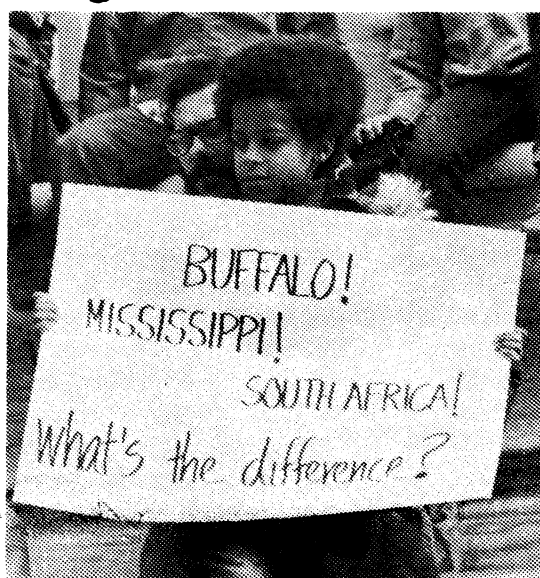


# THE MILITANT

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

## Jan. 15 marches defend Black rights Demand nat'l holiday to honor Dr. King



Militant/Osborne Hart

**Demonstration in Washington called by Stevie Wonder, left, to honor Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. offers chance to express determination that Black rights will not be pushed back by Republicans, Democrats, KKK.**

**By Osborne Hart**

The January 15 national march and rally in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday is a timely and important demonstration for the rights of Black people.

Initiated by Stevie Wonder, the renowned entertainer and composer, the Washington, D.C., action will demand that King's birthday be instituted as a national holiday.

Coretta Scott King, widow of the slain civil rights leader, endorsed the Washington demonstration. The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change, which she heads, also plans a commemoration march in Atlanta that day. Local actions are planned in Louisville, Detroit, Cleveland, and Raleigh, North Carolina, as well.

In recent weeks the demonstration has received broader support and wider publicity.

*Continued on page 6*

## Kremlin threats to Poland help U.S. prepare a new Vietnam

The Stalinist rulers in the Kremlin have issued unmistakable hints that Soviet tanks will roll into Poland unless the country's workers and farmers stop asserting their rights.

And the U.S. government and media are having a field day about it.

The Kremlin's threats to Poland are counter-revolutionary to the core. They deal a blow not only to Poland's working people, but to the struggle for socialism around the world.

By answering the Polish workers' just demands with threats of military force, the

But Washington's foreign policy has nothing to do with defending the right of self-determination in Poland or anywhere else.

New U.S. threats to Cuba show what they are really after.

In the December 11 *New York Times*, columnist William Safire, a former Nixon White House aide, suggested a military blockade of Cuba if Poland is invaded. "At our war colleges, this Cuban response to Poland is being wargamed," said Safire, who has well-placed sources of information on such matters.

The blockade idea was floated by Ronald Reagan earlier this year as a "response" to events in Afghanistan.

The same proposal was weighed in the December 10 *Washington Post* by Samuel F. Wells, Jr. He found the idea "unpromising" because it "would only validate in the eyes of much of the world the Cuban and Soviet charges about aggressive U.S. policies in the Caribbean."

The blockade proposal shows where Washington really stands on the right of oppressed nations to self-determination. It would be aimed at crushing the Cuban people, who have dared to exercise that right in defiance of Washington's dictates for more than twenty years.

And then there is the case of El Salvador, where only Washington's support—including the presence of unknown numbers of U.S. military "advisers"—keeps a brutal and hated regime in power.

The way the U.S. government and media

*Continued on page 2*

### An editorial

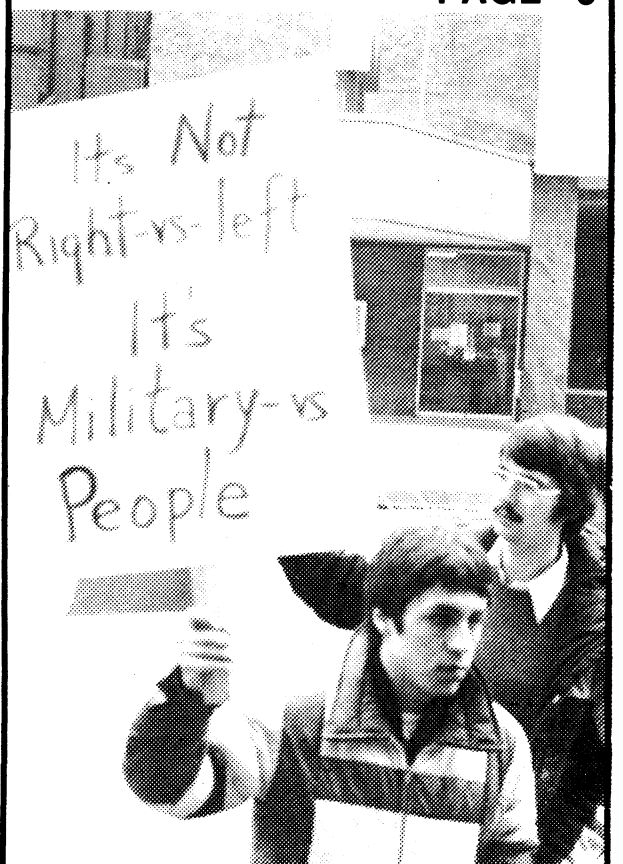
Brezhnev regime hands Washington an ideal pretext to move towards greater militarization of society.

All the proposals for massive increases in arms spending, the draft, beefing up NATO forces, and U.S. military intervention in Latin America, Asia and Africa—proposals that the U.S. rulers pushed long before the Polish events—are being spruced up and paraded as "deterrents" or "responses" to a possible move against Poland by the Kremlin.

The U.S. government poses as the defender of the right of nations to self-determination. "Every state must be free to decide its own future," said U.S. delegate Warren Zimmermann about Poland to the European Security Conference in Madrid.

## Stop U.S. aid to terror in El Salvador!

—PAGE 3



Milwaukee rally

Militant/Nancy Cole

## 'Sedition' frame-up

On December 10 a federal grand jury in Chicago indicted eleven Puerto Ricans and charged them with being members of an alleged terrorist group, the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (Armed Forces of National Liberation—FALN).

Among the counts in the indictment is the rarely invoked charge of seditious conspiracy.

When the Chicago office of the FBI was asked by the *Militant* to amplify what they meant by "seditious conspiracy," a representative responded, "the eleven were charged with seditious conspiracy to oppose by force the authority of the government of the United States."

Spectacular bombings attributed to the FALN have been used to launch a broad witch-hunt against activists in the independence movement. The FBI and the Justice Department have thrown their dragnet far and

*This is our last issue for 1980. We will have a two-week break and resume publication with the issue dated January 16, 1981.*

wide. They have made it plain that anyone who participates in the growing movement for Puerto Rican independence or in the fight to free political prisoners like the five Puerto Rican nationalists (released in 1979 after international protests) is fair game for police searches, grand jury interrogation, arrest, and imprisonment.

To stress this point, the FBI spokesman made the charge that FALN goals included "freedom for convicted felons and independence for Puerto Rico" in his description of the indictment.

The dragnet is still out. James Ingram, head of the Chicago office of the FBI, said the eleven represent only about a third of the "FALN suspects".

None of the eleven Puerto Rican prisoners admit any connection with the FALN. Lacking evidence, the government has tried to portray their refusal to testify as tantamount to an admission of guilt. It is nothing of the kind.

The defendants say they are held as prisoners of war by Puerto Rico's colonial masters and they reject the right of American courts to try them. They hold that they should be brought before an international tribunal. Such stands are not unusual among Puerto Rican militants of many currents.

Back in 1886 another eight people in Chicago were indicted for seditious conspiracy. The frame-up of the Haymarket martyrs was

the beginning of a nationwide witch-hunt that dealt a big blow to the labor movement of that time.

The goal of the U.S. government in pressing this case is similar.

The immediate target is not only the Puerto Rican independence movement, but the movement for solidarity with the struggles in Central America and the Caribbean.

The charge of "conspiracy to oppose by force the authority of the government" can be stretched a long way by government prosecutors. It could be applied to strikes and boycotts, to workers defying injunctions, to demonstrators.

Every defender of civil liberties has a stake in opposing the prosecution of the Chicago Eleven. They should be freed now.

## Court winks at FBI

It didn't even amount to a slap on the wrist. More like a handshake.

W. Mark Felt and Edward Miller, the two former FBI officials who were convicted for authorizing illegal break-ins, have been fined \$5,000 and \$3,500 respectively.

The two retired G-men, who could have spent the next ten years in jail for their crimes, couldn't hide their glee.

The judge's sentence came four days after similar charges against former FBI Director L. Patrick Gray were dropped altogether. The Justice Department said it believes Gray's claim that he didn't know what the FBI was doing while he was the director.

The *Washington Post* will be pleased. In a December 15 editorial it cried, "Felt and Miller have been punished enough."

The paper, which gained an undeserved reputation around Watergate as an opponent of government spying, now contends, "The system of which they were a part has been dismantled."

That's a tip off of what the Felt/Miller trial was really all about. Discovery in the 1970s of FBI spying, burglaries, and wiretaps outraged the people of this country. This trial was another attempt to refurbish the FBI's image.

The light fines handed down indicate even more.

The U.S. ruling class is pushing ahead with plans for military interventions abroad. Their foreign policy is matched by an offensive against working people at home. They need to use the FBI—and all its dirty tricks—again. The Felt/Miller sentences were a clear signal to the FBI criminals that they need not fear the consequences even when their actions are exposed.

But the working people in this country will still have our day in court. On March 16 the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will put the government on trial. The \$40 million lawsuit demands an end to decades of harassment and disruption by the FBI and other agencies.

That trial will be a real battle against the government and its spy agencies—and the big business interests they represent—not a sham like the Felt/Miller show.

## ... Poland

*Continued from front page*

portray events in El Salvador is an example of the double standard they follow on human rights. Imagine if the Polish government had slaughtered 10-12,000 opponents this year, as the rulers of El Salvador have done! Imagine if the persecution and murder of Catholic priests and nuns that has been taking place in El Salvador was occurring in Poland!

The U.S. rulers hope to use the justified outrage that a Kremlin move against Poland would provoke among working people to advance Washington's own plans to attack people fighting for independence and freedom from imperialist domination in Central America and the Caribbean.

Dissidents in the State Department have revealed that plans are in the works to land U.S. troops in El Salvador if that proves the only way to prevent the workers and farmers from toppling a government that has no popular support.

There are undoubtedly more than a few officials in Washington who hope that a Soviet move against Poland will provide just the opening they are looking for to step up direct military intervention against the people of El Salvador.

American working people strongly identify with the Polish workers, and oppose the Kremlin's threats against their struggle. "Hands off Poland!" expresses the sentiments of millions. The more working people find out about events in El Salvador, the more that sentiment of solidarity will be extended to the embattled workers and peasants of that country.

That is because the upheavals in Poland and El Salvador, for all their differences, are part of the long struggle of the working class for emancipation, an end to want, equality, and full human rights—in short, for socialism.

We must step up the fight against Washington's intervention in El Salvador, and against its threats against Cuba for supporting liberation struggles in El Salvador and elsewhere.

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If You Like This Paper . . .

11-22 International Socialist Review



### Plot to kill Castro

Nicaraguan exile terrorists in Louisiana planned to bomb July 19 Independence Day rally in Managua, Nicaragua. Washington knew of plot, gave no warning. **Page 4.**

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## El Salvador crisis deepens

# Stop U.S. backing to rightist terror!

By Stu Singer

The U.S. government ordered a switch in the titles of some puppets in El Salvador December 13. And to back up the increasingly desperate government there, FBI agents were sent in as "technical advisers."

The FBI is working under the pretext of helping investigate the rape, torture, and murder of three American nuns and a Catholic social worker by government forces December 2.

The FBI has long experience in participating in and covering up for terror by Klan and Nazi groups in the United States. They will fit in well with the government-backed death squads in El Salvador, which have killed 10-12,000 people this year alone.

### Bipartisan committee

The government change was arranged by a bipartisan committee sent by U.S. President James Carter, supposedly to investigate the deaths of the women. The commission was headed by William Rogers, Nixon and Ford's assistant secretary of state for Inter-American Affairs.

It reported back that there was "at least circumstantial evidence that government forces were involved in the murders or at least the cover-up." But the ruling military junta was absolved

of responsibility.

The shift to a president, Christian Democrat José Napoleón Duarte, and a vice-president and military commander-in-chief, Col. Jaime Abdul Gutiérrez, was the real purpose of the trip.

There is no change in the post of Defense Minister. Col. José Guillermo García continues on "despite repeated accusations by leftists and suspicions on the part of U.S. diplomats here that he has no willingness or ability to curb terrorism by his troops," as the *Washington Post* explained December 14.

It was described as "moving around the deck chairs on the sinking *Titanic*" by a critic of U.S. policy speaking on the MacNeil/Lehrer report on public television December 15.

Ousted Salvadoran junta member Col. Adolfo Mojanó, who is considered a liberal, said, "It is an imposter government." He called on the population to "unite and struggle" against the government, reported a UPI dispatch in *El Diario* December 17.

### A 'real democrat'

But U.S. officials greeted it as a big step forward. In fact, Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White, a self-described "human rights activist," and Reagan war hawk Jeane Kirkpatrick used the same words to describe Presi-

dent Duarte. "He is a true democrat," they both explained in separate interviews.

Duarte is a graduate of Notre Dame University in Indiana. He has proven reliable enough to play the limited role Washington gave him. A UPI report quoted this "true democrat" as attributing bad press coverage to "a propaganda campaign of the communists who control the world press, the same conspiracy launched against Pinochet [dictator of Chile], the same conspiracy used against Somoza [deposed dictator of Nicaragua]."

It is not surprising that UPI notes that Duarte's opponents call him "Napoleón Bonaduarde."

With his strings pulled in Washington, this puppet declared: "The Cubans have been instrumental in training and supplying the guerrillas. That is an intervention which cannot be accepted by Salvadorans or by any people in the world."

Duarte and his government have virtually no popular support. The opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) includes not just the left, but even a big part of Duarte's own Christian Democratic Party.

The U.S. government can promise all the backing in the world, but right now it cannot deliver.

As the truth has begun to get out about the U.S. role in El Salvador, the American people have turned against it. Protests throughout the United States after the brutal murder of six leaders of the FDR on Thanksgiving Day grew into even larger protests after the murder of the four American women.

The mother of one of the victims, Jean Donovan, made public a letter by her daughter protesting U.S. military aid to the junta.

*New York Daily News* columnist Jimmy Breslin reported in his December 7 column that eighty-four-year-old Mary Clarke, mother of one of the other victims, Maura Clarke, told him, "The tragedy is the bullets that killed my daughter are American munitions."

The Catholic archbishop of San Salvador released a report blaming the "political-military apparatus" for "four years of persecution against the Church." He said the majority of the acts of persecution were carried out by "members of the security bodies and paramilitary organizations."

The document went on to demand that the U.S. government "not provide military support to the Salvadoran

*Continued on next page*

## Solidarity actions gain momentum across country

Protests throughout the United States and in other countries are continuing in response to the murders in El Salvador.

Even in religious prayer meetings the call has been made to end all U.S. support to the dictatorship in El Salvador. A wide range of political questions have been brought together at these meetings.

At a protest of 200 people in Washington, D.C., December 14, one of the speakers was Luzette Graves. Her father, John Graves, is a State Department employee who is one of the hostages in the U.S. embassy in Tehran.

Luzette Graves pointed out that workers here are used by the U.S. government similar to the way Iranian and Salvadoran peasants as well as the hostages are used.

The protests are international. In Quito, Ecuador, the embassy of El Salvador was occupied by a group of Indian women from the countryside and other protesters December 11, according to AP and UPI reports.

In Tegucigalpa, Honduras, some 500 people demonstrated December 9 against Salvadoran junta members who were there to sign a treaty ending the 1969 border war.

Here in the U.S. we continue to receive reports about protests in every



December 6 rally in Milwaukee protests killings in El Salvador

Militant/Nancy Cole

part of the country.

In Texas, demonstrations took place in Houston, Dallas, and San Antonio. Electrical Workers Union International Representative Jaime Martínez, who is an official of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, was a speaker at a December 13 rally of 135 in San Antonio.

In Denver, 300 people participated in a candlelight march December 14.

Later, at a prayer meeting, it was explained that the U.S. is involved in

El Salvador because of the drive for profits.

In Portland, more than 200 attended a meeting sponsored by the Central American Solidarity Committee. Stella Ampuero from Casa Nicaragua in San Francisco described the escalating violence in El Salvador.

On the Mesabi Iron Range a meeting was held at Mesabi Community College December 11, sponsored by the Committee Against Registration and

the Draft and the National Organization for Women.

Two forums on El Salvador were held December 13 in Newark at the Rutgers University campus and at the Militant Labor Forum. They had been inadvertently scheduled at the same time. After the forums, activists from both meetings met together to plan further solidarity activities.

Sister Barbara Aires of the Sisters of Charity, speaking at the Militant La-

*The latest issue of 'El Salvador Alert!' has just been printed. This biweekly publication of the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador has sharply increased circulation in its three issues. The first had a press run of 500, the second 6,000, and the new one is 10,000. A subscription is ten dollars. Order from CISPES, Box 12056, Washington, D.C. 20005.*

bor Forum, explained that the U.S. wants to establish stable dictatorships that can assure 25 to 30 percent returns on investments.

We urge our readers to continue sending reports of protest activities around the country.

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# U.S.-based plot to kill Castro exposed

By Stu Singer

A U.S.-based plot to assassinate Fidel Castro and the leadership of the Nicaraguan revolution has been exposed in New Orleans.

Supporters of deposed Nicaraguan dictator Somoza planned to bomb the July 19 Independence Day rally in Managua, at which Fidel and the Sandinista leaders were speaking.

The plot was foiled when the Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington found out about it July 11.

All this is revealed in an article in the December 2 *New Orleans Times Picayune States Item*.

According to the article several U.S. agencies conducted a five-month undercover investigation. A federal grand jury indicted two Somoza supporters October 23, three months after the bombing was supposed to occur.

The indictments accuse Orlando G. Villalta, Somoza's attorney general and one-time air force head, and Villalta's nephew, Beau Hemenway of Slidell, Louisiana, of violating firearms regulations.

According to the newspaper account, they were not charged with the murder plot. Their trial starts January 5.

Villalta was arrested at the New Orleans airport as he was boarding a flight to El Salvador October 6. He was armed with a 9 mm pistol, nearly 200 rounds of ammunition, and over \$10,000 in cash.

Both terrorists are now free on bond.

## Washington's role

The New Orleans newspaper reports from its own sources that the FBI monitored phone calls between Hemenway and Villalta and that the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) was also involved in the investigation.

But the paper says the FBI "refused

to acknowledge its involvement," and the ATF "declined comment."

Francisco d'Escoto, minister counselor of the Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington, described the plan as "an extremely serious attempt." He said the State Department knew of the plot but "did not act quick enough" to provide information to embassy officials.

The U.S. government did not inform the Nicaraguans about the plan or about its investigation. The embassy found out through its own sources and was unsuccessful in getting necessary cooperation.

D'Escoto explained, "It was not a wild goose chase. For us it was a priority. We went ahead and submitted a request [to the State Department] to keep us informed what the hell was going on, but they did not act at the speed we wanted."

New Orleans attorney Joseph Nelkin, who is representing Villalta, told reporters he is "confident we can establish that the entire thing was fiction and was actually encouraged by government agents."

Nelkin claimed that Villalta was entrapped by undercover agent Earl G. Stumpf, Jr., who teaches an espionage course at the University of New Orleans.

The indictment lists Stumpf as a deputy of the Jefferson Parish Sheriff's office.

