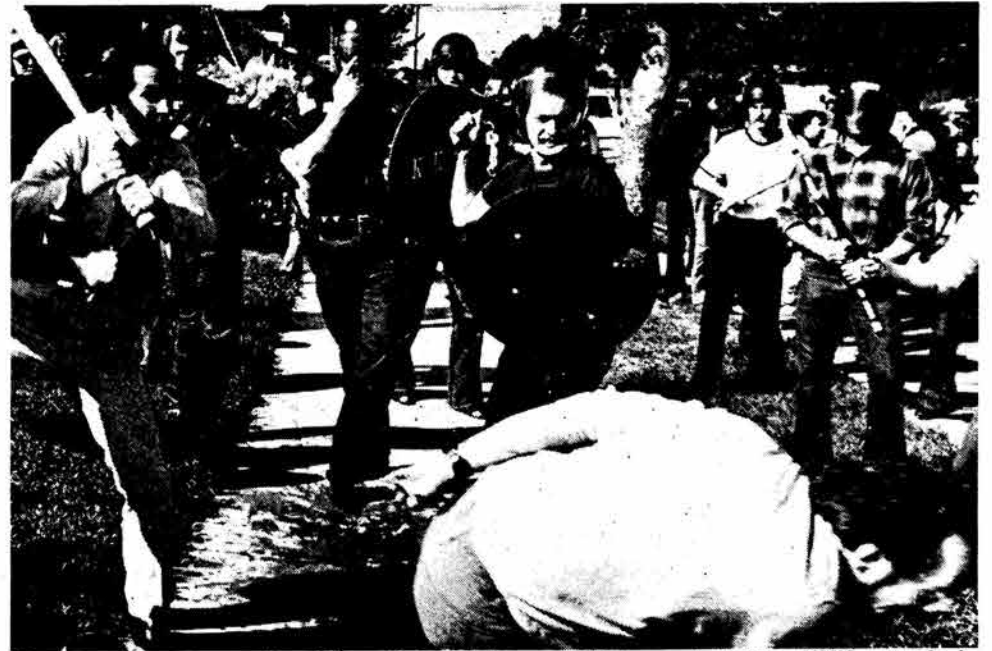
"At the same time, working farmers are often denied the special subsidies the government provides for the biggest growers."

"Big growers profit from illegally low farm assessments. There's a wealthy layer of about 250 growers in this area who got welfare to the tune of \$8 million a few years ago. Big growers recently won exemption from a 160-acre limit for federal water subsidies that was designed to protect small farmers and prevent the growth of agribusiness monopolies."

"Metzger and Burgener hide these facts. Metzger accuses Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, immigrants, and poor whites of being welfare cheats. But we know that the real welfare cheats in the Imperial Valley are the big growers and corporations."

The rally also heard SWP California senatorial candidate George Johnson. Johnson outlined the changes that have occurred in Nicaragua where the government of dictator Anastasio Somoza was overthrown one year ago. He received resounding applause when he said, "We look at year one of the Nicaraguan revolution and we wish it many more to come."

A high point of the rally was remarks by Seaside, California, Black City Councilman Mel Mason.



Democratic congressional candidate Thomas Metzger led this KKK attack in Oceanside, California, earlier this year.

"What's the difference between the Klan and the Democratic Party?" he asked. "I don't find too many of them, but I have listed here a few."

"First of all, with our economy in the condition it's in, there are a lot of scapegoats. One of the scapegoats having the trip laid on them the heaviest, of course, are Third World refugees and undocumented workers. Now the Klan says they want to kill the refugees and undocumented workers. The Democratic Party simply wants to send them back to where they came from."

"The Klan believes in terrorizing Black communities, poor communities that don't support their points of view. They do this terrorizing by using lawless violence. . . . The Democratic

Party says they don't believe in terrorizing, but the use police violence like in Liberty City."

"Now the Klan says it despises school desegregation. They say the quality of education gets lower for white people when you start bringing Black kids into the classroom. The Democratic Party doesn't say that openly. What it says is that they oppose busing to achieve school desegregation. . . ."

"The Klan says that affirmative action is discrimination against white folks. The Democratic Party says exactly the same thing."

Referring to the current protestations by the Democratic Party that Metzger isn't really one of theirs, Mason asked, "Can you imagine any organization that supposedly fights for the rights of people allowing a Klansman to come and run using its name? Can you imagine the Socialist Workers Party having somebody jump up out here someplace and say, 'Hey, I'm a Socialist Worker and I hate niggers and I hate Mexicans. . . . But I'm still a Socialist Worker. . . .'"

"If it happened in the SWP, the party would go all out, to make it publicly clear that this person was not a Socialist Worker, and to tell what a real Socialist Worker stands for."

"But we haven't seen the Democratic Party do that," he pointed out.

"Everytime Metzger opens his mouth, they conveniently say, 'Oh, he's not really a Democrat.' But if he's not really a Democrat, he's the most hellified honorary Democrat that I've ever seen," Mason said.

Mason pledged his "total and absolute support to Mark Friedman in the congressional race."

Other shared his sentiment, including two Black youths who were attending their first Socialist Workers event. The following day they attended the weekly meeting of the Young Socialist Alliance where plans were mapped out for the next stage of the Friedman campaign.

San Diego ballot drive wins support

By Judy White

SAN DIEGO—Despite attempted harassment from Ku Klux Klan members and daily temperatures soaring over 100 degrees, supporters of Socialist Workers Party candidate Mark Friedman advanced steadily in their ballot drive this week.

Thirteen thousand signatures have been collected so far. That already surpasses the 11,000 required by law to place Friedman's name on the ballot in the November elections.

Petitioners will continue gathering signatures through the coming week, however, in order to go even further over the requirement before filing the petitions with the board of elections.

The participation has been impressive. Supporters have poured into San Diego from Los Angeles, San José, San Francisco, Oakland, Salt Lake City, Cleveland, Louisville, the Minnesota Iron Range, North Carolina, Albuquerque, and Gary, Indiana, to aid San Diego socialists in the campaign.

New supporters have been recruited locally, as well. Among the most ener-

getic petitioners Saturday at Parkway Plaza, a large air-conditioned shopping mall in El Cajon, were Mary and Bill Holzhauser, eighty-one and seventy-nine years old respectively.

They came down to help out after a member of their church appealed to the congregation to participate in the petitioning.

"Are you in favor of the Ku Klux Klan in Congress?" Bill asked a middle-aged white woman on the mall.

"No? Then you'll probably want to sign this petition to get this man on the ballot against Metzger," he said, pointing to Friedman's picture on the campaign platform petitioners were distributing.

After explaining that Friedman is a socialist, he signed the woman up. In less than two hours he had gathered thirty-five signatures.

On Thursday, two young Klan supporters tried to block petitioning efforts in Parkway Plaza. They arrived with picket signs reading, "Think before you sign!! Socialist Workers Party = Communism. A 'signature' for the

Socialist Worker candidate is 'not' a vote against the Klan."

The Klan supporters were accompanied by an adult adviser, owner of one of the shops in the mall.

Their actions backfired, however. One angry shopper, Deborah Ciampoli, took the petition from an SWP member and started helping to gather signatures.