## Recruit commandos

According to the newspaper report, the plan was to equip a transport plane with machine guns, bazookas and bombs, recruit a commando team in the New Orleans area, and attack the July 19 rally.

Jefferson Parish Sheriff Harry Lee confirmed that a plot to attack Managua was "discussed," but he told New

Orleans reporters it was just "barroom talk."

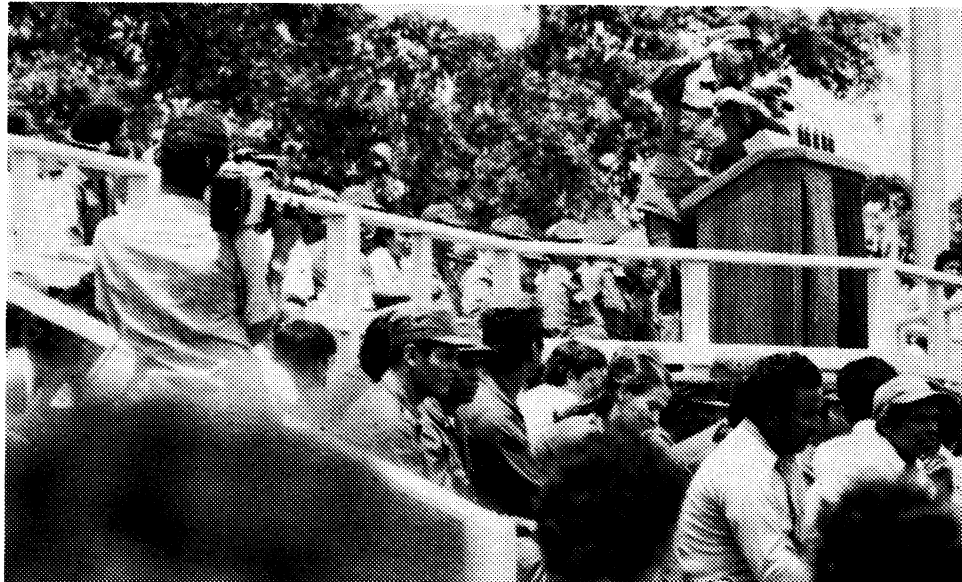
He also told the reporters not to write a story because it might "embarrass the State Department."

According to the report, the July 19 bombing plot was not carried out for three reasons: the terrorists had difficulty raising money, U.S. government representatives would be at the rally, and Somoza's assassination "apparently put a wrinkle in the plans."

The reference to Somoza is peculiar, since he was killed in September, two months after the July 19 rally.

But the article also reports a later attempt by Villalta to arm and train a gang of counterrevolutionary terrorists based in Guatemala for an attack on Nicaragua.

The second plot reportedly ended with Villalta's arrest in October.



Fidel Castro speaks in Managua July 19, 1980—first anniversary of revolutionary victory. Exile terrorists in U.S. planned bombing attack. Militant/Fred Murphy

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## 'Dissent paper'

The "dissent paper" by anonymous State Department and other government officials revealing some of the truth about U.S. policy in Central America (printed in full in the December 12 *Militant*) indicates this plot was no aberration.

One section said: "US intelligence has been in contact with Nicaraguan exile groups in Guatemala and in Miami and it is aware of their relationship with Cuban exile terrorist groups operating in the US. Charges that CIA has been promoting and encouraging these organizations have not been substantiated. However no attempt has been made to restrict their mobility in and out of the US or to interfere with their activities. Their mobility

and their links with the US—it seems reasonable to assume—could not be maintained without the tacit consent (or practical incompetence) of at least four agencies: INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service], CIA, FBI and US Customs."

Revelation of this new plot against the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions underscores another point made in the dissent paper: The truth about U.S. government policy in Central America has to be kept hidden.

Whenever the secrecy is lifted, it exposes involvement in acts of terror that would never be supported by American workers.

## 'Dissent paper' in Spanish, English

'Perspectiva Mundial' is publishing the entire text of the 'dissent paper' in Spanish. Single copies sixty cents; bundle orders of five or more, forty-five cents per copy. Write to 408 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Additional copies of the Dec. 12 'Militant' with the English text are still available from the Militant Circulation Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Copies of the dissent paper are also available from the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) for \$1.50. Write to Box 12056, Washington, D.C. 20005.

## ... Salvador

Continued from preceding page government."

Knowledge of the government's involvement was so widespread that Carter was forced to announce the suspension of \$25 million in aid to El Salvador even before he sent the commission.

But now Carter is preparing to restore the aid based on the charade of the new titles for officials in San Salvador and the involvement of the FBI in the "investigation."

FDR leaders have announced that

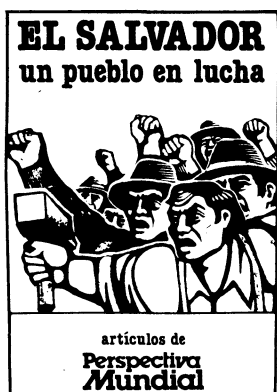
revolutionary forces are on the offensive in El Salvador. They are stepping up military confrontations. Strikes are taking place throughout the country.

Right now big displays of solidarity are needed. This is a critical point for the future of all Latin America.

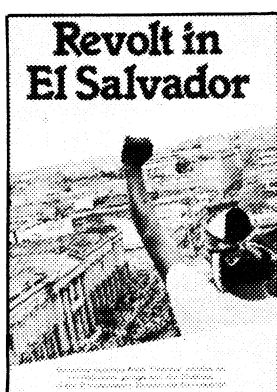
We can help the Salvadoran revolution give the FBI agents and the incoming Reagan administration the kind of welcome they deserve. Solidarity activity in the coming days and weeks to demand an end to all U.S. aid and the withdrawal of all military and FBI advisers can help deal the imperialists an historic defeat.

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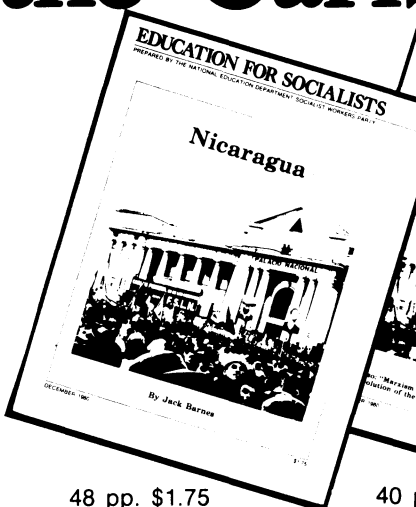
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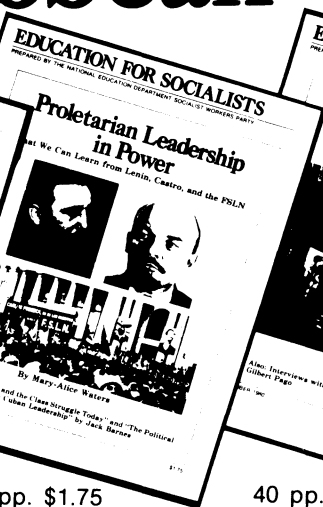
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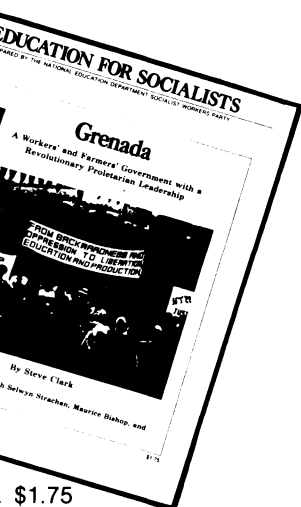
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## As dissent in CP mounts

# Polish bishops line up against workers

By Gerry Foley

Along with the Kremlin's mounting threats against Poland, the Polish Catholic hierarchy has stabbed the antibureaucratic workers movement in the back for the second time. The first was when the Polish primate, Cardinal Wyszyński, called on the workers at the height of the August strikes to go back to work.

On December 12, the council of Polish bishops issued a statement, which said among other things:

"It is forbidden to undertake actions that could raise the danger of a threat to the freedom and statehood of the fatherland. The efforts of all Poles must be aimed at strengthening the initiated process of renewal and at creating conditions to fulfill the social contract between the authorities and the community."

The spokesman for the bishops, Father Alojzy Orszulik, left no doubt that the statement was directed against antibureaucratic fighters who are the focus of attacks by the Kremlin and the Polish bureaucracy.

### Attack on KOR

He said that it was aimed specifically against the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) and the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN).

The very coupling of these two groups was treacherous. The KPN is a nationalist group that indulges in provocative anticommunist and anti-Russian phrases. It has not played a notable role in the workers movement.

The KPN leader, Leszek Moczulski, was arrested following the publication of an interview with him in the September 15 issue of the West German

magazine *Der Spiegel*.

The KOR and independent union leaders have called for Moczulski's release on the basis of its stance in favor of freedom of speech and consistent opposition to the bureaucracy's political repression.

Furthermore, it was obviously not the KPN, which is favored in Catholic anticommunist circles, that the bishops had in mind.

### Kuron singled out

Orszulik said: "We have in mind mainly those noisy and irresponsible statements made against our eastern neighbor."

A dispatch in the December 13 *New York Times* noted:

"Asked to cite specific examples, Father Orszulik mentioned a statement attributed to the spokesman for KOR, Jacek Kuron, that said opposition elements would try to gain power gradually, not immediately, out of fear of provoking Soviet intervention. Father Orszulik said the statement had 'irritated the whole bloc.'"

The same day that the bishops leveled their blast at Kuron, he came under attack from the most truculent organ of the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy, the military paper *Zolnierz Wolnosci*, which said:

"His [Kuron's] directions, aimed at sabotaging the authority and crushing state structures, are particularly dangerous."

### 'Antisocialist forces'?

In fact, the campaign of slander and provocation mounted by the Stalinist rulers against the workers movement in Poland has focused largely on the KOR. Kuron and the KOR are supposed to be the "antisocialist forces linked to foreign anticommunist centers" that are trying to take advantage of the country's problems to "undermine the bases of People's Poland."

The Kremlin tends to make these attacks under the cover of quoting Polish publications and leaders.

The statement of the Polish bishops gave the Kremlin another opportunity to quote a source in Poland as saying that the KOR represents a danger to the peace and security of the country.

This opportunity is all the more valuable to the bureaucracy because the Catholic church is seen as a force independent of the government and Communist Party. It is also respected by the Polish masses as a result of its identification with Polish nationhood, its persecution by the Stalinist authorities, and to the extent that it has spoken out in the past against some aspects of the totalitarian regime.

Since early on in the Polish crisis, it has been clear that the bureaucracy sought to drive a wedge between the Catholic wing of the opposition movement and the wing represented by Kuron. *Der Spiegel* published a circular sent out to local party propagandists advising them to stress the atheistic and Jewish backgrounds of

leading KOR members.

The KOR and independent union leaders confronted the problem of the conservatism of the forces grouped around the Catholic hierarchy in an effective way. They did not give an inch to the cardinal's appeals for giving in to the regime. But they strove to safeguard unity and avoid offending the religious sentiments of the Polish masses.

The cardinal's attempt in August to get the striking workers to go back got no visible support. Instead, it touched off a crisis in the church. Groups arose among Catholics to discuss what was wrong with the church.

The betrayal of the Polish bishops does not make a Soviet intervention less likely. The bishops cannot reassure the bureaucracy that its rule in Poland will be preserved.

Since the rule of the bureaucracy stands in such acute contradiction to the interests of the working people and has such shallow roots, once it begins to falter nothing can restore it but massive repression. The Polish bureaucracy cannot do that without heavy backing from outside.

### Radicalization in CP ranks

The deepening radicalization of the Polish working class is inspiring criticism and opposition within the ranks of the governing Polish United Workers Party, Poland's Stalinist party.

According to *Le Monde's* Polish correspondent Bernard Guetta, 60 percent of the working-class members of the CP have already joined Solidarity.

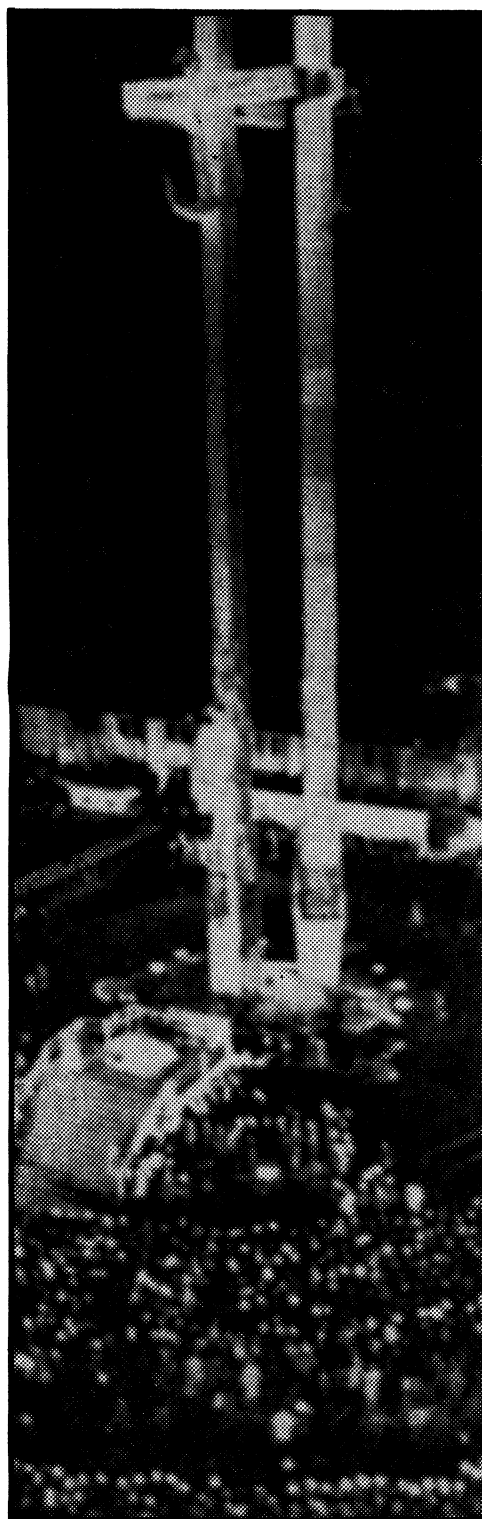
In the December 2 issue of the Paris daily, Guetta reported that "a strong radicalization of party activists emerged in the regional meetings in early November, which were attended by members of the national leadership."

"From that time on violent attacks began to be launched at the lack of democracy in the party and the isolation of the CP that resulted from this. The press gave only a toned down version of this. In mid-November, the first coordinating committees arose in several cities that linked party members horizontally across party bodies outside the hierarchical channels. These were formed spontaneously by rebel party cells and developed into such strong nuclei that the intermediary leadership was forced to accept them or was outright ousted by them."

"A new spectacular step was taken in Lodz last Friday [November 28] with the publication by the local party paper, *Glos Robotniczy*, of factory cell motions that went far beyond what is permitted."

Guetta cited the motion of the Fonica factory cell which called for a purge of the party and a break from its past symbolized by renaming it "The Polish Socialist Workers Party."

The Lodz activists argued that the CP could not claim an exclusive leading role and called for free elections at all levels of the organization.



## Polish workers hail martyrs

More than half a million people stood in freezing rain in front of the gate of the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, Poland, December 16, to honor the workers killed there by the police and army during the 1970 strike wave.

A monument of steel, 140 feet high, designed and built for the most part at the shipyard, was unveiled during the memorial gathering.

The names of twenty-eight of the workers known to have been killed in the 1970 strike were read. After each name, the crowd chanted, "He is here among us!"

Before the August strikes, the government was quick to condemn attempts to commemorate the 1970 martyrs as subversive, antisocialist activity. The ceremony signified the tremendous power won by the workers' movement.

Significantly, figures from the ruling Communist Party and the Catholic Church hierarchy addressed the crowd. The president of Poland also attended.

The fact that the government felt obliged to voice support for the meeting adds to the obstacles facing the Kremlin rulers should they decide to invade.

In his speech, union leader Lech Walesa stressed the need for unity and order. He added, "I call on you to be vigilant in defense of our security and to maintain the sovereignty of the fatherland."

## Protests for H-Block prisoners sweep Ireland

By Suzanne Haig

The condition of the H-Block prisoners continues to worsen, and the British and Irish rulers are becoming terrified of a political explosion. All police and military leaves in Northern Ireland have recently been cancelled.

Sean McKenna, one of the seven Irish revolutionists on a hunger strike to demand political status in Northern Ireland's Maze Prison, is the most seriously ill of the strikers.

Brigid O'Neill, his mother, said after visiting him on December 15 that he "is extremely ill and looks close to death." He weighs less than 100 pounds, 55 pounds less than normal, speaks with a slur, and cannot stand

for more than a few minutes, she said.

All the hunger strikers have been removed to the hospital. Orderlies have to rub their bodies with cream every four hours to keep protruding bones from breaking the skin.

In response, the campaign in support of the political prisoners is growing into the most powerful mass movement in Ireland since the war of independence of 1918-21.

On December 6, an angry crowd of 40,000 marched to the British embassy in Dublin.

On December 10, workers walked out across the country. In Catholic West Belfast, all major business halted.

In towns along the border of the

British enclave of Northern Ireland, the shutdown was 100 percent effective and major rallies were held.

In Cork, at the southern tip of the island, the entire workforce at the Irish Steel Mill walked off the job. They were joined by the work force building a new steel plant in the city. The head of the local trades council addressed a major rally in the downtown area.

For three days beginning December 12, youths clashed with police in Londonderry, sixty-five miles from Belfast.

U.S. protests are also growing in support of the prisoners. On December 6, 2,000 people rallied outside the British Consulate in New York.

# ...march demands King national holiday

Continued from front page

Stevie Wonder, who just completed a twenty-five city concert tour, took time out during each performance to urge everyone to participate in the action.

Wonder and his campaign to build the action were featured on the covers of two prominent Black magazines, *Jet* and *Sepia*.

The *Jet* article mentions that Wonder's current album, *Hotter Than July*, features a song entitled "Happy Birthday," which is a tribute to Dr. King. When disc jockeys on WBLS radio in New York play the song, they also announce the January 15 protest.

In an editorial, *Sepia* publisher Beatrice Pringle issued "An Open Challenge to Black Business" to close in recognition of King's birthday and to join her in Washington January 15.

Pringle stated that the rally offers an opportunity to "recall and confront the accomplishments, adversities, ambitions and dreams of the late Dr. King."

Among other supporters of the King Day march are Rev. Jesse Jackson, national president of Operation PUSH, and Cleveland Robinson of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Some chapters of the newly established National Black Independent Political Party are supporting the demonstration.

Like the formation of the NBIPP, the momentum behind the January 15 march expresses the desire of hundreds of thousands of Black people to press forward the struggle for justice in the face of stepped-up attacks from the



Martin Luther King, Jr., is greeted by supporters during 1963 visit to Baltimore. Civil rights advances he fought for are under attack from Democrats and Republicans.

KKK and other racist terrorists, big business, and the government.

Organizers of the January 15 action are soliciting support from trade unions, some of which—such as the United Auto Workers—are already on record in favor of making King's birthday a national holiday.

The action is certain to be popular in the plants. Socialist workers at the Ford assembly plant at Metuchen, New Jersey, report that several carloads of workers there are already

planning to go to Washington.

At Metuchen, like at many other workplaces, quite a few Black workers traditionally take that day off with or without official sanction. And the union has held commemorative meetings in the past to call for the King holiday.

The January 15 march was endorsed by an anti-Klan conference of 350 people in Greensboro, North Carolina, December 5-6. (Organizers of that conference are also calling for protests in Washington January 20 against Rea-

gan's inauguration.)

While the central focus is the King holiday demand, the January 15 demonstration offers a chance for Black people and our allies to respond to the whole range of new racist attacks.

"Black people must once again become very highly visible," said Frank Watkins of Operation PUSH. "We must go out and be aggressive relative to the rights that have been gained over the last twenty-five years."

In Atlanta, the King demonstration is cosponsored by Coretta Scott King and Rev. Joseph Lowery, national president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the organization founded by King.

A leaflet being distributed there lists some of the concerns of the Black community that are being voiced through this march.

These include the January 15 national holiday, fair housing legislation, extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act (which the Republican Senate leadership has said it will try to repeal), full employment, equal educational opportunity, affirmative action, and safety for our children.

The final demand refers to the murders and disappearances of fifteen Black children in Atlanta.

The King Day march in Washington will start at 10 a.m. at First and Louisiana N.W. near the Capitol and proceed down Constitution Avenue to the Washington Monument. The rally will be held at the monument base.

For more information call (202) 638-2299.

## Young Socialists boost action

The Young Socialist Alliance is calling for the broadest possible participation in the January 15 Black rights demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and other cities.

In a statement released December 17, the YSA National Executive Committee declared that "Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s contributions in the struggle for Black freedom should be honored by the federal government setting January 15 as a national holiday.

"The actions called by Stevie Wonder and Coretta Scott King take on special significance this year.

"Coming five days before Ronald Reagan's inauguration, January 15 offers an opportunity to send a mes-

sage of protest loud and clear to the new administration.

"The youth of this country will not sit idly by while the civil rights gains Dr. King fought and died for—such as school desegregation, fair housing, and affirmative action in education and employment—are dismantled.

"We will not sit by while the Klan, and Nazis, and other racist murderers—in and out of blue uniforms—gun down Blacks from one end of the country to the other.

"On January 15 let the voices of thousands be lifted, let the sound of marching feet be heard, in a powerful affirmation of our determination to fight on for equality, justice, dignity, and a decent life for all."

## Leafleter arrested at concert

SAN DIEGO—Outside a Stevie Wonder concert here December 11, members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance were harassed by the police.

Mark Friedman, local SWP chairperson and former congressional candidate against California Ku Klux Klan leader Thomas Metzger, was arrested. He was charged with soliciting without a permit.

The SWP and YSA members were distributing a leaflet with information on the new National Black Independent Political Party and selling the *Militant*. The issue of the paper featured an article on the Martin Luther King birthday dem-

onstration called by Stevie Wonder.

In a December 12 news release, the SWP stated, "San Diego police officers Blaylock and Lopez selectively harassed the socialists while other persons distributed their materials unobstructed. The distribution of political leaflets and newspapers on public property and areas of public access is guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. In their harassment and arrest, the police were violating the constitutional rights of the socialists."

The SWP and YSA are pursuing legal action against the San Diego police department for false arrest and violation of their civil rights.

## Virginia Black party leaders begin to organize

By Kibwe Diarra

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—At a Militant Labor Forum here December 6, members and supporters of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) heard Mary Cox, Virginia representative to the party's national charter review commission; Elsa Brown, one of Virginia's two representatives to the party's national organizing committee; and Rev. John Johnson, acting coordinator of the Richmond NBIPP chapter.

Omari Musa, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and of the NBIPP Virginia state caucus, chaired the forum.

The meeting began with a moment of silence in honor of the six Salvadoran revolutionaries murdered by the U.S.-backed junta in that country.

Musa outlined developments leading to the founding convention of the NBIPP in Philadelphia last month.

Brown explained that the new Black party was the "crest of 150 years of struggle by Blacks in America to gain their self-determination and political power."

"The rulers of this country," she said, "are not moved by prayers but

power. The NBIPP is about building a power base not tied to the Democratic and Republican parties or to narrow electoral politics, but will concentrate on building a power base in the communities."

Brown said the NBIPP would concentrate on dealing with the immediate problems of Black Americans and organizing to eliminate those problems.

"The aim of NBIPP in the long run is the total reconstruction of society," she said. "That means we will have to deal with capitalism and imperialism."

Coalitions with other people will be made "when necessary and possible," Brown added. "But there will be no permanent alliances."

Cox outlined some of the NBIPP's goals. The main purpose of the Philadelphia convention, she said, was to "adopt a charter so that the NBIPP could begin to do what was necessary for the total liberation of Black people."

"The American system," Cox said, "does not work for the majority of people."

She said the party would be built from the bottom up and that "we are trying to create an organization that

will be able to say why the brutal killings in El Salvador were wrong. We are building an organization that can counter the centuries of brainwashing and will struggle for the self-determination of our people, not just here in the U.S., but for all African people."

During the discussion period Reverend Johnson responded to a question about the leaders of SCLC, the NAACP, PUSH, and the Urban League by saying, "It's true they didn't attend the Philadelphia conference, but we will continue trying to work with both the leaders and members of these organizations."

The strength of the NBIPP, Johnson said, "would come from the masses." He pointed out that the Miami and Chattanooga rebellions showed that new leadership is needed.

"Blacks want to fight and want something to fight back with," Johnson said. "Blacks have been wanting leadership for some time and people are beginning to think this party is the kind we want."

Maravia Reid, editor of the Black weekly *Journal and Guide*, and Omari

Musa were appointed acting coordinators of the Tidewater NBIPP organizing committee at a meeting held earlier the same day.

The Tidewater organizing committee has scheduled a meeting for December 20 to plan future activities.

The committee also decided to participate in the January 15 march in Washington, D.C., called by recording artist Stevie Wonder to demand that Martin Luther King's birthday be declared a national holiday.

From both the organizing meeting and the forum, more than thirty Blacks signed up to work with the NBIPP, the majority of them women. They included shipyard workers from United Steelworkers Local 8888 and members of the United Transportation Union and the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks.

For more information on the activities of the NBIPP in the Tidewater area, contact Omari Musa at (804) 244-2081, Maravia Reid at (804) 625-3686, or write Reid c/o the 'Journal and Guide', 1516 Princess Ann Road, Norfolk, Virginia 23504.



## Step toward independent political action

# New Black party: example for all workers

By Nan Bailey

The National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), initiated at the November 21-23 Black political convention in Philadelphia, reflected much more than the militant political views of Black people.

It was the product of the same sentiments that led millions of workers to complain that the 1980 presidential campaigns of Reagan, Carter, and Anderson offered them no real choice.

It was one expression of the discussion taking place among workers—Black and white—on the need for a working-class alternative to the two big-business parties.

It confirmed that Blacks are in the forefront of discussing and taking initiative toward independent working-class political action.

In the party's founding charter, its leaders pledge to take up the cause of the most exploited and oppressed.

"While our campaign will focus on the 'whole' of our people," the charter states, "it will emphasize the improvement of the condition of the most distressed sector among us—the unemployed and underemployed workers, the poor, the institutionalized, and those without adequate housing or social services. . . ."

### Blacks not alone

As an oppressed nationality and the most militant section of the working class, Blacks have been the first targets of the austerity drive of the U.S. ruling class. Blacks are among the most exploited, oppressed, and aroused part of the population.

As a result, there is a high degree of understanding among Black people of how the capitalist system affects and exploits us.

But Blacks are not alone.

Many other working people are moving toward the conclusions expressed in Philadelphia that:

- The government and the bosses are behind all the attacks on Blacks and other workers.
- The Democratic and Republican parties represent the interests of big business and the bosses.
- The political strategy of relying on the Democratic and Republican politicians has failed.
- The victims of racist oppression and economic exploitation face the same enemy and have a common need to fight back.

The newly initiated National Black Independent Political Party is at a formative stage. There is much to be discussed and decided to determine the program and political direction of the party.

But this movement for an independent Black party is a positive example for all working people of what can and must be done to make economic and political progress. That is: To break



Black workers played leading role in fight for recognition of United Steelworkers Local 8888 in Newport News, Virginia.

from the stranglehold of the Democratic and Republican parties.

To mobilize the power of the masses rather than rely on the corporate bosses and their politicians.

And to develop a program that provides solutions to the needs of the oppressed and exploited.

The overwhelming majority of the NBIPP's founders have set out to organize Black people to challenge the racism, sexism, and economic exploitation of American capitalism.

The Black community it aims to organize is overwhelmingly proletarian in composition. If developed and broadened, the NBIPP would be a party of the most militant and class-conscious workers and unionists, who can point the way forward for the rest of the working class.

### Inspiring example

This movement can set an example for all the victims of capitalist oppression and exploitation.

It will have an impact on the discussion that has already begun in the labor movement on the need for an independent labor party—a party based on the power of the unions. If this discussion is to result in action toward such a political break, that process will be led by Black, Latino, and white workers fighting to transform the unions into instruments of struggle on behalf of the oppressed and exploited.

Union officials, including John Henning, secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation (AFL-CIO), and Anthony Mazzocchi, health and safety director of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, have begun a discussion on the merits of a labor party.

At the District 38 conference of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) last spring, and the interna-

tional convention of the International Association of Machinists this fall, unionists voted that their unions should join this discussion.

The initiation of the labor party discussion by some union officials is the result of the same phenomena that have resulted in:

Overwhelming union support and resources behind the campaign to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment,

The United Mine Workers' (UMWA) backing of the fight against the dangers of nuclear power,

The UMWA's and USWA's initiating role in a successful anti-Klan protest in Uniontown, Pennsylvania this fall, and,

The United Steelworkers' support that helped defeat Brian Weber's attempt to gut affirmative-action gains.

These events reflect the growing search for radical solutions by the ranks of the unions.

The NBIPP creates new opportunities for deepening the discussion of independent working-class political action.

### 'Why can't we?'

It's a concrete example that other workers can point to and explain, "Haven't we learned the same lessons? If they can do it, why can't we?"

Black and white workers who are inspired by the NBIPP, who support it or join it, will ask why their unions should remain hitched to the parties of big business.

The NBIPP can give encouragement to other expressions of independent working-class political action, like independent election campaigns by unions on a local level to challenge the policies and parties of the bosses.

Young women workers will be inspired by a party that champions the fight for equal pay, affirmative action, and women's equality.

Puerto Rican, Chicano, and other

nationally oppressed workers will be attracted to a party that takes the lead in the fight against racism.

The impact will be especially powerful if the NBIPP puts itself at the center of action campaigns to combat racist attacks, protest social service cutbacks, and demand jobs and decent living standards. Such a movement would attract militant young workers looking for a way to fight back.

A big challenge facing the NBIPP will be the extent to which it can forge new alliances with other potentially anti-capitalist forces. A priority among these forces will be the labor movement.

Black and white workers will be attracted to an NBIPP that is conscious of this perspective of reaching out to educate and mobilize the support of the masses of Blacks and our allies in the ranks of the unions.

### Unions an ally

A solid alliance with those unions that will defend the interests of the oppressed is a key to winning Black liberation and to meeting the anti-capitalist goals that the NBIPP has set for itself. Just as championing the fight for Black rights is fundamental to renewed progress for the union movement.

There is only one place where Black people can look for allies powerful enough to defeat the anti-Black and antilabor policies of U.S. capitalism. And that is to the working class and its mass organizations—the trade unions.

The combined strength of Blacks and other working people across the country is a power that can topple the capitalist system and build a society based on human needs, instead of private profits.

An orientation to the unions, beginning with the conscious recruitment of Black workers, is fundamental to the growth of a Black political party and its ability to successfully carry out its aims.

### Part of the vanguard

The inspiring example of an independent Black political party fighting uncompromisingly for the rights and needs of Black people can help to promote a movement for a labor party.

And the formation of a labor party based on the unions—a party in which Black unionists will play a leading and initiating role—will significantly strengthen the NBIPP's political fight.

If the movement launched in Philadelphia can develop into an independent Black party that fights by any means necessary against the oppression and exploitation of Blacks, it will be part of the vanguard of progressive social change in this country. It can play an historic role in revolutionizing political life on behalf of Blacks and all working people.

## Come to the YSA national convention!

December 27-30, Indianapolis

The fight against Reaganism, racist terror, nuclear power, women's oppression, the draft, and imperialist war will be on the agenda at the Young Socialist Alliance national convention. Join young workers, students, and activists in these struggles in Indianapolis, December 27-30.

For information on how you can get there, contact the YSA chapter in your local area (see directory on page 27).

### National Black Independent Party: Its Meaning for All Working People

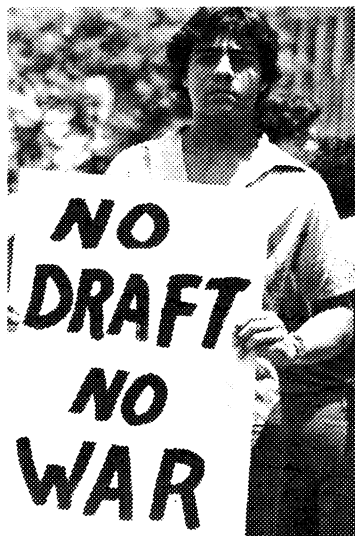
a rally featuring

Mel Mason, Black socialist city councilman, Seaside, California

Others to be announced

Saturday, December 27, 8:30 p.m.

Hilton Inn at Monument Circle, Indianapolis



#### Saturday, December 27

- 1:00 p.m. Winning Solidarity for the Revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean Report
- 4:15 p.m. American Politics Today: Working Class Response to the Capitalist Crisis Report
- 8:30 p.m. Rally: National Black Independent Party—Its Meaning for All Working People

#### Sunday, December 28

- 11:15 a.m. Expansion Fund
- 1:30 p.m. The Black Struggle and the Fight against Racism Report
- 4:30 p.m. Trade Union workshops
- 8:30 p.m. International Solidarity Rally with the Central American and Caribbean Revolutions

#### Monday, December 30

- 9:30 a.m. Building the YSA Report
- 8:00 p.m. Rally: Socialists Challenge Government Spying



## Chicago antispy rally held

# Big plans for FBI challenged by SWP lawsuit

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—"It will be one of the first challenges to Ronald Reagan's plans to beef up the CIA and FBI," Socialist Workers Party national leader Larry Seigle told a cheering crowd of more than 150 people who gathered here December 14.

The occasion was a support rally for the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance's \$40 million lawsuit against the U.S. government's secret police.

The lawsuit, which goes to trial on March 16, will be a "focus for all supporters of democratic rights," Seigle told the crowd.

Among those being subpoenaed are Richard Nixon, FBI Director William Webster, and other assorted cops, spies, informers, and burglars.

While numerous suits against government harassment were filed in the wake of Watergate, Seigle noted, only the SWP suit will make it to trial.

All of the government's out-of-court settlement proposals—which the socialists have rejected—would have allowed Washington to continue its forty-year disruption program.

"What's especially important about

the suit is the political context in which it takes place," Seigle said. "Big business, with its plans to step up military intervention around the world and its drive against the living standard of working people here, is on a collision course with the American people."

To carry out its program of war abroad and attacks on the rights of labor, Blacks, Latinos, and women, he pointed out, "the government needs a stronger FBI, a stronger CIA, a stronger snooping operation."

The socialist lawsuit will put the question to the American people, Seigle said, "in whose interests do these outfits operate?"

Statements of support for the socialists' suit were read from United Steelworkers Local 65 President Alice Peurala; USWA Subdistrict 1 Director Ed Sadlowski; author Studs Turkel; and actor Ed Asner, the star of "Lou Grant."

"Spying has no place in a free and democratic society. The American labor movement has been victimized by these tactics ever since its inception," Sadlowski's statement said. "I look

forward to the day when the working man does not have to look over his shoulder."

Héctor Marroquín and Marian Bustin, two members of the Young Socialist Alliance facing deportation from the United States for their political views, also spoke at the rally.

Bustin, who was born in Scotland, is a West Virginia coal miner and member of United Mine Workers Local 2095. She urged supporters of the socialist suit to attend the upcoming

Young Socialist Alliance national convention in Indianapolis on December 27-29.

Marroquín, an undocumented worker from Mexico, fled that country seeking refuge from political persecution. His widely backed defense case has stayed the hand of the Immigration and Naturalization Service thus far.

Marroquín's appeal for funds to help the socialists get out information on the suit raised more than \$1,300.

NOW AVAILABLE!

### Secret Police on Trial: Socialists versus FBI, CIA, INS

This brochure tells why the capitalist government spies on socialists, trade unionists, Blacks, and women—and how we can fight back.

Send for your free copy today. Four cents a copy for orders of ten or more.

Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



## Labor antinuclear meeting set for January

By Suzanne Haig

Jane Lee, a farmer who lives near the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant, and has documented its effects on human and animal life, will be one of the speakers at the January 18 meeting of the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment.

The gathering will be held at Harrisburg Area Community College, 3300 Cameron Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

The Labor Committee was one of the sponsors of the historic October 10-12 labor safe energy conference in Pittsburgh, attended by nearly 1,000 trade unionists from fifty-five unions and thirty-three states.

The January 18 meeting is particularly urgent since the incoming Reagan administration has already made clear its intention to move full speed ahead on nuclear power.

The agenda includes a morning panel discussion on "Oil, coal, and

nuclear—what are the relationships?" featuring economist Charles Komanoff and Tom Twomey, COMPAC director for the United Mine Workers.

In the afternoon, participants will assess the Pittsburgh conference and discuss future activities of the Labor Committee, including proposals for spring actions. One under consideration is a March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg to mark the second anniversary of the accident at Three Mile Island.

In addition to the national planning meeting, there will be a regional educational conference sponsored by the Greater Harrisburg Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment on January 17. It will also be held at Harrisburg Area Community College.

The day-long event will include workshops on: Coal vs. nuclear power; Converting Three Mile Island to coal or shutting it down; Who controls energy and energy policy: the government's role. There will also be films

and a strategy session.

For further information on January 17 and 18 contact the Labor Committee

for Safe Energy and Full Employment, 1536 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, (202) 265-7190.



Militant/Lou Howort

Miners led April 26 antinuclear demonstration in Washington, D.C., and played central role in founding of Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment.

## Protests & conference to hit next draft sign-up

The Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) and other anti-draft groups have called protest actions for the week of January 5-10, when men born in 1962 are scheduled to register for the draft at post offices across the country.

The Coalition Against Conscription in New York City has called a noon rally on January 5 at the General Post Office at Thirty-third Street and Eighth Avenue and a march at 1 p.m. to the Times Square Recruiting Station.

Birmingham, Alabama, CARD has called two actions at the main post office: a vigil on Sunday, January 4, and a noon protest rally January 5. On January 10, a public meeting will take place at the University of Alabama in Birmingham on United States intervention in El Salvador, also sponsored by CARD.

As Washington steps up its threats to intervene directly in El Salvador, solidarity with the freedom fighters there can be a special focus of these antidraft actions.

Despite Ronald Reagan's campaign claim to oppose draft registration, the incoming administration has made no move to block the next round of registration. So registration goes on—but amid continued protest and under a growing legal cloud.

On November 24 a federal district court ruled that it is illegal for the government to require Social Security numbers on draft registration forms. If upheld (the government is appealing), the ruling would make it difficult for Washington to locate or prosecute those who refuse to register.

Next year the Supreme Court will decide on another legal controversy—whether it is constitutional to register only men. The result could be to extend registration to women, which the Carter administration had proposed in the first place. Or the whole current registration scheme could be declared unconstitutional.

The next major activity for the anti-draft movement will be a national conference called by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, to be held February 14-16 at Wayne State University in Detroit.

Reprinted below is the conference call issued by CARD:

\* \* \*

A renewed and dangerous spirit of militarism is sweeping Washington. The U.S. government's war-like rhetoric is being translated into concrete action, with an increasingly large military budget, a new generation of nuclear weaponry and the initiation of military draft registration.

The threat of U.S. intervention around the world, from the Persian Gulf to El Salvador, makes the possibility of a draft ever more likely. This rapid escalation of U.S. military might not only increases the burden of taxes and inflation but also threatens a tenuous world peace.

Draft registration will become an ongoing reality in January, 1981. At the same time, the investigation and prosecution of resisters may swing into full gear.