Merchants at the plaza took sides. One from Fallbrook, where Metzger lives, called the Friedman campaign headquarters to state his support for the socialists' right to petition on the mall.

The following day, several newspapers and one television station sent reporters to Parkway Plaza to cover the situation. The *Daily Californian*, the El Cajon paper, gave the incident prominent coverage, with a photo showing a campaign supporter signing up a voter while the Klan picketer stood by watching.

There has been no further harassment of petitioners at Parkway Plaza.

... Reagan

Continued from page 3

have their differences. But what is noteworthy is the bipartisan agreement on fundamentals. The Republicans favor what the Democrats have been practicing: a step-up in U.S. militarism in preparation for new wars.

The Republicans would like to accelerate the pace. But their leader, if elected, would be flexible enough to adjust his policies to what he could get away with. The same as Carter, in other words.

All through his administration Carter has been pressing to undo the "Vietnam syndrome"—that is, the legacy of antiwar feeling among the

American people—and reassert Washington's readiness to intervene militarily in other countries.

The nomination of Reagan does not, therefore, signal a bid for presidential power on the part of a right-wing fringe of the capitalist spectrum. On the contrary, it reflects the fact that the entire axis of capitalist politics has been shifting to the right.

In the person of Reagan the ruling class has found a candidate who openly and forcefully expresses that shift. The rulers count on Reagan's candidacy—even if he is not elected—to help push things further in that direction. That is why Reagan is treated much more seriously this year than in campaigns past.

Why, then, did Reagan invoke the name of Franklin Roosevelt in his acceptance speech? Why did he speak

of concern for the poor, for working people, for Blacks, for women? Why is it, as Clymer said, that "the Republicans are trying to look like Democrats this year"?

It is a pitch for votes, of course. But the fact that Reagan had to make his pitch in language that has tended to conceal his real program is significant.

It is capitalist politics that has shifted rightward, not the masses of working people.

Search for alternatives

Working people do not accept the attacks on their standard of living, the cutbacks in social spending, the blows dealt to Blacks, Latinos, and women. Increasingly the mood is one of bitterness and anger, and a search for alternatives to the austerity policies of the Carter administration.

Reagan is trying to capitalize on this mood by speaking of the "unprecedented calamity" that has befallen the country, by offering a "crusade" to turn things around, and by baiting his line with quasi-progressive demagoguery.

But working people are not looking for the antilabor, prowar policies that Reagan offers. No more than they want Carter's.

In the labor movement, there is growing receptivity to the idea of breaking away from the two-party framework and forming a labor party based on the trade unions.

As the Carter-Reagan convergence on an antilabor course becomes more apparent, the labor party mood is bound to grow, take shape, and begin to chart a way forward for working people.

'Nobody looks out for the workers'

Steel mill shutdown shakes Birmingham

By Nelson Blackstock
and Ellen Bobroff

BIRMINGHAM—With the end of the last shift on Saturday, June 28, some 3,000 employees at U.S. Steel's Fairfield Works found themselves out of a job. It brought to 5-6,000 the total laid off at Fairfield during the past year.

In the last week in June they shut down the last two furnaces. It is one of the few times no furnaces are operating since U.S. Steel took over the operation just after the turn of the century.

Steel is the bedrock on which Birmingham grew. The U.S. Steel Corporation dominates the steel industry here.

The layoffs have shaken the city. When all the figures are in, unemployment will almost certainly be at a ten-year high.

The news media are filled with stories on the layoffs. Their cause is pinned on foreign imports, excessive government regulation (including rules curbing pollution), high taxes on the industry, and an unproductive work force.

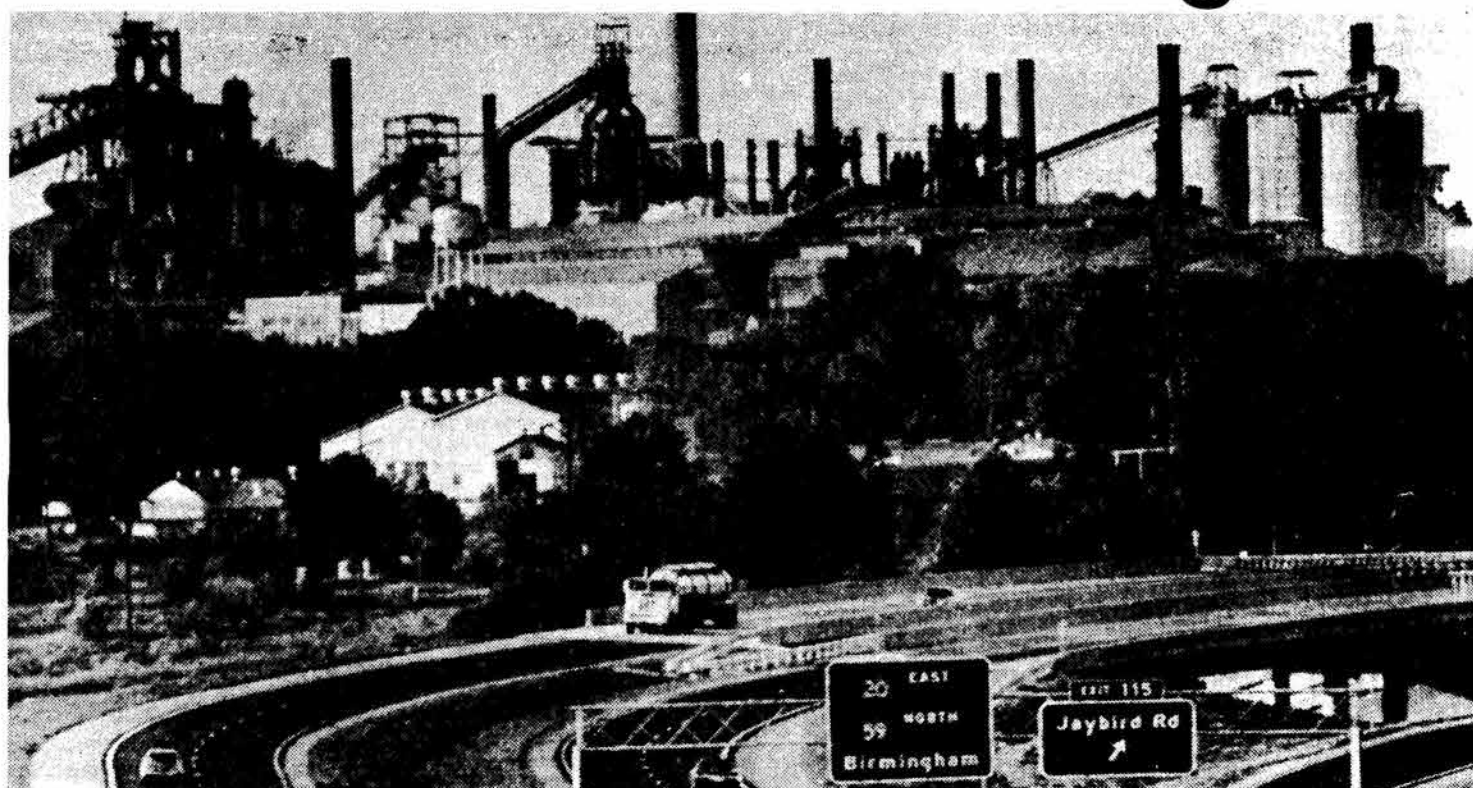
The morning the layoffs hit, the *Birmingham Post-Herald* featured a story purportedly telling how workers at Fairfield were responding.