Commitments to increased U.S. military strength may make it only a matter of time before reinstitution of the draft is seriously proposed.

The anti-draft movement will be faced with tremendous challenges in the coming year.

Our movement, though young, is already strong, with local groups all over the country and a significant national organization.

More than 30,000 people marched against the draft in Washington on March 22, 1980. Hundreds of thousands of young men resisted registration this summer by not signing up or by registering in protest.

Two large regional anti-draft conferences were held in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco, where anti-draft activists voiced the need for improved coordination on the national level in

order to build upon our past successes.

To meet this need, the Committee Against Registration and the Draft is calling for a national anti-draft conference.

We seek to build a movement that will unite all sectors of our society—labor, Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, women, students, parents, gays—into a broad coalition to stop the draft. The conference will reflect this diversity.

Members of local anti-draft groups from all across the country will join with representatives of national organizations to plan for future national, regional and local actions.

Strategy for broadening the anti-draft movement within the current political climate will be discussed, as well as a structure for maximizing democratic involvement of local groups in national decision-making. There will be periods for informational workshops, skills sharing, and regional coordination.

We must act *now* to stop the draft! The national anti-draft conference will be another major step toward building a truly powerful movement. We need you there!

For more information contact: CARD, 201 Massachusetts Avenue N.E., #111, Washington, D.C. 20002 or call (202) 265-7190.

# Racist violence hits California Blacks

By Kwame Somburu and Zakiya Somburu

RICHMOND, Calif.—Black families in western Contra Costa County, twenty miles outside San Francisco, have been victims of an upsurge of racist violence and vandalism.

In the predominantly white communities of Tara Hills, El Sobrante, San Pablo, and Pinole, Black homes have been defaced with racist graffiti, blasted with shotgun fire, and targeted by arsonists.

Outside the home of Otis and Geraldine Ireland in Pinole, white youths brandishing sticks, bats and clubs shouted, "Nigger, we're going to kill you."

Windows were broken, tomatoes and eggs thrown, and a car driven into the side of the Ireland house, destroying the living room wall.

Arsonists set fire to the home of Verna Barrett December 8 in San Pablo after scrawling KKK around the property. The house was heavily damaged.

In Tara Hills, Mary Handy's family has been the target of numerous threats and vandalism since April. Last month arsonists set a fire in their yard.

The Handys recently received a threatening letter that said: "If you think you've got it bad now, you ain't seen nothing yet. Be thankful it's only property damage, before you or someone in your family experiences physical pain."

After someone tried to run over her son, Mary Handy reported the license number of the car to Contra Costa County Sheriff Richard Rainey. No arrests have been made and the Handys have heard nothing further from Rainey.

Blacks feel the wave of violence is connected to the increased activity of the Ku Klux Klan in the area. The local KKK chapter boasts of being one of the strongest in the state.

Sheriff Rainey maintains there is "nothing at this time to indicate Klan activity."



The East Bay Organizing Committee, a community anti-racist group, has organized an around-the-clock watch at Black homes.

Unarmed observers act as a deterrent to further attacks by gathering evidence and reporting to the police. The group also records the cops' response to reports.

A December 11 news conference attended by Mary Handy and by Angela Davis of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression called for a community response to the violence.

Two days later more than 350 people turned out to a protest meeting at Ells High School here.

The meeting was attended by a broad range of civil rights, religious, and trade union leaders from around the Bay Area. The Richmond Federation of Teachers, Machinists Lodges 284 and 562, Longshoremen's Locals 6 and 10, Bay Area Rapid Transit workers, Black clergy, and others participated.

Amalgamated Transit Union Local 192 (the Irelands are both bus drivers) and the Contra Costa County Board of Supervisors have each offered a \$10,000 reward for information leading to the conviction of those responsible for the racist attacks.

a small rural town in western Wisconsin.

An all-white jury found Mendoza guilty and he was sentenced to two consecutive terms of life imprisonment.

Mendoza was not allowed to speak in his own defense, nor was any testimony or evidence allowed to prove self-defense.

In 1977 the State Supreme Court reversed that conviction, explaining that Mendoza was denied a fair trial.

Although the jury in the retrial included no Latinos, six of the twelve were women and two jurors were Black.

The police, the two major dailies, and many public officials were shocked by the acquittal. Said Police Chief Harold Breier, "It is a terrible miscarriage of justice. It makes me sick."

Working people, Latinos, and Blacks here see it in a different light. For them, the acquittal was simple justice.

# Miami cop on trial in Texas; Black leaders want justice

By Steve Marshall

SAN ANTONIO—After several attempts, the U.S. Justice Department finally found a city in which to hold the trial of Charles Veverka—one of the Miami cops who beat Black insurance salesman Arthur McDuffie to death last December 17.

Veverka's trial began here in federal district court December 10 after jury selection was completed a few days earlier.

Veverka is on trial not for murder but for violating

## Killer-cop acquitted

SAN ANTONIO, Dec. 17—Charles Veverka was acquitted today on all counts.

McDuffie's civil rights by falsifying police reports on the attack. He was granted immunity last May for testifying against his fellow cops.

Judge William Hoeveler, who is presiding in the case, is from Miami's federal district court. It seems Veverka can be tried by a Miami judge but not by a jury from that city's Black community.

When five cops were acquitted for the McDuffie murder by an all-white Tampa jury last May, the Miami Black community rebelled.

Fearing another acquittal might ignite a similar rebellion, Justice Department officials moved Veverka's trial twice before settling here.

Their first choice was Atlanta. Anger over the murders of Black children there forced them to shift to

New Orleans.

After New Orleans cops invaded a housing project and gunned down three Blacks, protests forced the police chief's resignation and impelled the Justice Department to seek a city with a smaller Black community.

San Antonio won the toss.

Mayor Lila Cockrell, who warmly welcomed the shah of Iran here last fall, announced that since there is no racial oppression in San Antonio, it would be a good site for the trial.

A news conference by Black and Chicano leaders December 10 told another story.

"Five policemen were in-

involved in the killing of Arthur McDuffie and yet the only one indicted is Charles Veverka," said attorney Rubén Sandoval. "By indicting the only man who cooperated, the Justice Department is telling folks that in the next case anyone who cooperates will be penalized while everyone else goes free."

Rick Green, of the San Antonio Coalition Against Racism, placed the trial in the context of the national offensive against Black people:

"The racism of the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, and the continuing murder of minorities is a ploy shrewdly enacted with the help of the U.S. government."



Miami Blacks demand justice for McDuffie

# Milwaukee Blacks, unions protest Klan verdict

By Nancy Cole

MILWAUKEE—Two hundred people packed a meeting room in the Community Baptist Church here December 11 to denounce the freeing of Klan and Nazi murderers last month in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Paul Blackman, president of the steelworkers union at A.O. Smith, told the crowd that the "atmospheric cesspool" that allows "vermin like the Klan to flourish" was created by politicians in this country.

Blackman began by explaining that 3,000 members of his union are laid off. He then pointed to the rash of racist murders across the country.

Because the government and police agencies have refused to deal with these crimes, he said, "it is necessary for us to join forces in a united effort."

"If it is Buffalo, Atlanta, and Greensboro today, you can bet it will be Milwaukee tomorrow," Blackman said.

The meeting here was sponsored by the Committee for Justice in Greensboro, an ad hoc coalition initiated by leaders of several Milwaukee organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party, NAACP, Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Urban Affairs, and National Organization for Women.

United Auto Workers Region 10 contributed several thousand leaflets announcing the rally.

Howard Fuller, a Black leader here who helped organize the meeting, told the rally that the "history of the Klan is a history of violence and intimidation. We need to be here tonight to say that we will not be intimidated."

Noting that personally he thought that Carter and Reagan were "basically the same thing," Fuller said he knew a lot of people who cried when Carter was defeated.

For them, he said, he had an old saying, "Don't mourn, organize!"

# Chicano acquitted after new trial

By Frank Forrestal

MILWAUKEE—The Latino community here won a big victory last month when James Ray Mendoza, a twenty-six-year-old Chicano, was found not guilty of first degree murder in the 1974 deaths of two Milwaukee police officers.

The acquittal came during a retrial that lasted three weeks.

The shootings occurred outside a Southside tavern on July 10, 1974. The cops, who were off-duty and intoxicated, got involved in a fight with Mendoza. They beat him to the point that he thought his life was in danger. He wrestled a gun away and shot the two cops in self-defense.

After the killings thousands of people came to Mendoza's defense. Rallies were held around the city to protest police brutality.

To counter this growing support, the original judge in the case moved the trial to Sparta,

# Pro-choice rally in Canada

By Jacelyn Robey

VANCOUVER, B.C.—Nearly 800 supporters of women's right to abortion rallied at Kitsilane Secondary School here November 30.

The gathering was sponsored by Concerned Citizens for Choice on Abortion and endorsed by more than sixty organizations.

The meeting had backing from the labor movement here with endorsements from the British Columbia New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party) and the NDP Women's Rights Committee.

Unions endorsing the event included: Canadian Union of

Postal Workers, Vancouver local; International Woodworkers of America, Local 1-357; New Westminster and District Labor Council; Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers Local 326; and others.

Growing support for the rally came in response to recent attacks on abortion rights in British Columbia by the newly appointed health minister, Rafe Mair, and the election of opponents of abortion rights to Surrey Memorial Hospital Board in B.C.

In Canada abortion is against the law unless it is performed at an accredited hos-

pital with an abortion committee to determine whether or not a pregnancy is harmful to the health and well-being of the mother.

Only 20 percent of the hospitals in Canada meet all the requirements for performing abortions. Of that 20 percent, 15 percent have never performed them. As a result, abortions are not equally available to all Canadian women.

The British Columbia Federation of Labor set the tone for labor response by voting at their annual convention, which ended two days before the rally, to support the fight to ensure that women retain the right to choose abortion.



# For Indiana strikers, holiday spells solidarity

By Jon Hillson

GARY, Ind.—It was a Christmas party for the kids. Ice cream and cookies, presents, sitting on Santa's knee while Andy Williams crooned carols over the PA system. Like most other parties this time of year.

Only they weren't like most other kids. They were the children of steelworker locals 12775 and 13796, and the day of their party, December 13, was the 186th day their parents had been on strike against Northern Indiana Public Service Company.

It began when steelworker contracts expired on May 31. The energy scrooges at NIPSCO demanded givebacks. Production and clerical workers, whose U.S. Steel District 50, said no and struck.

The strike hasn't been easy. Utility strikes, even under the best conditions, never are. But the two locals of little more than 4000 are spread out over

12,000 square miles, with 150 picket sites to staff.

And NIPSCO was ready. They had an in-house scab force of 2000 "supervisors"—nearly half the number of strikers. They had expensive lawyers who specialize in the kind of public relations that portrays workers as lazy, money grubbing slackers.

And the area press, when it isn't running full page NIPSCO ads, prints NIPSCO handouts and calls them news.

Around election time, a few local Democrats roused themselves to token protests of NIPSCO's stonewalling at the bargaining table. But the elections came and went, and so did the politicians.

When strikers applied for food stamps—their lawful right—NIPSCO's legal bullies pressured local townships into denying relief. They claimed the U.S. Steel was a rich union, so its striking

members couldn't be needy. The good town fathers agreed.

And the state of Indiana recently got in the holiday mood by denying unemployment benefits to strikers.

Strikers have been getting some aid: \$40 a week from the union's international strike fund, and special grants from Steelworkers District 31, whose locals have "adopted" particularly hard hit families.

Union-organized collections at the big steel mills have raised even more money than those held during the 1977-78 miners' strike. And there have been solidarity rallies, fundraising dinners and dances in Chicago and northern Indiana.

But more is needed.

So it was easy to understand the occasional grim face at the union Christmas party: a parent facing an eviction or car repossession; a wife whose husband has had to take work at a power company in South Dakota or Utah.

Yet, there were other faces, the kind you see at a reunion. Strikers with side jobs and low morale mingled with the most dedicated picketers and activists, all of them back together, all of them realizing they were still union men and women.

There was hope that a settlement might be reached when negotiations reopen in Washington.

But there was more than hope at this holiday gathering—at this union-style Christmas. It was something as pervasive as the dancing eyes and bright smiles of the kids when they opened their presents.

It was the one thing the employers—however much their stockings bulge with profits—will never buy.

It was dignity.

Contributions can be sent to: USWA Locals 12775 and 13796, 701 East 83rd Avenue, Merrillville, Ind. 46410.

## USWA locals back Balto. hospital workers

By Geoff Mirelowitz

BALTIMORE—Solidarity. That's the watchword of the Local 1199E hospital workers' strike against Johns Hopkins and Sinai hospitals.

Hopkins and Sinai want to go back to the days when they had a "union-free environment," 1199E President Ron Hollie told the last meeting of Steelworkers Local 2609 at Sparrows Point.

BALTIMORE, Dec. 17—An agreement was reached yesterday at Johns Hopkins and approved by an overwhelming vote at a local 1199E union meeting. The union was able to maintain its benefits fund but lost the cost-of-living clause. Most workers the 'Militant' talked to felt this settlement was the best they could get under the circumstances. They returned to work determined to organize the unorganized sections of the hospital to strengthen their position for the next contract.

At press time no agreement has been reached at Sinai.

Hollie warned the steelworkers that the attack on 1199E was a sign of what could be expected from any employers encouraged by the incoming Reagan administration.

His appeal for aid met a sympathetic response. The steelworkers union is now circulating a leaflet throughout the giant Sparrows Point plant in support of the hospital strike. It answers the media smears of 1199E's position and urges steelworkers to join the picket lines, donate money to the strike fund, and spread the word among their friends and families.

"If management wins this strike," the flyer states, "other unions will be next. We must all stand together."

Joseph Kotelchuck, president of USWA Local 2610, the other local at Sparrows Point, told a December 13 strike support rally at Johns Hopkins, "If there's one thing steelworkers have learned, it's don't give back anything you get from the company."

But the hospitals have stuck to their takeback proposals of slashing 1199E's medical benefits fund and ending the cost-of-living adjustment. They also lowered their wage offer from 8 percent to 7 percent.



Militant Yvonne Hayes  
Baltimore hospital workers rally

At a December 14 rally at Sinai, the union announced that the hospitals have upped the ante by threatening to hire "temporary" replacements for the strikers.

In response, 1199E is stepping up its efforts to win community support. The predominantly Black and female union has taken its message to meetings of other union locals, to the Baltimore chapter of the National Organization for Women, to the local ministerial alliance, to a meeting of Hopkins University medical students, and elsewhere.

They are determined to broaden support for the strike and to convince the thousands of unemployed in this recession-hit city not to scab for the hospitals.

Despite cold weather and brisk winds, hundreds of strikers and their supporters rallied again this weekend. The rallies reached a high point when the predominantly Black crowds broke in to chants of "Fired up, can't take no more!"

Local 1199E is working to get the entire labor movement and Black community fired up and involved in this bitter fight to save their union.

## Local union newspapers discuss labor party

Spurred on by the bipartisan attacks on workers' rights, discussion about the need for an independent labor party is finding its way into the union press, especially local papers.

The newsletter of United Transportation Union Local 31, which organizes engineers and firemen on the Coast Division of the Southern Pacific Railroad, carried this comment on the November elections:

"At the Region 8 Meeting, [UTU] President Hardin spent a lot of time 'not telling you how to vote', but he did manage to make it sound like it would be in our (to use his words) 'greedy interests' to vote for Carter. This editor can only say that Reagan is not going to do us any good, but Carter hasn't done us much good either."

"In this election it is important to look at the alternatives. The other parties certainly offer a wide range of choices. It is too bad that one of those choices is not clearly marked the 'Labor Party'. It's for sure that the Democratic party can no longer be assumed to be the party for the working people."

"No matter who wins the next election things are going to be tough for the working people of this country. Our only hope may be to vote for the alternative parties."

"If enough of us do that we may wake some people up. They may get the message that we don't like what's going on, and we want to see some changes. Changes that will benefit the people that

make this country go . . . us, the working people."

The *Union Advocate* is the newspaper of International Association of Machinists District 98 in Pennsylvania. The November issue carries an article by district head Ed Clinch on "What's wrong with the labor movement?"

He recalls the strength of the unions in the 1930s and the active role of the membership then.

"Then in '47 came the Taft-Hartley Law and, later, the Landrum Griffin Law. With them 'Management Rights' clauses, 'No Strike-No Lockout' clauses and injunctions became common. This was a new political situation and the Corporations then began to control the politicians."

"Then came TV and it, too, like the newspapers, was and is controlled by the commercial advertisers. And how they have done a job on us with that tube!"

He lists some of the problems weighing down on the union membership today, starting with the draft and the threat of war.

"What effect does a foreign policy have upon our membership, as well as society as a whole, when it is clear that many of the Governments we support with our tax dollars are violators of basic human rights?" he asks.

Clinch talks about the problems of inflation, unemployment, corporate profiteering, and "the insecurity facing all workers today."

He concludes: "The day is over when we can stick our heads in the sand and survive as a trade union. We must face reality as it exists. We must not only think in terms of 'bread-and-butter' but think and act for social and political goals. And I'm talking about the issues raised in this article—not Democrat and Republican personalities."

"If we are really concerned about 'What's wrong with the labor movement,' we will tell it like it is. We know we've been ripped-off by the politicians and the business interests who control them. We know this situation has existed under both major political parties for many years. And we know it's getting worse instead of better."

"If we are honest with ourselves, and if we are truly interested in representing the interests of our members, we will give our members a goal full of hope and a cause that is just."

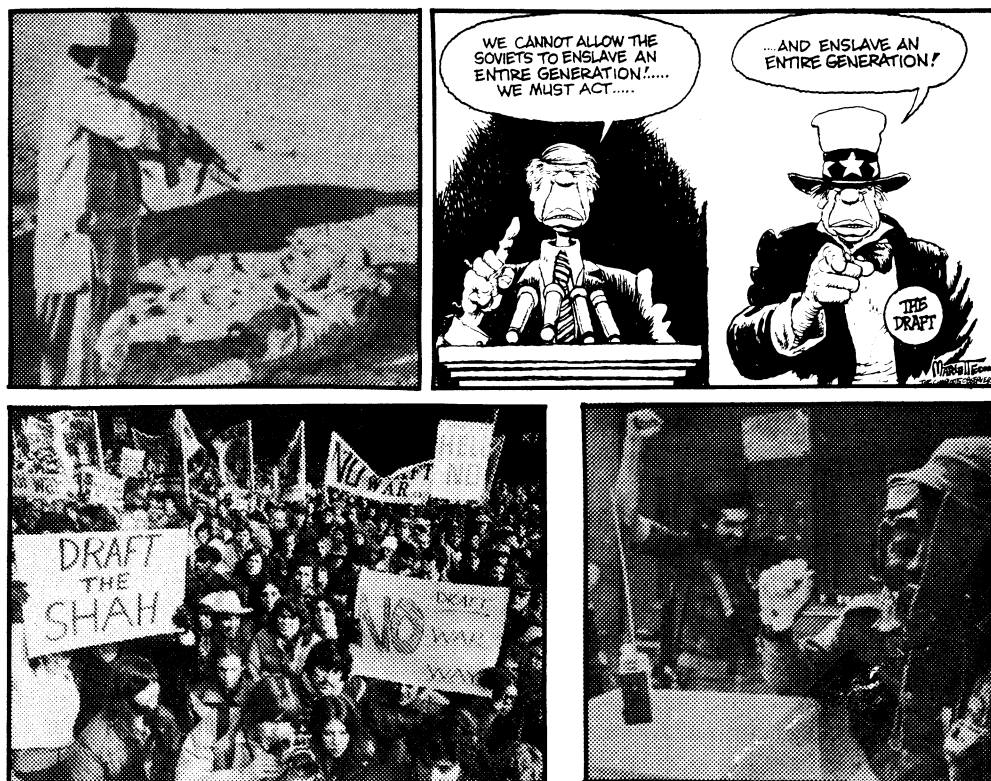
"We will begin to form coalitions within our communities and all over this country on the life and death issues facing all people. And when this uphill battle is accomplished, pull all the coalitions together and form a genuine third party—led by the Labor Movement."