The centerpiece of the article was the reaction of two retirees (whether they had been foremen was unclear) found passing the time of day at a shopping center near the plant. They were said to have given these reasons for the layoffs: U.S. Steel wants to "get rid of employees the company was forced to hire by the federal government under equal hiring practices"; the industry is burdened by too much government regulation; and the union is too strong. One was also quoted as bemoaning the fact that some of those laid off will be getting too much in unemployment benefits.

Political layoffs

Was this typical of what Fairfield workers were thinking? We were skeptical. We decided to find out for ourselves.

During the first three days after the layoffs, workers were to report to U.S. Steel's employment center to sign up for benefits. For two hours one morn-



Fairfield Works, 5-6,000 laid off. One of biggest shutdowns since 1900. Workers suspicious, blame 'politics.'

ing we wandered through the parking lot talking to them.

Three Black workers were leaning against a car and talking. Two had been at U.S. Steel for fifteen years, the other for twenty-nine.

They said workers who have been there more than two years can expect to get jobless benefits of just over \$200 a week for one year. Of this \$90 comes from state compensation. The rest from SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits). Workers with more than twenty years at the plant are expecting to get it for two years.

All three had worked on the railroad at the sprawling facility. One, who looked to be in his mid-forties, said he thought the layoffs were "political," a term we were to hear often.

"Nobody was doing much to look out for the workers," he said, "to keep the company in line."

When asked, he said he thought foreign steel was a factor. "But then I drive a Datsun. It's a better car. If they made a better car here, more people would be driving them."

"High wages might have something to do with the layoffs," he said, "but if the cost of living wasn't so high, we wouldn't need so much."

Out of control

As we talked, they greeted a passing white worker, who also worked on the railroad. He is twenty-six years old and has worked at the plant for eight years. Before that he played football at Auburn for a year. But he got married, needed more money, and went to work. He said most of his family has worked at the mill at one time or another. "I'm not sure what I'm going to do now," he said. "I might go back to college or I might leave the city."

What's behind the layoffs?

"It's bigger than me. It's bigger than the local. The decision wasn't made here. Nobody here can find out anything. Nobody here has any control."

"I think there's a lot more to this than we know about. I don't know if I believe that there's no steel orders. Foreign steel's a big problem, but I drive a Toyota."

A fifty-nine-year-old woman sat in the cab of a pickup truck, reading a book. Her husband had worked here thirty-three years. "He's eligible to retire soon," she said.

She cited imports and "bad workmanship" as reasons for the layoffs.

"Nine out of ten workers here drive foreign cars," she said. "American cars are not as good, but they ought to drive them anyway."

Multi-nationals

Next we talked to a forty-year-old Black man who had worked in the iron ore plant, processing the ore. He had been here seven years.

"I believe we'll be called back after the election," he said. "I don't think there's any reason for the layoffs. It's big business trying to put pressure on the government to do what they want."

"They might have needed to lay off some, but they didn't need to close down all these steel mills."

As for foreign imports, "with these multi-nationals you have companies over here who own the companies over there. They're hollering like they're hurt, but it's a trick."

"Big business has more control in government than the people," he said. "We're supposed to have one man one vote. But a corporation can buy millions of votes."

"Proctor and Gamble can go on TV and push propaganda and get our votes and get our opinions."

When asked about the proposal to nationalize closed facilities like Fairfield, he said the government has too

much control already. He would prefer a system he heard about on television whereby the workers own part of the company and get part of the profit. "That way they would work harder to try to make more," he said, "rather than trying to get out of work."

A crane operator in his mid-twenties said he was looking forward to the layoff. He was walking toward the car with his son, about five. It is not totally shut down now, so he'll be working alternate weeks through the summer. But if orders don't pick up then, he expects a longer-term layoff.

"It's all political," he stated. "Most companies are Republican and the Republicans are trying to gain by the layoff."

"The Democrats are more for the welfare-type state, as I understand it," he said. "And the Republicans are for big business. So I've been for the Democrats. The Republicans are always trying to get the rich richer. But nobody's for the working man anyway."

'Only interested in profit'

What about the union? Could it have done more to block the layoffs?

"We've got a good union. If we didn't have the union we wouldn't have SUB, or TRA [Trade Readjustment Allowance], or the good wages we get that allow you to put some back for a rainy day. We've got good health benefits."

He is a grievance committeeman with the union.

"The companies are only interested in one thing. Making a profit."

What about the needs of society as a whole? "They only have obligations to individuals, is the way they see it. Not social obligations."

The last person we talked to was a twenty-seven-year-old Vietnam veteran. He is Black. A scaleman, he's worked at U.S. Steel for six years.

What caused the layoffs?

"It might be because it's an election year. Could be politics."

"They say, 'layoff,' working people just have to go along with it. Just get laid off and cut back."

What emerges from these discussions is a picture quite different from that presented by the *Post Herald*.

While the workers don't have the answers, they have some of the right questions. By and large, they're not buying the line pushed day in and day out by U.S. Steel and their mouthpieces. Most didn't even mention the matter of foreign imports until we asked about it.

Most have a healthy class-based suspicion about the whole thing. They know they're being lied to, that they're not getting the whole story.

Oliver: 'Nationalize U.S. Steel'

Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Alabama, called the layoffs at U.S. Steel Fairfield Works "a severe blow to the living standard of Alabama workers."

"As a laid-off steelworker myself," Oliver said, "I know the hardship and misery caused by trying to eke out an existence on meager unemployment benefits. And like many other steelworkers I think we're being lied to by the steel bosses."

The first thing working people need to do, Oliver said, is find out the truth about U.S. Steel's state of

health. "All the company's books should be opened to public scrutiny. If U.S. Steel is telling the truth and can't be run for profit, the company should be nationalized."

"We need the steel," Oliver pointed out. "The production of such an essential commodity should be taken out of private hands. The industry should be nationalized and managed by a publicly elected board."

The socialist candidate said that laid-off workers should receive unemployment benefits at union wage scales for the entire time they're out of work.

"But there's no rational reason for us to be out of work in the first place. If the workweek were cut to thirty hours with no reduction in takehome pay, millions of new jobs would be created. We should take the billions being spent on the war budget and use that money for public works programs to build desperately needed housing, schools, hospitals, and mass transit."

"There is, however, no way the parties of big business, the Democrats and Republicans, will implement such a program," Oliver said. "The power of the union movement should be used to run working people for office on a program that places human needs before profits. We need a labor party."



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Mohammed Oliver, SWP senatorial candidate

In Review

Che Guevara Speaks. Selected Speeches and Writings. By Ernesto Che Guevara. Edited by George Lavan. Pathfinder Press reprint, 1980. 159 pp. \$3.45.