"There is no other way!"

These are just a couple of examples sent to us in recent weeks. We urge our readers to send in clippings and reports on discussion in their areas of labor's political course.



# Imperialism, Stalinism, and the Afghan Revolution



**Within that context, it explains how the Kremlin's role in Afghanistan, including the sending of troops, has harmed the Afghan revolution and the world revolution as a whole.**

Historically the Pushtuns, many of whom are in nomadic tribes that travel back and forth across the border, fought British rule. The formation of Pakistan gave new impetus to the struggle of Pakistani Pushtuns for the right to self-determination, including the freedom to determine their relationship to Afghanistan

Continued on page ISR/3

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Soviet Troops in Afghanistan A Reassessment

The following statement was adopted November 26 by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

A few days after the Kremlin sent tens of thousands of Soviet troops into Afghanistan, the Socialist Workers Party National Committee discussed this event and adopted a position on it as part of a report on the world political situation.

The central axis of this position was condemnation of the U.S. government's intervention in Afghanistan on the side of the landlord-backed guerrillas and the Carter administration's attempt to use the Afghanistan situation as an excuse to step up its militarization drive. The SWP launched a campaign to tell the truth about the scope and nature of Washington's involvement and its anti-working-class foreign policy. Along these lines, the SWP opposed the boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow and economic sanctions against the Soviet Union. The SWP denounced greater military spending and more bases in the Indian Ocean. And, the SWP actively participated in the struggle against reconstituting draft registration.

Some radicals, including in the antidraft movement, adapted to the pressure of Washington's militarist propaganda. They argued that the Soviet Union bears partial, if not equal, blame as the imperialist powers for the threat of war in the world today. Members of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, for example, insisted that antidraft coalitions make condemnation of the USSR one of its principles. The radical weekly, *Guardian*, which immediately condemned the Soviet Union and called for withdrawal of Soviet troops, proclaimed that the main danger to world peace was "superpower contention." Their main concern was that the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan jeopardized "détente between U.S. imperialism and Soviet hegemonism," which posed "an enormous danger to world peace and progress."

The SWP rejected all these arguments and explained how they only serve to add fuel to the imperialists' anticommunist campaign. The quenchless profit drive of imperialism, not the Soviet bureaucracy, is the source of the drive toward war. The party also explained why it is new victories in the world revolution, not class-collaborationist ideals like détente, that mark the road to peace. The responsibility of class-conscious workers in the imperialist countries is to concentrate their fire on the real warmakers and aggressors, the capitalist rulers in their own countries.

In the eleven months since Moscow sent its troops into Afghanistan, the imperialists have not let up in their reactionary campaign. This was demonstrated most recently at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe held in Madrid and in the United Nations General Assembly.

At the Madrid conference in November, the U.S. representatives hypocritically decried

the Soviet presence in Afghanistan and demanded the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops. Meanwhile, the U.S. government was pouring in more arms and "advisers" to prop up the repressive junta in El Salvador, and staging a mock invasion of the Middle East by its Rapid Deployment Force. By attempting to get international publicity for its attacks on Moscow, Washington hoped to take some heat off its record as the worst violator of human rights and self-determination both at home and abroad.

On November 20, Washington pushed another resolution through the United Nations General Assembly, much like the one adopted last January, demanding a pull out of "foreign troops" from Afghanistan. The vote was about the same as in January: 111 for, 22 against, 12 abstentions, with nine countries either absent or not voting. As in January, the representatives of the revolutionary governments in Cuba and Grenada voted against this imperialist-initiated measure, and the representative of the revolutionary government in Nicaragua abstained.

At a meeting on November 15-17, the SWP National Committee again discussed the events in Afghanistan and adopted the resolution "Upheaval in Afghanistan," which appears below. The central axis of the party's response to the moves of U.S. imperialism was reaffirmed. At the same time, the National Committee came to the conclusion that it had been in error on a number of other aspects of the Afghan situation.

The initial report adopted by the January 5-9 National Committee meeting had said, "The presence of Soviet troops, by barring the road to the counterrevolution, creates a new and more favorable situation. . . . if Soviet troops help the new regime score victories over the reactionaries, this takes pressure off the Afghan revolution and encourages and inspires the struggle for social revolution in that country."

This was wrong. The November resolution corrects this by looking at the Soviet intervention within the framework of the overall policies of the Kremlin and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] regime. It says, ". . . the Soviet bureaucracy's occupation, like all of its preceding actions to prop up this government, did not give an impulse to independent initiative by the city workers or by the peasants. . . . The Soviet troops were not greeted by the workers and peasants as reinforcements in the fight to advance their social and political goals."

"To the contrary, the Kremlin's policy in Afghanistan has set back the revolutionary process opened in April 1978, and has had a dampening effect on the class struggle."

The January report also incorrectly stated that the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan "strengthens the hand of the anti-imperialist fighters in Iran. And it even buys time for the revolutionary government in Nicaragua, halfway around the world. Needless to say, the impact will be great in Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and Turkey."

The correction in the November resolution says, "Moscow's role has also negatively affected the class struggle in Iran and Pakistan."

"The hopes of the masses in Pakistan, first kindled by the Afghan upheaval, have been dimmed as the social revolution has been blocked. . . ."

"Instead of becoming a revolutionary example for the Iranian masses, the Kremlin-PDPA policies are grist for the mill of the clergy's anticommunism."

This error reflected a confusion of two quite different phenomena. The January report correctly recognized that the fact that Moscow thought it could get away with

sending Soviet troops into a capitalist country was a result of the post-Vietnam War shift in the world relationship of forces against Washington and other imperialist powers. But that report incorrectly equated this *result* of the changing balance of forces with a factor, such as the Nicaraguan and Iranian revolutions, that tipped the scales still further in favor of the world's toilers. The current resolution untangles this confusion, recognizing:

"In the context of the change in the world relationship of class forces to the detriment of imperialism, the Kremlin was more easily able to get away with the use of troops to attempt to stabilize a regime Washington sought to undermine, without any real fear of a direct military response by imperialism. But the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary policy in Afghanistan, including its use of troops, has had an adverse impact on this relationship of forces from the point of view of the oppressed and exploited of the world."

As part of the education campaign around Afghanistan conducted by the party, a pamphlet was published called "The Truth About Afghanistan" by Doug Jenness. It was based on the line adopted at the January meeting. The explanation for the Soviet intervention presented in this pamphlet is incorrect. "When the Kremlin sent Soviet troops into Afghanistan," the pamphlet argued, "it did not do so out of revolutionary motives, but as a defensive measure. It saw the U.S.- and Pakistani-backed guerrillas as a threat to the Soviet workers' state, which is their base of power and privileges."

The Soviet troops "were not sent to crush the Afghan revolution in the interests of détente or SALT II," the January report stated. "As much as the Soviet bureaucracy wants and presses for agreements like SALT II, it has interests that are more important; one of these is self-defense against direct imperialist moves to tighten the military encirclement of the Soviet Union."

The new resolution explains that defense of the Soviet workers state was not really at issue, nor was it a significant factor in the Kremlin's calculations.

The resolution states "that the dispatch of massive numbers of Soviet troops to Afghanistan was a *consequence* and *continuation* of the general policy the Kremlin had been carrying out since the PDPA government came to power. The failure of everything the Kremlin and the PDPA had done to establish a stable regime capable of governing the country left no other alternative, from the standpoint of their policy, to massively using Soviet troops as another attempt to accomplish this goal. This action signified the weak and worsening position the Kremlin found itself in after nearly two years of influencing, intervening in, and shoring up the PDPA government."

In correcting its initial evaluation of these important aspects of its position on Afghanistan, the SWP's National Committee had the benefit of ten months experience in carrying out its line—the central axis of which was against imperialism's moves—in the unions and the antidraft movement. It was also able to observe the consequences of the Soviet occupation both in Afghanistan and throughout the world, and to study more closely how other revolutionary currents, such as the Castro leadership, have assessed the situation there. In addition, the accumulation of new information from a growing number of sources (although obtaining accurate and timely information on Afghanistan remains a problem) about the results of the policies carried out by the Afghan regime and Soviet occupation forces facilitated a process of rethinking its position.

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**International  
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## --- Afghan

Continued from ISR front page

where the Pushtuns are the dominant nationality.

This has been a popular struggle in Afghanistan placing pressure on succeeding Afghan regimes to support it; and it has been the source of continuous friction between the Afghan and Pakistani governments. On three occasions since 1947, Pakistan, to protest the Kabul regime's support to the Pakistani Pushtuns, has closed its border with Afghanistan, cutting off trade.

In order to build up Pakistan as a strong military ally in the region, Washington has poured \$5 billion of aid into the country in the last thirty years.

### The Role of the Shah

The area was also deeply affected by the expansionist policies of the Iranian ruling class headed by the shah. After British imperialism withdrew its troops from the Persian Gulf area in 1971, the U.S. government poured in hundreds of millions more dollars and thousands of additional advisers to build a powerful armed forces in Iran. Washington considered the shah of shahs its most reliable ally in the area after Israel.

The Iranian capitalists signaled the broader influence they intend to exert in the region when, in 1971, Iranian troops occupied three islands in the Persian Gulf near the Strait of Hormuz to establish military bases. Then, in 1973 Iranian armed forces helped the sultanate of Oman crush revolutionary activity in its oil fields. In 1975 the shah's regime signed a treaty with Baghdad, agreeing to cut off aid to rebelling Kurds in Iraq in return for the Iraqi regime's acceptance of Iranian sovereignty over the Persian Gulf islands, as well as over the eastern half and shore of the Shatt al-Arab waterway.

The Iranian bourgeoisie's military thrusts paralleled the establishment of closer relations with the Pakistani regime, its fellow member in the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), an imperialist-created military alliance. Tehran assisted Islamabad in countering insurgent activity by the working class and oppressed nationalities. Prodding from the shah's government was partly responsible for Bhutto's decision to take harsh action against the Baluchis. The Iranian ruling class totally backed the drive to crush the Baluchi freedom fighters, and the shah issued bellicose declarations pledging that Iran would not stand by and watch Pakistan collapse. The fear of an autonomous regime in revolutionary upheaval in Pakistani Baluchistan, which is located along the Gulf of Oman, impelled the Iranian government to dispatch tens of thousands of troops into Iranian Baluchistan and establish two big military bases there.

The shah also began using Iran's increased military and economic weight to influence the government in Kabul. By increasing loans and direct investments, including the construction of better transportation routes to Iran, he attempted to get the Afghan monarchy to take a greater distance from Moscow. Growing suspicions in Afghanistan, including in the government, of Iran's influence and imperial intentions was a factor behind the support for Daud in overthrowing the monarchy in 1973.

Among the masses in Iran, discontent and opposition to the hated shah and the policies of his government also grew. In the mid-1970s protests increased, and the opposition burst forth in a qualitatively larger way with the February 1978 uprising in Tabriz. This gave momentum to the movement that led to the massive urban insurrection that overthrew the shah's regime a year later, and to the deepgoing revolution that kicked out American imperialism and is still unfolding. This revolutionary overthrow of the shah registered a major shift in the relationship of class forces in the region favorable to the victims of imperialist oppression.

### Daud and the Republic

In Afghanistan, the radicalization of students and workers begun in the mid-1960s converged in the early 1970s with large-scale discontent of peasants who were suffering from a severe three-year drought and famine. Dissatisfaction with the ruling monarchy was compounded by common knowledge that wheat imported by aid agencies was being appropriated by corrupt officials and sold on the black market. Further-

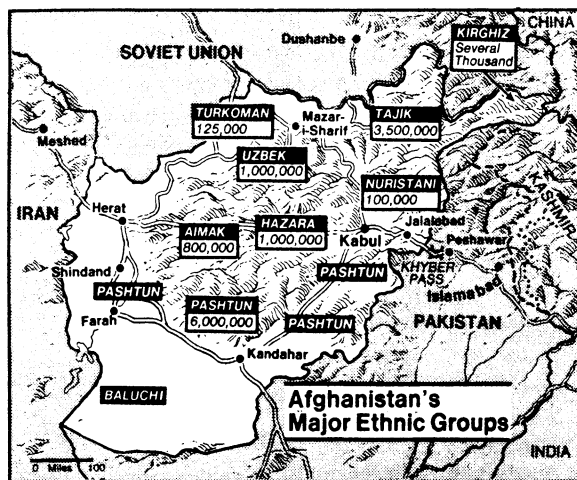
more, in the wake of this devastating dry spell, Mohammad Zahir Shah's government signed an unpopular agreement to divert water to Iran from Afghanistan's Helmand River water system.

The social tensions building up in Afghanistan fostered divisions in the government and undermined support for the monarchy. Seeking to head off a mass upheaval, Mohammad Daud seized power in July 1973, while Zahir Shah was abroad. He abolished the monarchy and declared Afghanistan a republic. Daud, the prime minister under the monarchy between 1953 and 1963 and the king's cousin, came to power with the aid of

**'By attempting to get international publicity for its attacks on Moscow, Washington hoped to take some heat off its record as the worst violator of human rights and self-determination both at home and abroad.'**

nationalist, "modernizing" military officers, some of whom had been trained by Soviet advisers.

Daud promised a series of democratic measures, including land reform, and loudly proclaimed support for the struggles of Pushtuns and Baluchis in Pakistan. He appointed to his cabinet four members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), all from the party faction headed by Babrak Karmal, the current head of state. However, Daud failed to deliver on his promises. In the context of mounting combativity of the oppressed and exploited masses in the region, he pursued a course of trying to maintain stability. This led him to seek closer relations with the staunchly proimperialist re-



gimes in Iran and Pakistan.

In October 1975, Daud closed the border dividing Afghan from Pakistani Baluchistan, which guerrillas fighting Bhutto had been crossing. In late 1977 he agreed to expel Pushtun and Baluchi political activists from Afghanistan. He was attempting to negotiate a settlement of the Pushtunistan conflict with Bhutto that would have indicated support to Islamabad's antiautonomy position.

He permitted SAVAK agents from Iran to act as advisers inside the Afghan armed forces in order to seek out and dislodge pro-Moscow officers. He ratified the unpopular Helmand Waters Treaty with Iran, which he had previously opposed. He endorsed the shah's proposals for an Asian common market. He removed PDPA members from positions of authority and reneged on his commitment to permit independent political activity. Those who protested government policies were severely repressed. Matters were coming to a head when six thousand Baluchi refugees made clear they would refuse to leave the country by the government-imposed deadline of April 30, 1978.

### The PDPA-Led Coup and Uprising

The April 17, 1978, police killing of Mir Akbar Khyber, a prominent university professor and popular leader of the PDPA, was the spark that ignited the tinderbox. The funeral procession in Kabul for this radical leader turned into a dem-

onstration of more than fifteen thousand people, very large for Afghanistan. They marched to the U.S. embassy to protest CIA and SAVAK complicity in the murder. Other mass demonstrations followed, as broader layers of the Afghan people stepped forward to express their demands.

On the crest of these actions, the PDPA—whose top leaders had been rounded up and jailed by Daud—organized a successful coup on April 27. They were able to use a substantial section of the military since part of the officer caste was under PDPA influence. Colonels Abdul Qader and Aslam Watanjar, who led the armed uprising against the Daud regime, were both PDPA members.

Virtually all accounts indicate that the new regime was popular during its first months in power, especially in the cities. Rallies, processions, and meetings were held in many towns and villages to hail the overthrow of Daud and express support for the new regime. Soldiers were given garlands of flowers.

Daud's palace was thrown open to the public, and according to a *Le Monde* reporter on the scene, "hundreds of thousands" flocked to the palace "often coming from the interior of the country" to see for themselves how lavishly Daud had lived.

The PDPA government announced a program of social reforms. It purged most of the generals in the army and abolished Daud's Republican Guard. It released more than twelve thousand political prisoners and burned police files. It announced plans for a literacy campaign and construction of six hundred schools. It declared the bride price reduced and outlawed child marriages. It proclaimed certain cultural and education rights for Turkomans, Uzbeks, Baluchis, Nuristanis, and other nationalities, enabling them to legally publish materials and produce radio programs in their own languages for the first time. Trade unions were legalized for the first time in Afghan history. Freedom of religious worship was proclaimed.

The cornerstone of the proposed social program was the land reform. All debts of peasants to landlords were declared cancelled. And a plan to expropriate large landowners and distribute land on a massive scale to landless peasants was announced.

### II. The Erosion of the Revolution

The urban workers and peasants of Afghanistan had been promised many things before, including land reform, by newly installed regimes. But they had always been disappointed. So it was with cautious hope that they viewed the proclamations of the PDPA government.

The PDPA promised a lot. Its proposals directly challenged those who profit from exploitation both in the cities and the countryside. Their implementation would necessitate a massive social revolution in the lives of the majority of Afghanistan's nearly twenty million people. For this reason, it was essential to win the support and confidence of the peasants by demonstrating in practice that they would have the full support of the government against the exploiters, and by promoting the organization of the poor peasants to implement the program. But this was not the course the PDPA followed.

### The Character of the PDPA

The PDPA is a petty-bourgeois party in origin, social composition, program and perspectives, and mode of organization. Heavily influenced by a mixture of nationalist, Stalinist, and liberal notions of "modernization," its base has been in the bloated government bureaucracy, created by thirty years of foreign aid, and among students, teachers, intellectuals and sections of the officer corps. For example, eleven of the twenty-one PDPA members named to the first cabinet held government appointments at the time of the coup, including doctors, professors, engineers, and three military officers. The other ten included writers, lawyers, teachers and one landlord. Most received academic or military schooling in the West and knew English. These included Nur Mohammed Taraki and Hafizullah Amin, who each spent some time in the United States. Only four were Soviet-trained and knew Russian.

The working class is very small in proportion to the total population, and the number of industrial workers, including those employed in construction, is even smaller. The PDPA has few roots in this class, small as it is. The PDPA also has few links with, little knowledge about, and



no established organizations among the peasants.

The party was formed at its first and only congress in 1965 by petty-bourgeois radical intellectuals, several of whom—such as Nur Mohammed Taraki and Babrak Karmal—were well known figures, who had been involved in democratic struggles since the late 1940s. A larger layer of the founding leadership came out of student protests in the early 1960s.

Two years after the party was founded it split into two factions around the newspapers *Khalq* (masses) and *Parcham* (flag). Amin and Taraki

their next crop to the landlord. They are further exploited by taxes and high interest payments on loans. Around 15 percent of the population are nomads. The economic livelihood of many of them is interlinked with that of settled farmers, especially concerning the use of grazing lands. The gradual development of a market economy in Afghanistan during the last several decades has begun to alter social relations and hastened the migration of poor peasants toward the towns. Some are absorbed into the small working class. But most swell the semiproletarian layers in the urban areas. Tens of thousands emigrated to

with implementation of other reforms.

"Abolition of usury was a very popular measure: Millions of Afghani peasants and city people were indebted to money lenders, their properties were mortgaged. When the government issued its proclamation writing off debts and ending usury, this had a liberating effect and was welcomed by the people. But the Party and the government were not able to mobilize the people against the reaction of the vested interests and usurers. They relied on state power rather than on people's power."

Issuing tens of thousands of property deeds to landless peasants and declaring cancelled the debts owed to usurers were important decrees, but they did not mean that the land reform had been carried through and secured. For the peasants to reap benefits from these decrees required action by the government to make water, credit, seed grain, work animals, and machinery available to them. Above all, the peasants, especially the poorest, needed to be mobilized and organized to defend themselves from the attempts of landlords and other vested interests to sabotage the land reform.

The implementation of other measures was handled in a similar manner. For example, participation in the literacy campaign—unlike Cuba or Nicaragua—was made compulsory rather than voluntary, and physical force rather than persuasion was sometimes used to assemble the populace.