Dr. Ernesto "Che" Guevara was a young and daring Argentinian rebel in 1955. It was then he went to Mexico, met the exiled Cuban revolutionary Fidel Castro, and joined the ranks of the July 26 Movement.

In 1956, Che crossed over to Cuba on a small boat, the *Granma*, along with Fidel and his band of eighty-two guerrilla fighters. In Cuba, he fought in the Sierra Maestra mountains for two years, serving at first as doctor and becoming a top guerrilla leader.

In 1959 Fidel's Rebel Army was victorious, ousting the imperialist-backed Batista dictatorship. Along with Fidel, Che became a trusted and respected co-leader of the revolutionary government.

From 1959 to 1965 he served as president of the Cuban national bank and as minister of industry.

In 1965, Che left his Cuban home, his family, the people he loved, and joined the freedom fighters first in Africa and then in Bolivia. There, in October 1967, he was killed at the hands of the imperialist forces.

Che rose to international prominence for his uncompromising dedication as a revolutionary fighter. Che's words and actions remain an inspiring example for revolutionaries the world over.

Che had no regret whatsoever for fighting and sacrificing for the cause of the oppressed. In his last public statement he said, "Wherever death may surprise us, let it be welcome if our battle cry has reached even one receptive ear, and another hand reaches out to take up our arms."

The newly reprinted volume *Che Guevara Speaks* is a collection of speeches, articles, interviews, and letters spanning an eight-year period, from the time

'Che Guevara Speaks'



ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA

Prensa Latina

Books

the Rebel Army seized power in 1959 until Che's final statement, made public in spring 1967.

It's an inspiring anthology, which provides a truthful picture of how the Cuban revolution met its tests, sometimes making mistakes, in the face of continual U.S. threats and attacks.

New revolutionary leadership

In his introduction, Joseph Hansen, a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party until his death in 1979, explains the importance of this collection. Hansen's essay is a tribute to Che and offers some valuable observations on the nature and significance of Cuba's revolutionary leadership team. He writes:

"Something bigger even than Che is involved—the Cuban Revolution and its contribution toward solving the most crucial single problem facing humanity: the construction of a leadership capable of guiding the way out of an economic order reeking in every pore with corruption, filth and blood."

Che, Fidel, and the team they built, Hansen said, were "forerunners of a great new development in world politics—the rise of a generation of revolutionary fighters disinclined to accept either Moscow or Peking or any similar center as a kind of Vatican that in practice serves to stultify both revolutionary theory and practice."

They developed into effective leaders, Hansen continued, "committed to the socialist goal, whose outlook converged more and more with the classical revolutionary Marxist tradition that stood behind the October 1917 Russian Revolution."

Defending the revolution

The taking of power in January 1959 was but a stage in the struggle for the Cuban revolution, as Che saw it. Then came the enormous task of defending this outpost—the "first free territory of the Americas." The U.S. government imposed an economic blockade on Cuba. Vitally needed food, equipment, and medicine were cut off. How could Cuba survive and grow in the face of this hardship?

The only way Cuba could do it, Che firmly believed, was by relying on the revolutionary will of the people. The revolution's tasks and goals should be taken to the masses, to be discussed and decided collectively.

That's why, as the country prepared to launch a

national economic plan in 1961, Che appeared on TV, with charts and graphs. He explained to the Cuban people what the tasks were and what their role would be in achieving the plan.

We must be realistic, Che said. "It is not materially possible to satisfy in five years' time all the needs of people who have hungered for centuries for even a crust of bread."

He pointed to an error "caused by enthusiasm, the euphoria of victory," but nonetheless an error. The Sugar Federation projected a goal of six million tons of sugar by May 1, 1961. The goal was not met.

If the plan had been drawn up with mass participation, it "would have been automatically thrown out and that would have spared us this painful reality: that the revolution, the workers, who are the revolution's most important spokesmen, have said things which have not been done, have given the idea that there is a certain superficiality in the government's declarations."

War to the death

U.S. imperialism, with its propaganda, its lies, its threats and outright military attacks, tried to crush the Cuban revolution. Che and the other leaders understood this and prepared the workers and peasants to meet it head on. Che told the sugar workers in Santa Clara on March 28, 1961, just twenty days before the Bay of Pigs invasion.

"We are in a war . . . a war where there is no front line, no continuous bombardment, but where the two adversaries—this tiny champion of the Caribbean and the immense imperialist hyena—are face to face and aware that one of them is going to end up dead in the fight."

Che felt that Cuba had a great responsibility to provide an example for countries in Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia. He saw also that the best defense of the Cuban revolution was the extension of this revolution.

In his May Day speech of 1963 he said, "We are a showcase, a mirror into which all the peoples of America can look, and we must work to make our abilities greater every day, and our disabilities fewer."

"We must not return to the practice of hiding our defects so they may not be seen. That would be neither honest nor revolutionary. They will learn also from our mistakes, from our errors, the *compañeros* from America and other countries of Asia and Africa who are fighting today for their independence."

Soviet aid

In February 1965, addressing the Organization of Afro-Asian Solidarity, Che gave one of the most important speeches of his career. It is included in full in this volume.

Drawing on Cuba's experience, Che explained why countries struggling to overcome "underdevelopment" (that is, imperialist exploitation), achieve genuine independence, and eradicate poverty and backwardness can do so only through socialist revolution.

Much of the speech laid out in the sharpest terms the responsibility of the Soviet Union and other workers states to aid this process. "The development of countries now starting out on the road to liberation should be paid for by the socialist countries," Che declared.

For the workers states to trade with underdeveloped countries at world market prices, he said, would be to act as "accomplices of imperialist exploitation." They should buy the products of developing countries *above* capitalist market prices, as the Soviet Union does with Cuban sugar.

They should provide long-term credit on favorable terms to underdeveloped countries; help foster the growth of basic industries; provide technical and educational assistance.

The obligations of the workers states are not only economic, Che continued:

"Arms cannot be regarded as merchandise in our world. They should be delivered to the peoples asking for them for use against the common enemy without any charge at all, and in quantities determined by the need and their availability. . . .

"To the ominous attacks by American imperialism against Vietnam and the Congo, the answer should be the supplying of all the defense equipment they need, and to offer them our full solidarity without any conditions whatsoever."

Readers will find in this speech the principles that are guiding Cuba's foreign policy today in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in Africa, in Latin America, and on every battlefield.

Internationalist

Che was an internationalist.

An Argentinian, he fought in Cuba, and in his final days, as he fought to extend the revolution in Bolivia, appealed for solidarity and aid to Vietnam.

He spoke of the imminent need to extend the revolution being fought in that Asian country. "How close and bright would the future appear if two, three, many Vietnams, flowered on the face of the globe."

Che never wavered in his commitment. He sacrificed all for the cause of international socialism. And more than that, he never lost his great love for humanity. "The true revolutionary," he said, "is guided by a great feeling of love. It is impossible to think of a genuine revolutionary lacking this quality."

Leaving for Bolivia, in his final letter to Fidel; he wrote: "The time has come for us to part. I want it known that I do it with mixed feelings of joy and sorrow: I leave here the purest of my hopes as a builder, and the dearest of those I love. And I leave a people who received me as a son. That wounds me deeply. I carry to new battlefronts the faith that you taught me, the revolutionary spirit of my people, the feeling of fulfilling the most sacred of duties: to fight against imperialism wherever it may be."

It is no wonder that the vow of Cuba's young Pioneers, the children of the revolution, the new generation of internationalist fighters who will help spread the socialist revolution to every corner of the earth, is: "We will be like Che."

—Priscilla Schenk

The Great Society

Harry Ring



The pain varies—Reagan is well known for his principled, hard-nosed dictum, "Taxes should hurt." Like, for instance his mountaintop ranch retreat overlooking the Pacific. He bought it for half a million and present value is about \$1 million. State taxes should be about \$42,000. But it's listed as an "agricultural preserve," assessed at \$20,000, with a tax last year of \$900.

Oh—Engineers finally pried open the stuck door leading into the Three Mile Island reactor containment building. AP reported they gathered radiation data and "found that radiation levels inside the building are as expected."

Seems qualified—Financier Walter Wencke, a fugitive who failed to show

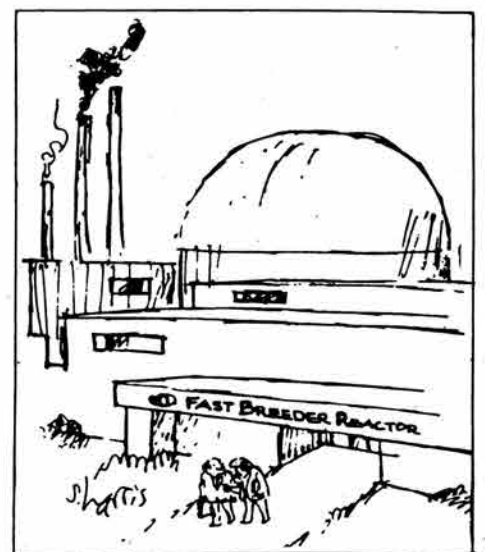
up to do a five-year term, has applied for a job with the CIA. San Diego area officials hunting for him obtained a copy of his application letter which explained how well he had looted a corporation and, rather than wasting his time in jail, "I would prefer to spend it productively utilizing my knowledge for the benefit of the government."

Got the majority outnumbered—There's a reason for the crime in Los Angeles County, says Sheriff Peter Pitchess. "The minorities are creating problems. Minorities make up 70 percent of the population in Southern California. They are all types of people."

Integrated collection—James

McLane, a collector, bought an autographed photo of the ex-shah posing with his spouse and the Carters. McLane conceded the Iranian butcher had made some mistakes, "but he's not as bad as some people say." At the same auction, McLane acquired photos of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki autographed by the pilots who dropped the A-bombs, plus some Adolph Hitler stamps.

With justice for all—Ernest Gabel of Dallas was convicted of stealing a silver tea service. Because it was his third conviction, he got life. Meanwhile it was disclosed that Rep. Jim Collins of Dallas was voting against measures to reduce the U.S. silver stockpile while speculating in the stuff. He pocketed \$160,000.



"What we must decide is, if there is an accidental nuclear explosion that wipes out this entire part of the country, do we pass the cost on to the consumer?"

Women in Revolt

Suzanne Haig



Quebec: Mounties vs. women's job rights

The following is a guest column by Katie Curtin.

MONTREAL—The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) played a big role in the firing of three women at the Pratt and Whitney Aircraft plant here last November. Evidence to that effect was revealed recently by the Quebec Human Rights Commission.

The RCMP is Canada's federal police. Parallel to the exposures of FBI crimes in recent years there have been the same kind of revelations about dirty tricks and disruption programs organized by the RCMP.

The three women, Suzanne Chabot, Katy LeRougetel, and Wendy Stevenson, are members of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL, Canadian sister party of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party). The three filed complaints with the Human Rights Commission claiming political and sexual discrimination. They had been fired just days before the end of their probationary period.

The commission report reveals that at the beginning of the women's fourth week at Pratt, the RCMP conducted an inquiry about them with high-level company officials. The vice president of per-

sonnel and the director of industrial relations were asked to keep a close watch on them. The surveillance was conducted by labor relations counselors without the knowledge of the foremen.

The Human Rights Commission concluded that the visits by the RCMP agent played a decisive role in the company's decision to fire the women.

This report refutes Pratt's original claim that the three were laid off due to a surplus of personnel. It shows that the week following their dismissals, twenty-four new employees were hired, including some for the positions held by the three.

The report also proves that there was no complaint from Pratt management about the quality of their work. One of the women had been promoted, in fact, and the progress reports by foremen on the other two praised them highly.

The finding of the Quebec Human Rights Commission is that Pratt and Whitney is guilty of political discrimination. The company is called on to rehire them and pay close to \$30,000 in back wages and damages.

The ruling by the Quebec Human Rights Commission does not have the force of law. If Pratt continues to refuse to comply with the recommenda-

tion, the case could go to court.

The revelation of RCMP involvement represents a breakthrough in this case. It raises important questions about police involvement in other attacks against the labor movement.

The Committee to Defend the Pratt Three has already won important labor backing. A May 24 public meeting on the case held in Montreal heard speakers including Ginette Boursier, a representative of the Montreal Labor Council of the Quebec Federation of Labor; Grant Hargrave, a member of United Auto Workers Local 510 at Pratt; Robert Bouchard, a staff member of the Communications Workers of Canada; and well-known feminist and civil rights fighter Simone Chartrand.

Support and contributions are needed for this important defense of civil liberties and women's rights. A victory against Pratt and Whitney, which is an American company, will set an example for the labor movement in both Canada and the United States. It will be a blow against RCMP and FBI dirty tricks.

The Defense Committee for the Pratt and Whitney Women can be contacted at 4271 Chambord, Montreal, Quebec. Phone (514) 521-2791 or 522-2889.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

CUBA: TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF REVOLUTION. AN INTERNATIONALIST EXAMPLE. Speakers: Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; representative of Guyana National and Friends; others. Sun., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

RALLY IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE REVOLUTIONS IN CUBA, NICARAGUA, AND GRENADA. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president; Pedro Camejo, SWP 1976 presidential candidate; Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate; Dennis Brutus, exiled South African poet. Sat., July 26, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash, 7th floor. Donation: \$3. Aup: SWP Campaign and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

HOW TO STOP THE DRAFT. Panel discussion: Bob Bersen, Young Socialist Alliance; Sigfredo Carrion, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Ken Milner, anti-Vietnam War activist; others. Tues., July 29,

7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. (near Broad). Donation: \$1.50. Aup: YSA. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK CAPITAL DISTRICT

REGISTRATION AND THE DRAFT: THE DRIVE TOWARD WAR. Speakers: Pat Mayberry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 28th C.D.; Mark Emanation, Young Socialist Alliance. Mon., July 28, 7:30 p.m. Emanuel Baptist Church, 218 Nott Terrace, Schenectady. Aup: SWP 1980 Campaign and YSA. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

REGISTRATION AND THE DRAFT: THE DRIVE TOWARD WAR. Speakers: Pat Mayberry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 28th C.D.; Mark Emanation, Young Socialist Alliance. Wed., July 30, 7:30 p.m. 103 Central Ave., Albany. Aup: SWP Campaign and YSA. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

NEW YORK CITY

SOLIDARITY WITH EL SALVADOR. A meeting with representatives of the Democratic Revolutionary Front. Wed., July 30, 7 p.m. Ethical Culture Society, 2 W. 64th St. (near Columbus Circle). Donation: \$2. Aup: Committee to Welcome the Democratic Revolutionary Front. For more information call (212) 255-7156.