The bureaucratic and arbitrary methods of the PDPA engendered little confidence and, after initial enthusiasm and expectations, left the peasants politically and physically disarmed.

### '[Amin] was made the s measures carried out b



the face of the landlords' reaction, which was swift in coming. Many were terrorized into opposing the government's measures; others over time accepted the landlord and mullah arguments against the "atheistic communists."

The PDPA's initial decrees and proposals would have required a government mobilizing the support of the workers and peasants to carry them out. This is how the agrarian revolution was carried out in Cuba, and is being carried out in Nicaragua and Grenada today. But this is not the kind of government that exists in Afghanistan.

To quell the growing resistance of the landlords, tribal chiefs, and usurers, the PDPA government stepped up its repressive measures. But this, too, was done without politically mobilizing the regime's potential supporters. Far from a revolutionary policy in growing civil war conditions, it was a military operation in which the armed forces struck out not only at the counterrevolutionaries, but also at villagers who may have been confused or misled, or who simply lived in areas where reactionary resistance was strongest. At times, entire villages were bombed. In Kabul some families, originating from the areas where the counterrevolutionaries were active, were detained. Such actions alienated even more people and played into the hands of the landlord-organized guerrilla forces. Popular support for the government was further undermined.

On top of this, violent factionalism and punitive purges in the PDPA divided the government at its highest levels. A few months after taking power, the majority *Khalq* faction purged members of the *Parcham* faction from the government. Many of them were sent abroad for unimportant assignments, some were arrested, and public "confessions" were forced from others. Karmal was gotten out of the way by sending him to Czechoslovakia as ambassador. Amin used his position as head of the secret police to consolidate a personal base of power in the government, taking over the post of prime

## 'A telling sign of the government's unresponsiveness to the struggles of the oppressed was shown by its failure to hail and solidarize with the Iranian revolution that was unfolding in 1978 and 1979.'

led the *Khalq*, and Karmal and Mir Akbar Khyber the *Parcham* faction. In addition to internal power struggles, there were a number of political differences. For example, the *Khalq* disagreed with the *Parcham*'s decision to support Daud's bid for power in 1973 and to participate in his government.

Relations between the two groups were often vitriolic, and included charges and countercharges of leaders being CIA agents. A fragile unity was reestablished in 1977, but it lasted only three months after the April 1978 coup. Although no official links between the PDPA and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were made public, both factions had ties to Moscow and to pro-Moscow parties in the region.

No Afghan Marxist party exists, nor is there evidence of a Leninist current inside the PDPA. But revolutionary-minded workers and students were attracted to the PDPA as the only radical pole of opposition, and because of its reform measures and promises. At the time of the coup, the PDPA claimed fifty thousand members, but most other evaluations place it between five thousand and ten thousand.

The PDPA assumed power as the result of an urban-based coup, which had popular support. The coup had been precipitated by large protests in Kabul. Although discontent existed in the countryside where 85 percent of the population lives, there was no peasant war or uprising.

The demonstrations in the cities did not lead to the masses destroying the old capitalist state apparatus, and replacing it with a revolutionary government that represented their historic interests. Rather, the PDPA purged primarily top officers from the military and leading authorities from the government apparatus, leaving many other officers and lower-level government administrators in place. It put its own people into the top positions in the existing structure of the military, police, and civil bureaucracy.

Furthermore, the PDPA did not issue a call for a constituent assembly which would bring together representatives, elected on the basis of universal suffrage, to discuss and decide what kind of government they wanted and how to implement the proposed social reforms.

Corruption and special privileges were also allowed to continue, including the practice of nepotism, in making important government assignments.

### The PDPA Regime and the Rural Toilers

A thirty-five member "Revolutionary Council" and a twenty-one member Cabinet were set up composed exclusively of PDPA members. Taraki, secretary-general of the party, was designated president of the council and prime minister of the country.

Immense social and economic backwardness confronted the toiling masses as a result of decades of imperialist oppression. More than 90 percent of the people are illiterate. Health conditions are appalling and half the children die before they reach the age of five. Communications with and transportation to the country's nearly twenty thousand villages, where the vast majority of people live, are very primitive. Traditional patriarchal tribal relations still determine the status of women, the organization of the family, and the manner in which all social questions are approached.

Most people in the countryside are landless or own very small plots of land. To rent land, buy seeds and fertilizer, and pay for the use of water and horses or tractors, the peasants sell shares of

Iran, Pakistan, or the Persian Gulf states to seek work.

More than 95 percent of Afghans are Muslims, 80 percent are members of the Hanafi Sunni sect. And the Islamic hierarchy wields great power in upholding the abominable social conditions in the country. There are about 250,000 mullahs, some of whom own large tracts of tax-free land, many of whom control educational institutions, and most of whom wield local political influence.

Many of the landlords cultivated opium poppies as their main cash crop, serving as a major source for the world narcotics trade.

Under such circumstances, a radical land reform program could have provided a powerful impetus to the revolutionary process in Afghanistan—if carried out under a revolutionary leadership that understood the pressing need to politically educate and win the confidence of the peasant masses and actively mobilize them against the landlord class. But the attempt by the PDPA regime to establish a new dictatorship of the city over the countryside was not that of the revolutionary proletariat seeking ways to forge and consolidate an economic and political alliance with the peasantry and rural poor. Thus when the PDPA began to carry out its proposed land reform in January 1979, it did so from its urban petty-bourgeois base with the goal of consolidating its dominance within the bourgeois state apparatus. There is no evidence there was ever any serious attempt to draw the peasants into determining the content or implementation of the land reform. Rather than organizing and massively mobilizing the peasants to carry out the new measures, the PDPA relied on the army and government apparatus. And they wielded this authority with a heavy hand.

Feroz Ahmed, an editor of *Pakistan Forum* and a sympathetic eyewitness of the revolution, stated in an interview with *MERIP Reports* (July-August 1980) that:

"When land reforms were announced and implemented, it was mainly by city people: party cadres, government functionaries, youth organization people. They were going out in the countryside and demarcating lands, telling people this land belongs to you. They had a lot of difficulty. The masses didn't know them. What would happen after they left to go back to the cities? A feudal system is very entrenched, and is all-encompassing. It is not just a question of ownership, it's a whole system in which credit, patronage, all these things are tied up. If you break one major link, then the whole chain gets upset, and you must be ready to handle all the problems arising out of the disturbance you have made.

"The *Khalq* Party [PDPA] was not in a position to do that. Many peasants were not convinced that they should have land. I can't say that this has been the reaction of the majority of the peasants; there has been a lot of enthusiasm about the land reforms which I have witnessed. But some young people who went out in the countryside to carry out land reforms later told me that sometimes they would go and give a document to the peasant and say 'This land belongs to you.' The peasant would be embarrassed and say, 'No, how can we do that? This is *khayanat* [usurping someone else's right or property].' Many peasants *did* feel it was their right to have the land, but what after they get the document? They had been dependent on the landlords for management, for seed, for implements, for marketing credits. When the landlords struck back, there was nobody to protect the peasants. And the same sort of thing is repeated

minister from Taraki in March 1979. In September 1979 Taraki, still president, was murdered. Thousands more were jailed.

These brutal power struggles further clarified the real character of the regime. The progressive, reform-oriented image of the government during its first months in power was rapidly tarnished, and more people turned against it.

A telling sign of the government's unresponsiveness to the struggles of the oppressed was shown by its failure to hail and solidarize with the Iranian revolution that was unfolding in 1978 and 1979.

### III. Counterrevolution and Civil War

The government's course eroded the popular support it gained when it first took power and led to its growing weakness in the face of the resistance spearheaded by the landlords, moneylenders, merchants, opium smugglers, and other mainstays of the old social order in Afghanistan.

A counterrevolutionary guerrilla struggle was organized under the banner of waging a Muslim "holy war" against "atheistic communism." This banner is designed to camouflage the class line-ups and social character of the civil war.

#### The Reactionary Resistance

There are many organizations fighting the PDPA government, including forces that propose restoring the monarchy. Some estimates put the number as high as sixty. At least fourteen maintain offices in Peshawar, Pakistan. Despite several attempts, these organizations have been unable to wage a united struggle. This is rooted in the fact that the groups are based on different

### oat for all the unpopular PDPA government.'



Left to right, former leaders of Afghanistan Mohammad Daud, Noor Mohammad Taraki, and present head of state Babrak Karmal.

tribal groupings from different regions of the country with separate and often conflicting interests. Some have long traditions of feuding with each other.

For example, in May 1980 more than nine hundred tribal chiefs, mullahs, and other provincial authorities from every part in Afghanistan gathered in Peshawar. According to the *New York Times* reporter on the scene they established a 110-member "revolutionary council" as "the first step toward forming a government-in-exile." However, the six principal organizations leading the guerrilla struggle refused even to accept seats on the council.

Afghanistan is not a modern, centralized, national state. It has never had a bourgeois evolution. The country was established by the Durrani confederation of the Pushtun tribes, under the leadership of Ahmad Khan, who in the 1740s defeated Persian invaders and proclaimed himself Amir (King) of the Afghans. Next to the Ottoman Empire, the Durrani Empire was the largest Muslim empire during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Economic changes have occurred during this century so that most production is now for the market. But the monarchical form of rule—in which an amir was chosen by the Pushtun tribal leaders—survived until 1973.

Authority traditionally has been a matter of negotiation and compromise between the central government and the tribal leaders. This meant significant restrictions on the central government's power of taxation, as well as limits on conscription to a standing army, especially among the stronger, more dominant tribes. The bureaucracy in Kabul, built up in the last decades, was financed heavily from foreign aid and not primarily tax collections. Even under the last monarch, who proclaimed a constitution and established the facade of a parliament, the more authoritative body remained the Loya Jirgah. This traditional council was weighted heavily by

tribal leaders and was convened by the monarch when he so decided.

Afghanistan is composed of a number of nationalities with different languages and cultures. Many of them have closer ties with people living in Pakistan, Iran, or the USSR than with others living in Afghanistan. These national divisions also find their reflection in the guerrilla organizations.

The PDPA sought to centralize authority when it took power. The traditional decentralization is what each of the guerrilla groups are attempting to maintain, either by forcing the removal of the present government, or forcing it to establish a live-and-let-live relationship with local, tribally dominated authorities.

The Pakistani government, which fears the impact of the Afghan revolution in its own country, has provided the counterrevolutionaries military aid as well as sanctuaries from which to conduct their operations. Without this assistance, the rightists, who are divided and poorly armed, would have found it difficult to maintain their struggle.

The rightists are permitted by the Zia ul-Haq government to freely move about in Pakistan's western provinces and intimidate the local population. Whereas democratic rights for Pakistanis are denied by the government, Afghan counterrevolutionaries maintain open headquarters, hold news conferences, and carry arms. There have been many armed clashes with the local people, the biggest in Baluchistan.

The Zia regime is not at all adverse to the Afghan oppressors some of whom brought a lot of money with them and are buying land and houses, terrorizing the rebellious Baluchi and Pushtun workers and peasants.

#### Washington's Reaction

The Pakistani operation has the full backing of imperialism. From the beginning, U.S. imperialism was bitterly hostile to the Afghan revolution and its possible effects throughout the region. It was one more in a series of blows from Southeast Asia to Southern Africa, from Iran to the Caribbean, that have altered the relationship of forces in favor of the tens of millions struggling against imperialist exploitation and oppression.

On May 5, 1978, a few days after the PDPA came to power, the *New York Times* ran an editorial headlined "The Communist Coup in Afghanistan." It warned, "A revolutionary Afghanistan will make its neighbors nervous. Its very existence will intensify separatist sentiment among the Baluchi tribesmen in Pakistan and Iran." The editorial advised neighboring capitalist countries to do what they could to help Afghans who fled from the revolution and to aid whatever opposition might arise against the new government.

In June 1978, two months after the overthrow of Daud, some 270 senior generals, admirals, diplomats, State Department functionaries, "think tankers," and others gathered at the NATO Atlantic Command at Annapolis, Maryland, to discuss the potential threat to imperialist interests throughout the region posed by the upheaval in Afghanistan.

Washington cut off all aid agreements and trade, moved to have loans blocked from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and began to step up its aid to the rightist leaderships, which it primarily funnels through the Pakistani government.

After the revolution that ousted the shah of Iran in early 1979, the imperialist powers became even more concerned. They stepped up their support to the Afghan reactionaries in the hope that this would also put rightist pressure on the Iranian revolution.

Imperialism's goal was to take advantage of the growing discontent with the PDPA government in order to help undermine the revolution.

The Peking bureaucracy, as part of its traitorous obeisance to U.S. imperialism, has also sought to maintain stability in the region, diminish influence from Moscow, and energetically opposed all revolutionary developments. It backed the butcher Bhutto in his wars against Bengali and Baluchi freedom fighters, and hailed the shah while millions of Iranians were mobilizing to overthrow him. In concert with imperialism and the Pakistani regime, it has also provided military aid to reactionary Afghan guerrilla fighters.

### IV. Soviet Bureaucracy Opposes Revolution

Since the mid-1930s, the bureaucratic caste that governs the Soviet Union has placed the

achievement of lasting agreements with imperialist powers as its central foreign policy objective. This strategic search for stability has led it to oppose revolutions, especially on its borders.

Having strangled independence and initiative in the working class and among the poor peasants at home by setting up a totalitarian political structure, the bureaucracy does not dare stimulate critical thought and revolutionary activity on the world arena. Moreover, as a ruling and privileged petty-bourgeois stratum, it values infinitely more the help and friendship of those to whom it is socially akin—bourgeois nationalists, reformist parliamentarians, trade-union bureaucrats—than of the rank-and-file workers who are separated from it by a class line. Like these types, it seeks to establish a class-collaborationist policy of nonaggression between the oppressed and exploited masses and the capitalist rulers. That's its objective in Central Asia, as elsewhere. But the massive upheaval in that region today prevents the realization of this goal.

That's why, for example, the Soviet government opposed the struggle to overturn the shah of Iran until shortly before he was ousted. Today, along with the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party in Iran, it supports the efforts of the capitalist government headed by Khomeini and Bani-Sadr to stabilize the situation and freeze the status quo. That's why it voted with Washington in the United Nations Security Council in December 1979 to condemn the taking of U.S. hostages by Tehran students as a "violation of international law."

#### Moscow and Kabul

Moscow has been successful in maintaining friendly relations with the various Afghan regimes, no matter how reactionary, since World War II. During the 1950s, representatives of the Afghan regime sought military aid from U.S. imperialism comparable to what it was giving Pakistan. Washington refused unless Kabul joined CENTO and dropped its support to the demand for a united Pushtunistan. Rejecting this blackmail, the monarchy turned to the USSR, which became its major trading partner and source of military aid. Between 1954 and 1976, Moscow gave the Kabul regime \$1.3 billion in aid, the largest per capita amount of Soviet aid to any capitalist country.

When Daud overthrew the monarchy in 1973, Moscow immediately reaffirmed its relations and made clear its support for the Parcham faction's legal participation in the government.

Even as the Daud regime moved to establish

**'The imperialist response to tens of thousands of Soviet troops going into Afghanistan was to prop up other reactionary governments in the region and significantly step up aid to the rightist guerrillas.'**



Rightist rebel executing high school teacher. Many such atrocities were committed by rightists seeking to block literacy campaign and education of women.



closer ties with Iran and Pakistan, and as SAVAK agents helped purge the Afghan army of many pro-Moscow officers, the Kremlin made no moves to alter its relations with Kabul.

Moscow's immediate response to the government established by the April 1978 coup—for which there is no evidence it had any responsibility—was to use its influence on the PDPA to help stabilize the regime, control it, and put a lid on the class struggle. From the outset, it spent millions of dollars and sent increasing numbers of military and civilian personnel to help shore up the PDPA regime and the capitalist state apparatus on which it rested. As popularity for the regime dwindled and the various oppositionists and right-wing rebels grew bolder, the Soviet government stepped up these efforts.

During this period, the Kremlin was worried by the gigantic steps forward for the class struggle throughout the region. Most important was the overthrow of the shah and the mammoth social upheaval in Iran. In Pakistan there were numerous workers strikes and demonstrations by stu-

ants with the government. Together with the growth and increasing confidence of the landlord-led opposition, this posed the possibility of the disintegration of the Kabul regime.

In addition to the groups known to be under counterrevolutionary leadership along the Pakistan border, other rebel formations emerged in the rural areas. Sections of the Hazara people rose up. The Karmal government now charges that its predecessor was waging a war of extermination against the Hazaras.

Some of these rebel groupings claim to be influenced by the Iranian revolution and to advocate an "Islamic Republic" for Afghanistan. But the real social goals and composition of these forces is far from evident.

#### Taraki's Murder and Kremlin Escalation

The Kremlin representatives in Kabul directly intervened in the factional conflicts in the PDPA. Exactly what role they played in the clash between Taraki and Amin in September 1979 is still not clear. However, Taraki was murdered at



Soviet military camp outside Kabul

dents and peasants during 1979 in spite of severe repression. The U.S. embassy in Islamabad was burned down in November 1979 during protests against Washington's threats against Iran.

In April 1979 a high-level Soviet delegation led by General Alexei Yepichev, First Deputy Minister of Defense and President of Political Affairs of the Soviet Army and Navy, was sent to Kabul to review the functioning of the regime. Vassily Safrontchuk, a top Soviet functionary, was assigned overall responsibility for coordinating Russian policy. He set up an office next to Taraki's in the People's House in Kabul.

By the end of the summer up to five thousand Russian "advisers" were moved into the government apparatus to help fill the gap unable to be met by the depleted, demoralized, and unreliable ranks of the PDPA or its supporters.

The equivalent of millions of dollars in rubles were being sent each day to prop up the government apparatus, and Moscow's responsibility for military operations became more direct. Soviet forces took over the principal air fighter base at Bagram, north of Kabul. Helicopter guard units were sent in to defend military bases. Soviet officers were posted down to the company level.

Under the Kremlin's guiding hand, the PDPA forged a policy whose consequences would deepen its growing alienation from the masses and further obstruct initiatives by any who sought to drive the class struggle forward. One feature of this counterrevolutionary policy was increased use of the air force and Russian pilots to strafe and level rural settlements where there was believed to be resistance. With growing rebellions and desertions in the army, indiscriminate air power became the central means of combating any suspected resistance.

In July and August 1979, brigades of the Afghan army crossed over to opposition to the regime, some joining the right-wing rebels. Many other soldiers deserted or could no longer be trusted by the government. Opposition in the army, including among PDPA members, was also expressed in clashes with Russian officers.

The Kremlin-PDPA policy also sought to cut the guerrillas off from food by burning crops in areas where the rebels had established control, such as the Kunar Valley. Far from helping politically divide the peasants from their exploiters, brutal measures of this sort only made them more antagonistic to the government.

These measures, moreover, did not stabilize the situation. Rather, they fueled the mounting dissatisfaction of the urban workers and the peas-

the instigation of Amin shortly after Taraki returned to Kabul from a high-level reception in Moscow where he met with Brezhnev and other Kremlin officials. And it was to the Soviet embassy in Kabul that Taraki's closest associates in the government fled when he was killed.

Following Taraki's murder, General Ivan G. Pavlovsky, Deputy Minister of Defense, was sent on a mission to Kabul.

Then, in the last two weeks of December, Moscow airlifted several thousand Soviet troops to Afghanistan and on December 27 helped overthrow President Amin. Babrak Karmal, who had been living in Czechoslovakia, was flown in and established as the prime minister and president.

On December 28 the *Wall Street Journal* reported that, "The action came as Soviet troops—about 6,500 by Washington's count—and military equipment poured into Afghanistan in a major airlift. News agencies reported fighting in Kabul involving tanks, artillery and automatic rifles and said the Soviet troops were participating. Tass, the official Soviet news agency, carried a statement from Mr. Karmal that denounced the former regime of Mr. Amin as a dictatorship and an arm of 'American imperialism.'"