NORTH CAROLINA WINSTON-SALEM

THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN CENTRAL AMERICA. Slide show: "Nicaragua: challenge of a revolution." Speaker: Douglas Cooper, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Sun., July 27, 7 p.m. 216 E. 6th. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO CINCINNATI

AN EVENING IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. Speakers: Sister Stephanie Lindsay, just returned from fact-finding tour of Central America; Kathleen Grant, Young Socialist Alliance; Jonathan Weissburger, delegate to 1978 World Festival of Youth and Spirit sponsored by Cuba; Valerie Libby, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 26, 7:30 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

CLEVELAND

GRAND OPENING OF CLEVELAND SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS. Speakers: John Powers, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Sat., July 26, 5 p.m. reception; 7 p.m. dinner; 8 p.m. rally; 9 p.m. party. 2230 Superior Ave.

Donation: \$6 dinner and rally; \$1.50 rally only. Aup: SWP campaign. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

OREGON PORTLAND

THE CONTINUING ATTACKS ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT. Speakers: Ken Stern, attorney for American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks and member of National Lawyers Guild. Slide show: "The Question That You Ask." Sun., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS HOUSTON

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Revolution in Central America and the Caribbean. Sun., July 27, Class 1: Speaker: Alexis Irizarry, Socialist Workers Party. "Nicaraguan Revolution: an eyewitness report and slide show." 12 noon. Class 2: A panel discussion on Cuba, El Salvador and Grenada. 2:30 p.m. University of Houston, University Center, Parliament Room. Donation: \$1 each class. 5 p.m. barbeque and party: \$3. Aup: Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. For more information call (713) 524-8761.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

The right to revolution

July 26 is a historic date of the Cuban revolution. On that day in 1953, a determined group of young revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro stormed the Moncada military barracks in Santiago de Cuba.

They aimed to take the garrison, win arms, capture the local radio station, and summon the people to rise against the hated Batista dictatorship.

The rebel forces were smashed. Seventy of them were slain. Many others, including Fidel, were arrested and jailed.

The battle was a defeat. But they did win the war.

Jailed, released, deported, they returned from Mexico at the end of 1956 and, with a tiny band, launched a guerrilla war. They won broad worker and peasant support and two years later the July 26 Movement took power.

Their revolutionary program had been outlined by Fidel in his speech to the court October 16, 1953, when he was tried and convicted for his role at Moncada. The following is the closing of that momentous speech, entitled *History Will Absolve Me*.

* * *

How was the Prosecutor to justify Batista's right to power, when he obtained it against the will of the people, violating by treason and by force the laws of the Republic? How was he to qualify as legitimate a regime of blood, oppression, and ignominy? How was he to call a government revolutionary, when it was composed of the most reactionary men, ideas, and methods of our public life? By what right can he send to jail citizens who came to give their blood and their lives for the honor of their country? That would be a monstrous thing in the eyes of the nation and in the face of principles of true justice!

But we have one more reason on our side, a reason stronger than all the others: We are Cubans, and to be a Cuban implies a duty; not to fulfill this duty is to commit a crime, to commit treason.

We are proud of the history of our country. We learned it in school; as we grew up, we heard people speak of liberty, justice, rights. Early in life we were taught to look up to the deeds of our heroes and martyrs. The names Céspedes, Agramonte, Maceo, Gómez, and Martí were the first ones to be engraved in our minds. We were told that the titan Maceo had said that you do not beg for freedom, but you win it with the edge of the sword.

We were taught that for the education of the citizens in a free country, Martí had written in his *Edad de Oro*,

"The man who conforms to obeying unjust laws and permits the man who mistreats him to trample the country in which he was born is not an honest man. . . . In the world there must be a certain amount of honor, as there must be a certain amount of light.

"When there are many men without honor, there are always others who have in themselves the honor of many men. These are the one who rebel with terrible force against those who rob the people of their right to be free, which is the same as robbing men of their honor. In those men there are thousands of men, a whole nation, human dignity itself."

I conclude my defense, but I shall not end it as all lawyers for the defense do, asking for acquittal of the defendant. I cannot ask for acquittal when my companions are already suffering in the ignominious prison on the Isle of Pines. Send me there that I may share their fate. It is conceivable that honest men should be dead or in prison when the president is a criminal and a thief!

To you, Your Honors, my sincere gratitude for having allowed me to express myself freely, without base coercion. I feel no rancor toward you. I recognize that in some aspects you have been humane, and I know that the presiding judge of this court, the man of unimpeachable background that he is, cannot disguise his repugnance for the reigning state of things which forces him to dictate an unjust verdict.

There still remains for the court a graver problem to solve. I am referring to the seventy cases of murder which should be more aptly called the greatest massacre we have ever known [of young rebels in the aftermath of Moncada].

The guilty ones are still at large carrying their weapons, and that is a perennial threat to the lives of citizens. If the full weight of the law does not fall on them because of cowardice or because the court cannot do anything about it, and as a consequence thereof all the judges do not resign to a man, I bemoan the honor of your names and I weep for the unprecedented stain that will besmirch judicial power.

As for me, I know that jail will be as hard as it has ever been for anyone, filled with threats, with vileness, and cowardly brutality; but I do not fear this, as I do not fear the fury of the miserable tyrant who snuffed out the life of seventy brothers of mine.

Condemn me, it does not matter. *History will absolve me!*

'Legalized thievery'

Opposition to the Army's decision to acquire about a quarter of a million acres of land in southern Colorado for Ft. Carson training maneuvers has been organized and strong, bringing together ranchers, environmental groups, individual citizens, legislators.

A series of ten public hearings on the Draft Environmental Impact Statement, two in each of five southern Colorado towns, wound up with those in Colorado Springs, home of Ft. Carson. This is probably the most military-impacted city in Colorado and the only one that stands to benefit economically, they think, from the expansion. Even there the only support for the land acquisition appeared to come from Chamber of Commerce people, retired military, realtors.

The ranchers, whose homes and livelihood would be taken from them [by Fort Carson's expansion] at the Army's own price, point to the impact this would have on the cattle

business and hence on the economy of the area. They also, along with environmentalists, are concerned about the dust and noise, additional salinity in the river, possible increase of anthrax (a hazard to both cattle and people).

Ironically, the pro-expansion forces stress patriotism and national defense, hauling in Iran and Afghanistan, and then turn around and accuse the ranchers and environmental groups, who are talking facts, of being emotional. The ranchers consider themselves patriotic, but feel it is more in the national interest to feed people than it is to destroy a quarter of a million acres of useable land by mechanized training of tank troops.