The *Journal* further reported that, "Radio Kabul monitored in London said that Mr. Amin had been executed after being convicted by a revolutionary trial court of 'crimes against the Afghan people.'"

Amin was posthumously accused of being a "CIA agent" involved in a "sinister plot" to strangle the Afghan revolution. He was made the scapegoat for all the unpopular measures carried out by the PDPA government—a government that the Kremlin had backed and become deeply committed to.

Karmal reorganized the cabinet to include ministers from both factions, released thousands of political prisoners jailed by Amin, and announced face-lifting measures that would give the regime the appearance of appealing for broader support. He brought back into the government figures such as Colonel Abdul Qader, a central figure in the April 1978 toppling of Daud who had been subsequently purged in the factional battles.

Following Karmal's installation, tens of thousands of Soviet troops were sent into the country to secure air bases, road crossings, and key towns. The objective was to establish a defense perimeter in order to help the Karmal regime

consolidate itself and stabilize the situation in the country.

In the ten months that Soviet troops have occupied key points in Afghanistan, wider mass resistance has developed to the regime and its Kremlin backers than previously existed. This has made it impossible for Moscow to accomplish its goal of consolidating a stable regime.

This resistance is broader than the original landlord-usurer-backed opposition to the land reform in the countryside. It now also includes substantial opposition in the cities, including among sectors of the population that once were a base of support for the PDPA.

For example, there were significant antigovernment protests of university and high school students in Kabul in April and May. According to an official Radio Kabul broadcast on June 8, 140 persons were killed and thirty schools destroyed during the demonstrations.

The initial moves by Karmal to patch up relations with the Khalq faction have not met with much success. Many Khalq figures were sent to distant embassy posts and all but two were removed from the cabinet. The continued factionalism has led to increased desertions and rebellions in the Afghan army which in its great majority had been aligned with the Khalq faction. These elements in the Khalq faction have become one of the forces in opposition to the Soviet occupation and the Karmal regime.

In evaluating the role of the Kremlin from the standpoint of the toiling masses, there are several important points to keep in mind.

One is that the dispatch of massive numbers of Soviet troops to Afghanistan was a *consequence* and *continuation* of the general policy the Kremlin had been carrying out since the PDPA government came to power. The failure of everything the Kremlin and the PDPA had done to establish a stable regime capable of governing the country left no other alternative, from the standpoint of their policy, to massively using Soviet troops as another attempt to accomplish this goal. This action signified the weak and worsening position the Kremlin found itself in after nearly two years of influencing, intervening in, and shoring up the PDPA government.

Had the Kremlin been closer to achieving several of its most important diplomatic aims internationally, it might not have decided to open itself up to a massive imperialist propaganda campaign and economic sanctions by sending a large number of troops into Afghanistan. But the price demanded by the imperialists for further deals with Moscow has gone up because of the failure of the 1972 detente agreements to halt the outbreak of new revolutionary upheavals from Indochina to Iran to Central America. This has led to a series of diplomatic setbacks for Moscow that may have convinced the bureaucracy that its need to try to stabilize the Afghan situation outweighed other factors, since it was getting so few results on its key diplomatic objectives. For example, Western European governments had voted to take NATO cruise missiles. It seemed clear the U.S. Senate would not ratify the SALT II agreements. And Moscow's talks with Peking had made no apparent progress in normalizing relations between the two countries.

By the time of the massive Soviet troop movement into Afghanistan, the PDPA government was no longer popular and its practices were making it increasingly alienated from the toiling classes.

Therefore, the Soviet bureaucracy's occupation, like all of its preceding actions to prop up this government, did not give an impulse to independent initiatives by the city workers or by the peasants. It did not inspire them to drive the land reform forward, to struggle for a constituent assembly, to implement workers' control in industry, or to mobilize against the counterrevolutionary guerrillas. The Soviet troops were not greeted by the workers and peasants as reinforcements in the fight to advance *their* social and political goals.

To the contrary, the Kremlin's policy in Afghanistan has *set back* the revolutionary process opened in April 1978, and has had a dampening effect on the class struggle. From the beginning, it has sought to freeze social relations—not on the basis of a successful agrarian and social revolution, but on the basis of a reform program that barely got off the ground before it floundered. The Kremlin-PDPA policy of holding back the implementation of even the originally an-



nounced reforms, let alone educating and mobilizing the population to drive the revolutionary process forward, has inevitably strengthened the hand of the property owners and weakened the toilers. It has hurt, not helped, the struggle against the exploiters. These results make unambiguous the fact that the policy pursued by the Kremlin has been counterrevolutionary.

If a major imperialist military offensive had been underway in Afghanistan, the employment of Soviet troops to help defeat the attack would likely have inspired the Afghan masses. Furthermore, to meet such a serious threat, the Soviet bureaucracy might have been forced to rely in part on the oppressed masses, even taking steps to organize and mobilize them.

However, this was not and is not the situation in Afghanistan. The imperialists and the proimperialist Pakistani regime are providing aid to the counterrevolutionary guerrillas, but there has been no imperialist or imperialist-backed invasion of Afghanistan with either air attacks or troops. Nor has the threat of this been posed.

Consequently, the Afghan masses do not see the Soviet troops as strengthening a national liberation fight against foreign invasion. Rather than being liberators, the Soviet troops are the foreign occupiers. Soviet planes have bombed their villages. Both the Soviet troops and the rightists more and more appear as evils to growing layers of the population. The massive Soviet military presence has generated deep hostility and resistance, which is far more widespread than the landlord-backed guerrilla bands. It has put the vanguard of the toiling masses of Afghanistan in a worse, not a better, position to mobilize mass opposition to their exploiters.

#### Kremlin's Role in Region

Moscow's role has also negatively affected the class struggle in Iran and Pakistan.

The hopes of the masses in Pakistan, first kindled by the Afghan upheaval, have been dimmed as the social revolution has been blocked. The Baluchis inside Pakistan, for example, at first hoped that the Afghan events, and even the Soviet intervention, would lead to new allies for their struggle, but this hope has proved unfounded.

Instead of becoming a revolutionary example for the Iranian masses, the Kremlin-PDPA policies are grist for the mill of the clergy's anticommunism.

In the context of the change in the world relationship of class forces to the detriment of imperialism, the Kremlin was more easily able to get away with the use of troops to attempt to stabilize a regime Washington sought to undermine without any real fear of a direct military

response by imperialism. But the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary policy in Afghanistan, including its use of troops, has had an adverse impact on this relation of forces from the point of view of the oppressed and exploited of the world. This has been obscured to a certain extent by the fact that the overall world relationship of forces has continued to evolve against imperialism.

Where will the Kremlin's policy in Afghanistan ultimately lead? We must assume that Brezhnev means it when he holds out the option of a deal with Washington to secure his objective—a stable Afghan regime friendly to the USSR. Moscow's objective is not the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a bureaucratically deformed workers state of the type it was finally forced to countenance in most of Eastern Europe. This would stand in the way of Moscow's attempts to reach a deal with Washington. For Moscow to turn toward this variant, it would have to see all other roads closed, discount the possibility of a deal with the U.S. government, and calculate that Afghanistan was a necessary buffer against a new major imperialist offensive against the Soviet Union such as that marked by the opening of the Cold War after World War II. Given the world relation of class forces, the revolutionary upsurge especially in the Caribbean and Central America and the resistance among the American workers to the capitalist remilitarization drive, this variant is at present the most unlikely.

Moreover, all the evidence is that the Kremlin is not moving toward permitting the formation of an Eastern Europe-type bureaucratically deformed workers state in Afghanistan. The Kremlin's aim is to help establish and maintain a friendly capitalist government, as it did in Finland and Austria following World War II. Its goal is to preserve stability and the world status quo, not to increase the number of countries in which the bourgeoisie has been expropriated. The possibility that a workers state governed by an undemocratic and privileged bureaucratic caste might be the eventual outcome in Afghanistan is not a justification for supporting the Kremlin's bureaucratic methods, reactionary policies, and massive military intervention.

The workers of the world were and are repelled by Stalinist totalitarianism in Eastern Europe. The brutal bureaucratic methods used in the establishment of those deformed workers states were employed because of the Stalinist's deep fear of the independent mobilization of the toilers. These methods and practices harm the world struggle for socialism, and must be taken into account in evaluating the effects of the creation of bureaucratically deformed workers states. The interests of the world revolution come first.

Leon Trotsky, one of the principal leaders of the Russian revolution, in assessing the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland in 1939, explained: "The primary political criterion for us is not the transformation of property relations in this or another area, however important these may be in themselves, but rather the change in the consciousness and organization of the world proletariat, the raising of their capacity for defending former conquests and accomplishing new ones. From this one, and the only decisive standpoint, the politics of Moscow, taken as a whole, completely retains its reactionary character and remains the chief obstacle on the road to the world revolution." (*In Defense of Marxism*, Trotsky, Pathfinder Press, 1973, p. 19.)

Of course, in the development of the class struggle, other workers states like those in Eastern Europe can come into being. Marxists defend their progressive property forms against all attempts by imperialism to overthrow them, while at the same time defending the struggles of the working people, like the 1980 movement of the Polish workers, against bureaucratic rule.

Trotsky, in discussing the relationship between defense of the Soviet workers state and the world revolution, put it this way:

"We must formulate our slogans in such a way that the workers see clearly just what we are defending in the USSR (state property and planned economy), and against whom we are conducting a ruthless struggle (the parasitic bureaucracy and its Comintern). We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR is subordinate for us to the question of the world proletarian revolution." (*In Defense of Marxism*, p. 21.)

#### Indochina

A situation very different from the one in Afghanistan has developed in Southeast Asia over the past several years. The Vietnamese revolution, emerging triumphant against more than a decade of brutal U.S. aggression, resulted in mobilizations in South Vietnam leading to the expropriation of big exploiters and thus the extension of socialist property forms over the whole of the country, even though this transformation was carried through under the control of a privileged bureaucracy. U.S. imperialism then orchestrated major military aggression against the Vietnamese revolution, utilizing the anti-Vietnam military actions of the reactionary capitalist regime of Pol Pot and the Peking bureaucracy. Responding to this aggression, Hanoi helped the Kampuchean toilers overthrow the reactionary regime in Kampuchea, and drove forward the social revolution in Laos.

The fundamentally progressive character of Vietnam's intervention in Kampuchea is measured by the fact that the class struggle has been advanced from the point of view of the workers and peasants in Kampuchea and Laos. They have been inspired to push further in Laos; and can once again see a future for themselves in Kampuchea, a prospect literally blocked by the counterrevolutionary terror of the Pol Pot regime. Imperialist moves against the Vietnamese revolution have been dealt a blow. These actions have improved the world relation of class forces.

On the subjective level, they have caused divisions and ferment in the pro-Peking Communist Parties in the region, leading sections of them to reject Peking's proimperialist line, and providing openings for influence by revolutionary forces, including the Cubans. The advanced workers have been inspired, not repelled, by the Vietnamese actions.

#### V. Imperialist Response

The imperialist response to tens of thousands of Soviet troops going into Afghanistan was to prop up other reactionary governments in the region and significantly step up aid to the rightist guerrillas. During the first period after the April 1978 coup, imperialism's objective had been primarily to undermine the possibility of the masses following through on the revolutionary opportunity that had opened up. Following the erosion of the gains that had been made and the Soviet occupation, the goal turned more toward making it as difficult as possible for the Kremlin and the PDPA to stabilize the situation, and to utilize the situation for stepping up its



Anti-shah demonstration in Tehran, January 1979. Moscow opposed struggle against shah until last minute, and it also opposed Afghan revolution. Taraki and Amin governments in Afghanistan were also hostile to Iranian revolution.

militarization campaign.

President Carter announced on January 7, 1980, that the White House would help form an international "consortium" to provide aid to the Pakistani government that would be partly financed by the Saudi regime. The Pentagon announced on the same day that modern arms and equipment would also be funneled to the Afghan guerrillas. The CIA was assigned to carry out the gun-running mission, which was, according to the *New York Times*, "the first operation of this nature and scope since the Angola civil war ended in 1976."

The Sadat government in Cairo quickly added its support to this reactionary effort.

U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown announced that Peking had agreed to respond with "parallel action" to that of Washington in stepping up aid.

British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, on behalf of NATO and British imperialism, which still maintains strong economic and political interests in the region, toured Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Oman, and Pakistan to discuss ways to aid the Afghan rightists and shore up defenses against upheavals in neighboring countries.

The West German government, a big donor to the reactionary Zia regime in Pakistan, increased its aid. The West German imperialists also have investments, particularly in electric power plants, in Afghanistan and maintain close ties with the Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

In addition to justifying increased aid to the rightists, Washington utilized the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan to grind out a massive volume of anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda.

It falsely branded Moscow as an expansionist aggressor, and raised the spectre of its troops rolling into other countries, including Yugoslavia, Pakistan, and even Iran.

According to the *New York Times*, the State Department officially "relaxed" its "accuracy code" on news reporting from Afghanistan, and the U.S. embassy and proimperialist press churned out one lie after another. They concentrated on exaggerating the scope of the war and the number of Soviet casualties, and competed with each other for inventing the worst atrocities committed by Soviet troops. The web became so tangled that the lies began contradicting each

other, and bits and pieces of the truth were exposed.

By attempting to discredit the Stalinist regime in the Kremlin, which claims to be socialist, the imperialists were also trying to tarnish the image of socialism in the eyes of the toiling masses around the world. Steeped in hypocrisy, they said, "Look, here's a country that claims to be the 'natural ally' of the oppressed peoples. Yet it tramples on the sovereign rights of Afghanistan and took it over with tens of thousands of occupation troops. That's what socialism is, and if you ask for aid from 'socialist' countries, that's just what you'll eventually get."

Washington went on a drive to line up its imperialist allies and the governments of the semicolonial countries to join its campaign and denounce the Soviet Union. It saw this as a big opportunity to take the heat off itself from the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

In an emergency session of the United Nations General Assembly in January 1980, only the sixth in its thirty-five-year history, Washington rammed through a resolution condemning foreign troops in Afghanistan and calling for their withdrawal. Washington was successful in getting it adopted by 104 votes to 18 (with 18 abstentions).

It got a similar resolution adopted by a big majority at the conference of foreign ministers of Islamic countries held January 27-28 in Pakistan. The conference was engineered by the Saudi Arabian monarchy and the Pakistani military dictatorship, with the open support of Washington.

However, many government representatives who voted for this resolution weren't willing to do more, and were reluctant to openly associate themselves any further with Washington's goals and hypocritical championing of the interests of Muslims. Even the proimperialist stalwart, President Zia of Pakistan, publicly turned down a \$400 million offer of direct military aid from President Carter. He claimed that this sum was too small, but the real reason was pressure exerted by the mass hatred of U.S. imperialism in his country.

Carter launched a campaign to boycott the World Olympics in Moscow; postponed conclusion of the SALT-II treaty; and curtailed trade to the USSR including slapping an embargo on

certain forms of technology and the shipment of grain, 17 million tons of which had already been ordered.

While the imperialist campaign to discredit Moscow and tar the image of socialism chalked up a few points, the Olympic boycott was largely a failure. Most of Washington's imperialist allies and most countries in the colonial world participated in the Olympics. The grain embargo, which is a cruel use of food as a weapon, is a blow to Soviet working people who are suffering shortages from bad harvests. In one sense, however, the curtailment tended to backfire, as American farmers protested Carter's action, which led to the loss of this big customer.

But Washington's main goal in using the events in Afghanistan has been to gain acceptance for accelerating its militarization drive. It is trying to get agreement from countries in the Middle East and Western Asia to establish more military bases and the use of airstrips and ports. It has made headway toward stationing a large number of surface-to-surface nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Most important, it is taking advantage of the Kremlin's occupation of Afghanistan and the American hostages in Iran to try to convince the American people to get over their "Vietnam syndrome," so that the first steps can be taken to prepare for the use of U.S. troops abroad. The form this is taking is to reestablish draft registration.

This is why Washington has exaggerated the scope of the war in Afghanistan, and why it portrays the Soviet Union as inherently aggressive and expansionist. But the American people not only have developed the "Vietnam syndrome"—they also have a "Soviet syndrome," that is, an understanding that adventures by Washington could go too far and bring down a nuclear catastrophe upon the world.

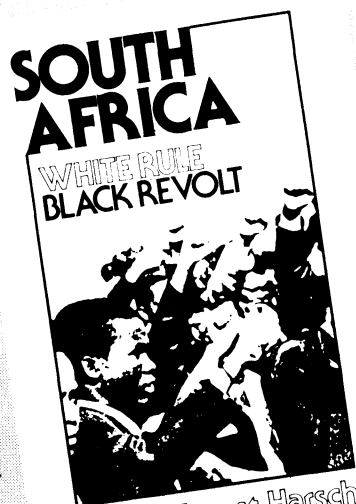
The Soviet Union is not imperialist. Unlike the imperialist countries, the economic foundations of the workers state, which still remain, contain no inherent drive to invest in other countries, to control and warp the economies of the semicolonies and dominate their raw materials, or to control access to their markets for imperialism's exports.

The Kremlin's foreign policy is essentially defensive, including in Afghanistan. Its need to

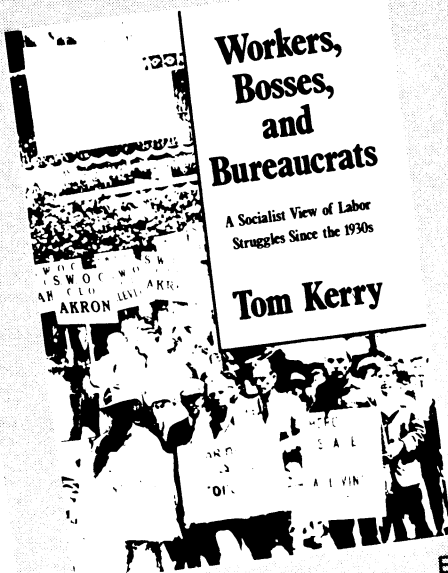
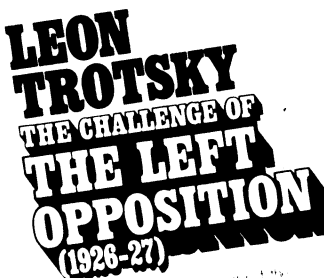
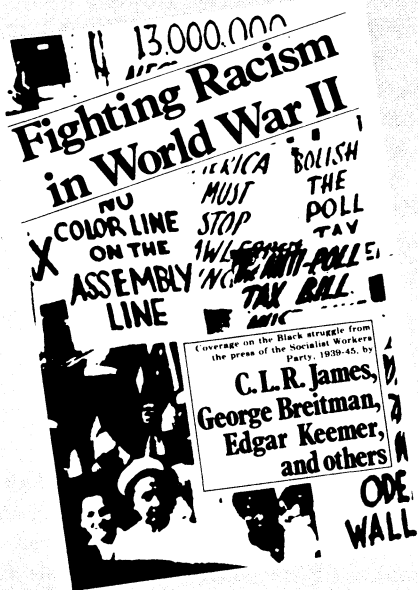
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maintain the status quo at home leads it to try to establish stable relations with imperialism and, therefore, oppose the extension of the world revolution.

### Carter and the Registration Fiasco

Carter's biggest defeat came when he tried to reinstitute draft registration. Hundreds of protests throughout the United States expressed the widespread antiwar and antidraft sentiment that exists in the working class and among students. Finally, after months of debate, Congress adopted a bill to register nineteen and twenty-year-old youth. But this law was ruled unconstitutional by a three-judge federal court on the eve of the two-week period designated for registration, reflecting divisions in the ruling class on how to proceed in the face of the widespread opposition to the draft. Supreme Court Justice William Brennan put a stay on the lower court's injunction holding up registration. A decision by the Supreme Court on the constitutional questions has not yet been made.