One speaker at the Colorado Springs hearing called what the Army is attempting to do "legalized thievery," and said when you hear the term, "military defense" you want to be careful.

Lois Remple
Pueblo, Colorado

'Quality Upgrade' at Ford

As a *Militant* subscriber and a Ford worker at Metuchen, I'd like to respond to John Gaige's article in the July 18 issue concerning the "upgrade program." Through no fault or action of my own—I was simply told one day I'd been chosen—I am an "upgrade."

Actually, I am a Quality Upgrade General Utility worker (it's not me that is being upgraded, rather it's the quality of the Escort/Lynx world car). Thus, I am separated from the regular GU's or, in management lingo, Absentee Replacement General Utility.

Contrary to John's statements, we are specifically supposed to help people out of the hole, give emergency relief calls and get stock as well as teach new employees operations and, most controversial, correct workers who are doing jobs "incorrectly."

Some of this, I agree, reeks of "assistant foreman" since many foremen, despite contract rules, do perform such tasks. Official statements I've heard, though, only come as close as saying we will "assist the foreman." Such a semantic difference is bound to create confusion.

John says that Ford wants to "weaken the union by blurring the lines between management and workers." Ford, of course, sees it differently, proclaiming that it's the first time workers have a chance to decide how a car is going to be built. This is something the union has always wanted and always been denied and it seems a rather odd way to go about it—by avoiding the union and leaving the bulk of our fellow workers in the dark.

My main concern with John's article is the implication that, as an upgrade GU, I am a company stooge or fink and have turned my back on my union brothers and sisters.

I get the impression that there are two types in the

program—those who are "bucking for foreman" and echo all the anti-worker, anti-union, anti-import statements the management feeds us and the rest are like me, wondering what we did to "deserve" this, totally uncomfortable with having to "correct" our brothers and sisters on the line, yet fascinated by seeing how management thinks and acts close up.

Why not just leave the program? We are told to "bail out" if we don't want to see the program work, to quit if we can't take the pressure but, remember, the plant's survival rests on the success of the new Escort, and the success of the Escort depends on quality and since we (the Quality Upgrades) are responsible for quality, we might as well all just "go down and take our place in the unemployment line 'cause that's where we'll all be" if we don't want to be upgrades.

When one GU still spoke up after such an obvious attempt at a guilt trip, he was verbally abused for 15 minutes, told he could forget about any other transfers or promotions, and we all got the message—volunteer, or life around here can become very unpleasant. Even bidding on other jobs and getting them didn't work as a back door out of the program since, come the next upgrade conference, you'd find yourself an upgrade again.

So, whether I like it or not, I'm an upgrade. This does not mean I've abandoned my ideals and become a company stooge. I don't think I've broken the principle of solidarity and I hope John doesn't create a division between his brothers and sisters on the line and his brothers and sisters who are victims, um, I mean, participants in the Quality Upgrade Program.

E.V.D.
Edison, New Jersey

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A resource

Enclosed is a contribution I was unable to give a few months ago when the "Hands off Iran" supplement was printed. I am now able to do so, due to a rare cost-of-living pay increase. Although I do not agree with all of the views expressed by the *Militant*, I find I use your paper as a resource more and more.

S.E.
San Francisco

More 'Kramer'

In the review of *Kramer vs. Kramer* in the July 4 *Militant*, Suzanne Haig states that the film "is a subtly constructed argument for those opposed to women's rights." To the small extent that this movie's message relates to women's rights issues, it is wrong to claim that its point of view is negative.

In several areas it contains themes with which supporters of women's liberation can identify positively. The traditional tasks of the mother become the responsibility of the father. There is no hint that it is somehow unnatural for a man to perform these functions so long considered fit only for a woman.

The emptiness of a life exclusively oriented to housework and parenthood and the reasons for the lack of fulfillment that women who are trapped in these roles often feel is convincingly portrayed. These aspects of the movie have no anti-feminist content. On the contrary, it is in part the impact of the feminist movement that makes commercial distribution of a movie with such messages possible.

But that is not the main point. The main message of this film deals with the social difficulty surrounding child custody in divorce cases. This is not necessarily entirely an issue defined basically on a pro- and anti-women's rights basis. On this issue the film is an intelligent, mature, and moving statement.

The review does not approach the movie from this point of view. It completely neglects the issue of child custody. It is this issue that people are thinking about after they see this movie.

The review is wrong in its evaluation of this film. But it is more irrelevant than it is wrong.

Pat Cleveland
Corona, New York

Correction

In the July 25 issue of the *Militant*, a vote total was inadvertently omitted from the article "UAW loses representation vote at Ala. GM plant" (page 8). Final vote count in the recent union recognition election at the Decatur, Alabama, plant was 714 opposed, 661 in favor.

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.

Learning About Socialism

Cuba: record of a discussion

A new Education for Socialists booklet has been prepared by the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party and published by Pathfinder Press. It is titled: 'Revolutionary Cuba Today: The Record of a Discussion.'

The following is based on the introduction, written by SWP leader Doug Jenness.

The three gigantic mobilizations in Cuba in April and May 1980, responding to military threats from U.S. imperialism, are powerful testimony to the dynamism of the Cuban revolution. The largest of these mobilized half of the island's population.

Twenty-one years after the revolution, the Cuban people and their leadership maintain their revolutionary perspective, in spite of all the attempts by imperialism to beat them down.

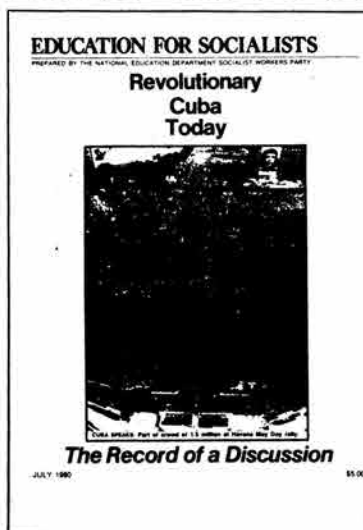
The revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua have greatly strengthened the Cuban revolution and, as Fidel has observed, reinforced the confidence of the most revolutionary-minded and internationalist forces in Cuba. At the same time, the extension of the socialist revolution in this hemisphere has dealt a blow to the careerists, routinists, and bureaucratic-minded elements in Cuban society.

The Nicaraguan revolution is also inspiring the oppressed masses throughout the Caribbean and Central America, including thousands of revolutionary fighters who want to make the socialist revolution in their countries. Most notable now is the struggle taking place in El Salvador.

The revolutionary developments in the Caribbean and the grave threats by Washington to counter them are occurring in the context of a weakening U.S. imperialism worldwide. Ever since the 1975 victory in Vietnam, the relationship of forces has continued to shift against the imperialist rulers and to the benefit of the toiling masses. Furthermore, the deepening economic crisis in the imperialist countries is placing increasing pressures on the working class, leading to a growing radicalization and militancy.

Sizing up this situation, the revolutionary socialist leadership in Cuba has taken bold initiatives in the fight against imperialism. It has become a bigger and bigger factor in world politics. But more than that, its own political consciousness is being expanded as it learns from these new developments in the class struggle, especially from the growing centrality of the urban working class in struggles within both the imperialist and semicolonial countries. The Cuban leadership is taking further steps in deepening its Marxist understanding of world politics.

The changes in the world political situation, their relationship to Cuban society and the Castro leadership, and Cuba's role in world politics have opened up an important political discussion among revolutionists outside Cuba. The



documents and articles included in this selection represent the initial stage of discussions in the Socialist Workers Party on these important developments.

In the report adopted by the SWP's 1979 national convention, included in this selection, SWP leader Larry Seigle notes that for a period of several years during the early 1970s, the party stopped following the developments in Cuba as closely as it did in the 1960s. We did not read carefully the main speeches and reports of the central Cuban leaders or their press nor did we send reporters to observe first hand what was happening in Cuba. Very little was written in the party's press to inspire members and sympathizers and other readers with the achievements of the revolution or to explain the latest developments.

Following the blows dealt to imperialism in Africa, in which the use of Cuban troops played a key role, the party took a fresh look at the Cuban revolution and began to catch up on what had been happening there. As the discussion in the party unfolded, different evaluations were expressed.

A few party members held that the Castro leadership had become Stalinist and should be replaced through a political revolution in Cuba. Some others argued that Cuba is a state capitalist society.

Since so many SWP members and sympathizers of the party were unfamiliar with the SWP's early discussions and positions, Pathfinder Press published in 1978 the principal articles and resolutions on Cuba written by long-time SWP leader Joseph Hansen. They are available in *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution: The Trotskyist View*, Pathfinder Press, \$5.95.

At the conclusion of an organized discussion in the SWP leadership and membership extending over a full year, with an extensive written discussion, the overwhelming majority of the party voted to uphold the SWP's defense of the Cuban revolution and the revolutionary character of its leadership.

This new booklet includes the report and resolution on Cuba adopted by the 1979 SWP convention, an article by *Perspectiva Mundial* editor José Pérez on his observations of Cuban society after visiting the island with the Antonio Maceo Brigade, and an article by Joseph Hansen from the 1977 SWP discussion defending the party's established positions on Cuba.

Also included are two articles from the party discussion over the 1977 Ethiopia-Somalia war and Cuba's role in it, and two articles debating whether the Castro leadership is revolutionary or centrist.

Studying the thorough discussion of Cuba that the SWP has carried out is one of the best ways to gain a deeper understanding of the people and leadership that are playing such a big role in advancing the world revolution today.

Revolutionary Cuba Today: The Record of a Discussion is available for \$5 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 or from the offices listed below.

Please send questions you would like to see answered in this column to: Stu Singer, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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THE MILITANT

Behind new Miami rebellion 'Tell the truth about poverty & brutality'

By Jerry Hunnicutt
and Carmen Maymi

MIAMI—"Liberty City Unrest Simmering; Violence Laid to 'Hoodlums,'" was the headline on the July 17 *Miami Herald*.

Here and around the country, the news media and public officials have done their best to cover up the truth about the latest rebellion in Miami's Black community.

While racist headlines portray Black youth as less than human, in Liberty City the facts are not hard to find. Facts about unemployment, broken promises, and cop brutality—with Black youth the victims, not the aggressors.

What really started the July 15 rebellion never did get publicized. The issue was jobs.

Several major corporations and local businesses sponsored a "jobs fair" on July 15. It was publicly advertised and more than 600 Black youth showed up looking for work.

It turned out the companies were looking for a few highly skilled people. Few, if any, were hired. The "jobs fair" ended in an angry shouting match. The young men and women said they'd been lied to again.

At 3:30 that afternoon, cops ran into the James E. Scott housing project, chasing five young Blacks accused of robbery. The cops ran through the gloomy, dilapidated project and grabbed one young man.

Bystanders shouted that the cops had the wrong person, but they proceeded to handcuff and beat him anyway.

Some 200 people gathered in an angry demonstration. They chased the cops out. One cop got in the way of a bullet, and some were hit by rocks and bottles.

The cops now report that the victim of the alleged robbery attempt has disappeared.

The next day hundreds of police occupied Liberty City and 450 National Guardsmen were put on call. On July 17 the county imposed a 9 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew.

Cops put up roadblocks at intersections leading into the Black housing project and combed the one-square-mile area. They threw tear gas canisters onto sidewalks and front porches in the apartment buildings.



'If they don't want us to rebel, they shouldn't come into our neighborhood pointing a gun at us and taking us into dark places and leaving us dead,' say Liberty City Blacks. Above, scene from police riot after Blacks protested acquittal of killer-cops.

Some 760 families live in this housing project. Their average family income is reported to be \$4,537 a year. Eighty percent of the apartments have no air conditioning.

The nights of July 17 and 18, while the curfew was in effect, electric power went out throughout the project, but not in the rest of Liberty City or anywhere else in Miami.

Agnes Jackson, housing project resident, told us: "The lights would go out, and fans would stop working. It was

too hot in the house, and we'd take our babies and sit out on the porch.

"Then the cops would point their rifles and throw tear gas at us to force us back into the house. The way I see it, turning out the lights is just a plot to force us out so they could kill us."

Meanwhile, news reports claimed that the Black community welcomed the police occupation.

During the cop siege, a community health care center in the housing project was destroyed by fire. The Miami police department blamed Black "hoodlums."

We talked to residents about the fire. One young man told us, "We did not destroy our health center. The cops did it with their tear gas bomb."

A young woman who lives across the street from the burned-out center explained, "My friend worked at the center. When he saw that it was on fire, he pulled the alarm. I heard it and saw the cops passing by, but they didn't get out of their cars to see what was going on, and the fire department didn't arrive until it was too late. They just let our center burn to the ground."

This side of the story about the fire never appeared in the daily papers.

In the Sunday "Viewpoint" section of the *Miami Herald*, an article by one of the cops involved in the original chase described Blacks as "uncivilized, animalistic criminals."

A young Black woman told us to make sure and tell the truth about what's happening in Liberty City.

"Tell them to stop lying and start talking about the poverty, the police brutality that people in this community are up against. The cops just want to bust Black youth, force them into the military, and get rid of us fighting their wars."

Another angry resident said, "These young Blacks aren't going to take what we had to take. If they don't want us to rebel, they shouldn't come into our neighborhood pointing a gun at us and taking us into dark places and leaving us dead."

"These cops run around here pointing rifles out of the windows of their cars, and they talk about young Blacks being violent. Well, this violence isn't new. It's been here for years."

"Everybody's all upset because Blacks are kicking back now, starting to fight back. They used to beat us in the dark. Now they have to beat us in the open."

Black workers walk out

MIAMI—At the major Western Electric plant here, the majority of Black day shift workers walked off the job July 18 to protest the firing of a young Black woman.

A special meeting of the Communications Workers of America local was called the same day to discuss the firing.

One Black worker in the plant commented, "What's happening in this city is connected to what's happening at this plant. We don't

want to see another Black woman out of work, out on the streets."

The CWA local here, together with almost 600,000 other telephone workers nationally, is gearing up for a possible strike against the powerful AT&T system when the contract expires in mid-August. The union consciousness and militancy of workers in this plant can't help but strengthen the union's position in the battles to come.