Registration was opposed by the big majority of draft-age youth. Many expressed their opposition by not even registering; more than the government's inflated figures would indicate. The failure to win support and legitimacy for even draft registration was a defeat for the capitalist rulers. They will have to wage a new campaign if they are going to reintroduce the draft.

### VI. Cuba's Policy on Afghanistan

The Cuban government hailed the revolutionary upheaval in Afghanistan from the outset, explaining that it was an advance for toiling people throughout the world. The January 14, 1979, issue of *Granma Weekly Review*, as part of its year-end round-up of the main events in 1978, pointed to the Afghan revolution. It "was a big blow to imperialism and the forces of international reaction," *Granma* stated. It was a "really popular government for the first time" in Afghan history.

On the first anniversary of the April 27 coup, *Granma Weekly Review* carried a feature article headlined, "In spite of all the attacks by world reaction—Afghanistan will win out." The concluding paragraphs expressed the Cubans' sentiments: "The Cuban revolution feels the cause of the people of Afghanistan to be its own cause."

"The Cuban revolution reiterates its firm support for and solidarity with the Afghan revolution, fully convinced that the heroic Afghan people can never have taken from them the right to free themselves from the exploitation of man by man and the right to achieve total victory."

At a June 1979 meeting of the coordinating bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca reaffirmed this stand. He stated, "Cuba reiterates its staunch support for the revolutionary process taking place in Afghanistan and condemns the imperialists and reactionaries for their actions aimed at blocking the revolutionary course that the people have chosen."

Afghan President Taraki attended the conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in Havana in September, a few weeks before he was murdered. Castro, in welcoming the delegations, noted that "Ethiopia and Afghanistan now accompany us with a new revolutionary character. . . ."

Cuba's approach to the Afghan revolution was consistent with its policy toward all such developments: welcome it, embrace it, offer aid to it, respect its indigenous character, and condemn all attempts by imperialism to undermine or crush it.

The Cuban government's stand toward the massive entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan is most clearly expressed in the statement made by Raul Roa Kouri to the January 1980 special session of the United Nations General Assembly. His address was in response to the resolution pushed by the United States government which "strongly deplores the recent armed intervention" and "calls for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan."

The Cuban statement, which appeared in the January 27, 1980, issue of *Granma Weekly Review*, was a blistering attack on U.S. imperialism—its hypocrisy, its record of brutal intervention into other countries, and its "gross manipulation of the events in Afghanistan." The Cuban statement was also notable in that it did not present any defense of the Soviet action or point to anything positive about the Soviet

troops being in Afghanistan. It, instead, referred to a "historic dilemma."

Roa began his address blasting Washington's hypocrisy. "This sixth emergency session of the General Assembly has been convened under the doubtful mark of a self-serving uproar. The rulers of the United States rend their garments to come before international public opinion and demand respect for institutions which have traditionally been violated either by armed intervention or plots cooked up by the administrations of the United States ever since the end of the last century."

Then he pointed to the reactionary scum that were eagerly signing up for Washington's campaign.

"The outcry is joined by the Pinochets who have butchered their peoples, the Peking traitors who recently shed the blood of heroic Vietnam, and others of their ilk whose reactionary and pro-imperialist positions are well known."

He also noted that, "Of course, there are also those, including some of our very esteemed friends whose politics are undoubtedly progressive, who—not seeing through the imperialists' tricks—genuinely feel that issues that have a true bearing on the sovereignty and independence of the peoples are at stake here."

He then ran through some examples of Washington's support to reactionary actions throughout the world.

"The Israeli attacks on Lebanon and the almost daily bombings of Palestinian refugee camps have not aroused and do not arouse the concern of Yankee rulers, nor do the attacks by the South African and Rhodesian racists on the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, and Botswana."

"The government of the United States has repeatedly threatened the oil-producing Arab states with military action and even speaks of setting up special intervention forces and military bases in the Middle East and the Arabian Gulf to replace the Shah of Iran—reinstated by the CIA after overthrowing the nationalist government of Mossadegh—in the role of gendarme."

"That is why that Government's present remarks, which attempt to portray it as a defender of that which it has never respected and has repeatedly violated, are totally repugnant."

The next section leveled a scathing attack on Washington's reactionary policy in relation to Afghanistan and its anti-Soviet propaganda offensive.

"The Government of the United States, which advocates intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and is trying to push the nations of the region back to the status of pawns of imperialist policy, asked for an urgent meeting of the Security Council and unleashed a tremendous propaganda campaign amidst renewed drum beating for a new cold war and flagrant threats against another UN member state."

"As far as Cuba is concerned, this debate poses the need to take a stand in the face of a historic dilemma. The gross manipulation of events in Afghanistan by the U.S. imperialists and their efforts to capitalize on events there to conceal their cynical backing for the worst forces on the international scene, to promote their warlike policy and throw up a smoke screen around their own political and moral crisis, while once again giving vent to their primitive hatred for socialism, leaves no room for niceties."

In relation to the vote on Washington's United Nations motion, he explained that, "It is not the peoples' right to sovereignty which is at stake here. This is a right which Cuba will always uphold, as it has done at the cost of its own blood. But when an effort is made to use such a right to give a cloak of respectability to imperialism, which has brought death, oppression, backwardness, hunger, disease and ignorance to humanity, Cuba says 'no.'"

"We will never bring grist to the mill of reaction and imperialism. We will never align ourselves with the butchers of Vietnam; those who invaded Mexico and seized a large part of its territory; those who landed in Central America, Haiti and the Dominican Republic to safeguard the interests of their monopolies and who returned to the latter country not so many years ago to block the people from achieving democracy."

"We will not vote against socialism and with the accomplices of Zionism, which murders Palestinians and seeks to dismember the Arab nation; we refuse to stand on the side of those who support South Africa and are trying to

deploy an additional 572 nuclear missiles against the Soviet Union. We are well aware of what both socialism and imperialism mean, and we fully appreciate the historic roles of the Soviet Union and of U.S. imperialism. We therefore cast our vote today against that imperialism and its politics and, by so voting, we reaffirm our absolute faith in the peoples' right to sovereignty, in internationalism and in socialism, which is the definitive future of humanity."

Coverage in *Granma* on the Afghan situation, including Tass and Prensa Latina dispatches, has continued to concentrate on condemning imperialist intervention and Washington's anti-communist propaganda offensive.

The People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada also cast its vote against the U.S.-sponsored resolution. An article reflecting the views of the New Jewel Movement, published in the January 19, 1980, issue of its organ, the *New Jewel*, stated, "We believe that every country must have the right to seek military assistance if it faces a threat of invasion, especially when that invasion is intended to overthrow a popular Government or turn back a people's revolution."

Explaining the Grenadian government's position several months later in an interview with *Intercontinental Press*, published in the August 4 issue, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop said:

"On the Afghanistan question, we have been pointing out here in Grenada that what we are really concerned with there was the April 1978 revolution, not so much the December 1979 events. And in the intervening eighteen months, what was happening—in terms of the attempts at destabilization, the armed attacks from Pakistan and elsewhere, the plans of imperialism. And that what requires solidarity and support, therefore, is the right of the people of Afghanistan to build their revolution. And people can relate to that over here, because they see it happening to us too. They know we can have a similar type of problem."

Bishop, like the Cubans, places the emphasis on the threat from imperialism and the sovereign right of nations to seek aid to defend themselves.

The Nicaraguan United Nations delegation, representing one of the "highly esteemed friends whose politics are undoubtedly progressive" that Roa refers to, abstained on the U.S. resolution. The statement of its representative pointed to the threats to world peace posed by imperialist moves—"the conflict in Iran, the attitude of international reaction to Afghanistan . . . the maneuvers by American naval forces in the area, the dangers inherent in the recent supplying of weapons to Pakistan, and in general the postponement of the adoption of the SALT-II treaties."

At the same time, he also stated that world peace is threatened by "the presence of Soviet forces" in Afghanistan. Clearly indicating that this criticism was based on concern for national sovereignty and the effect of abusing it, he stated:

"As a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, Nicaragua reiterates its support for the principles of nonintervention. We believe that no decision can be reached on proposals which do not reflect the interests of the nonaligned countries, and that a partial approach to the problem does not represent a solution."

As in *Granma*, the axis of the coverage in *Barricada*, the FSLN daily published in Managua, has been to condemn imperialist aid to the Afghan rightists and the Zia regime in Pakistan and to oppose the reactionary imperialist propaganda campaign.

This line was clearly expressed in a paragraph in the Soviet-Nicaraguan joint communiqué issued in Moscow on March 22. It stated, "The Soviet Union and Nicaragua strongly condemn the campaign, launched by the imperialist and reactionary forces, to whip up international tension in connection with the developments in Afghanistan, which is aimed at undermining the inalienable right of the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and other peoples of the world to follow the road of progressive transformations."

Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua repeated their votes when the UN General Assembly adopted a similar resolution on November 20.

### Cuba's Proletarian Internationalist Policy

In order to more clearly see the implications of Cuba's stance in regard to Afghanistan, it is helpful to review how they explained their use of troops in Angola and Ethiopia and the stand



they took in regard to the Vietnamese troops' move into Kampuchea.

Fidel Castro outlined the form and circumstances in which Cuban troops were sent to Angola in a speech April 19, 1976, in Havana. At the time of the speech the South African invasion of Angola had been defeated by the combined forces of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and Cuba.

He first explained the importance of this victory and blasted President Ford's attack on Cuba as an "international outlaw." He then said:

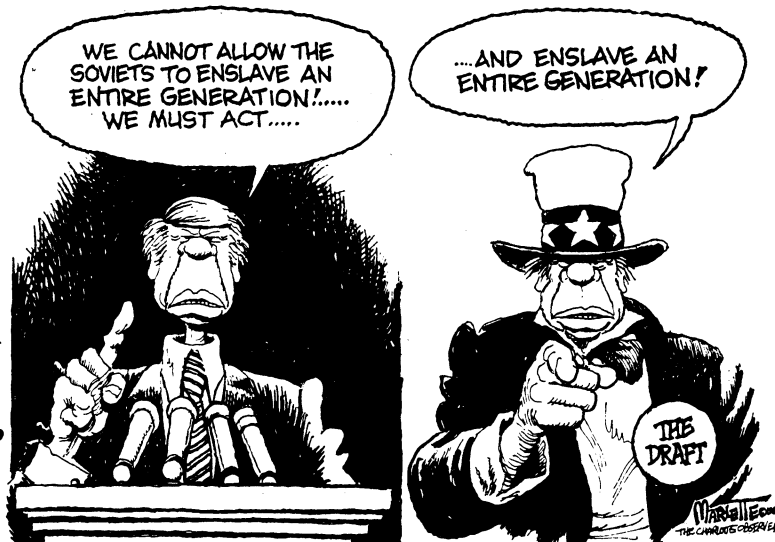
"... the United States invested several million dollars from the Spring of 1975 on to supply arms and instructors to the counterrevolutionary and separatist Angolan groups. Instigated by the

Angola in frustrating the expansionist and colonialist strategy of South Africa's racist regime and its allies." ("Evolution of the Nonaligned Movement," William M. LeoGrande, *Problems of Communism*, January-February, 1980, p. 43.)

Fidel insistence on being clear on the form in providing military aid flows from the Cuban government's acute sensitivity to the sovereign rights of oppressed nations and that interference in the affairs of other nations is not the road to independence and socialism. This is seen not as an ahistorical, moral question, but as an essential prerequisite to uniting the working class and advancing the socialist revolution.

Even in its relations with its closest allies, Cuba honors this principle. In his speech in

### **'Washington's main goal in using the events in Afghanistan has been to gain acceptance for accelerating its militarization drive.'**



United States, regular troops from Zaire entered Angolan territory in the summer of that same year, while South African military forces occupied the Cunene area in the month of August and sent arms and instructors to the UNITA bands.

"At that time there wasn't a single Cuban instructor in Angola. The first material aid and the first Cuban instructors reached Angola at the beginning of October, at the request of the MPLA, when Angola was being insolently invaded by foreign forces. However, no Cuban military unit had been sent to Angola to participate directly in the fight nor was that projected.

"On October 23, also instigated by the United States, South African regular army troops, supported by tanks and artillery, invaded Angolan territory across the Namibian border and penetrated deeply into the country, advancing between 60 and 70 kilometers a day. On November 3, they had penetrated more than 500 kilometers into Angola, meeting their first resistance on the outskirts of Benguela, from the personnel of a recently organized school for Angolan recruits and from their Cuban instructors who had virtually no means for halting the attack by South African tanks, infantry and artillery.

"On November 5, 1975, at the request of the MPLA, the leadership of our Party decided to send with all urgency a battalion of regular troops with antitank weapons to help the Angolan patriots resist the invasion of the South African racists. This was the first Cuban troops unit sent to Angola. When it arrived in the country, the foreign interventionists were 25 kilometers from Luanda in the north, their 140 millimeter artillery was bombing the suburbs of the capital and the South African fascists had already penetrated more than 700 kilometers into the south from the Namibian border while Cabinda was heroically defended by MPLA fighters and a handful of Cuban instructors.

"I do not mean to relate the events of the Angolan war, the later development of which is generally known to everyone, but rather point out the occasion, the form and the circumstances in which our aid began. These facts are strictly exact." (*Current Problems of Underdeveloped Countries*, Fidel Castro, Publications Office, State Council, Havana, 1979, pp. 121-22.)

The Cuban troops were sent to Angola to help repel an imperialist military invasion. Fidel thinks that this fact is important and merits detailed explanation. It is precisely Cuba's role in defending Angola from direct massive military attack that won it broad support for this action and enhanced its prestige among class conscious workers and oppressed nations throughout Africa and the world. This was clearly demonstrated later in 1976, when a meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo, Sri Lanka, "commended the Republic of Cuba and other states which assisted the people of

Nicaragua on July 19, 1980, Castro pointed out that, "there are those who seek to teach the Sandinistas what to do, 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 come humbly to learn and to be influenced." (*Intercontinental Press*, July 28, 1980, p. 780.)

Cuba's employment of volunteers in Ethiopia in 1977-78 was motivated along the same lines as in Angola.

Fidel explained this in a speech on March 15, 1978. He first indicated that Cuba had in early 1977 sought to negotiate a settlement of the differences between Somalia and Ethiopia. "We organized a meeting in Aden between the leaders of Ethiopia, Yemen and Somalia and ourselves in an effort to solve the problems between Somalia and Ethiopia, precisely to avoid a war; to avoid a development which would constitute a betrayal of the international revolutionary movement; to prevent the leadership of Somalia, with its territorial ambitions and aggressive attitude from going over to imperialism. We weren't able to prevent it. . . .

"But, at the Aden meeting the leaders of Somalia solemnly pledged, solemnly committed themselves not to invade Ethiopia ever, not to attack Ethiopia militarily. In fact, they already had everything planned, and the attack began in July.

"Ethiopia is a big country, it has a large population, it has soldiers and very good soldiers at that. That's why, in answer to their request, we initially decided to send them a few dozen instructors and advisers—the figure might have come to a few hundred—to train units and teach them how to handle modern weapons of a type they weren't familiar with. . . .

"We felt that helping them to train their army would be a provisional measure, because when the Ethiopian army has been trained and well armed you can be sure that nobody—nobody—will bother them. You can be sure of that!

"Why did it become necessary for us to send fighters? Because of the scope and magnitude of Somalia's aggression. Somalia had been preparing itself for a number of years. It had even been upholding the banners of socialism; it claimed to be a progressive country, an ally of the progressive world—I'm talking about the Somali Government—and all along it had been building up an army. Somalia had hundreds of tanks, hundreds of artillery pieces, planes, many motorized infantry brigades, and nearly all those weapons and units were used during the invasion of Ethiopia."

Fidel pointed out that Ethiopia also had a lot of modern military equipment that it had received from Washington before relations were

broken in early 1977. But there wasn't sufficient trained personnel to utilize it.

"Ethiopia was faced with a very difficult situation, with no time to spare. If the Ethiopians had had a little more time, they would have learned how to handle all those tanks, artillery pieces and other modern weapons. We, along with other socialist countries, would have contributed to training personnel. But the critical situation created by the invasion in late November led the Ethiopian Government to make an urgent request that we send tank, artillery, and aviation specialists to help the army, to help the country, and we did so.

"As *Granma* explained, our specialists started arriving in Ethiopia in mid-December and early January. We sent tank, artillery and aviation specialists, since the Ethiopians didn't have the time to learn how to handle that weaponry in view of the situation. They really didn't need infantry; there were plenty of infantrymen." (*Twenty Years of the Cuban Revolution and Selected Speeches of Fidel Castro*, "Fidel Castro's Account of Cuba's Role in Ethiopia," Education for Socialists publication, Pathfinder Press, April 1979, pp. 126-27.)

"The Somali aggression," Fidel explained in another speech a month later, "employing many well-armed forces, became a serious danger to the integrity, the revolution and the very existence of Ethiopia. Without the firmest internationalist support, the revolution could have been crushed."

Cuban fighters, he said, went to Ethiopia "to support its people in the just struggle against foreign aggression" and will remain there "for whatever length of time is agreed to by the governments of Ethiopia and Cuba, in order to support the Ethiopian people against any outside aggression." (*Current Problems of Underdeveloped Countries*, pp. 169-70, 172.)

Cuba's stance toward the deployment of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea and China's invasion of Vietnam last year help to illuminate further how they look at the use of troops in other countries.

The Cuban government has had a long and notable record of defending the Vietnamese revolution against imperialism. From 1963 when they established the Committees for Solidarity with Vietnam, the first such committees in the world, until today, the Cubans have consistently and energetically expressed their solidarity, including sending medical personnel and supplies and large donations of blood. They also offered to send troops to help repel U.S. aggression.

Fidel, in his July 26 address in 1978, noted the step-up in imperialist-backed military pressure against Vietnam and indicated that "we should offer the people of Vietnam our most determined solidarity and support. Our party proposes to reactivate the Committees of Solidarity with Vietnam in the face of the threats of imperialist aggression, this time orchestrated—absurd as it may seem—by imperialism's brand new allies in the field of the counterrevolution." (*Current Problems of Underdeveloped Countries*, pp. 203-4.)

Ten days later the Vietnam Solidarity Committee got going again and waged an extensive educational campaign about the increasing border violations by both Peking and Phnompenh troops, and the reactionary nature of the Pol Pot regime.

So when Vietnamese troops and exiled Kampuchean oppositionists moved into Kampuchea in late December 1978 to help overthrow the hated Pol Pot regime, the Cuban people were politically prepared for it. Fidel immediately sent a telegram to Heng Samrin, printed in *Granma Weekly Review* January 21, 1979, recognizing the new government and hailing this event as a "great revolutionary victory of the sister people of Kampuchea." The role of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea was seen as one of aiding a liberation movement. This unambiguous stance sharply contrasts with the "historic dilemma" they saw in Afghanistan.

The Cuban press carried dozens of reports from its journalists in Kampuchea describing the atrocities that had been committed by the Pol Pot regime. At the same time they continued sounding the alarm about the danger of the Peking bureaucracy launching an invasion of Vietnam. When this attack occurred in February, a massive rally was organized in Havana to solidarize with Vietnam and condemn Peking's aggression.

In his speech to the rally, Fidel blasted the imperialist efforts to brand Vietnam as the aggressor in Indochina. "The moment that ge-

nocidal regime was overthrown a violent world campaign was launched against Vietnam because of its solidarity with the Kampuchean revolutionary movement, a campaign that tried to present Vietnam to the world as an aggressor country, a country that had violated the independence of another people, and to deny the truth: that the regime in Kampuchea had been intolerable."

He went on to say that "solidarity with Vietnam is the most imperative solidarity there is. . . .

"This is a moment of definition for all who call themselves revolutionaries and progressives, for all those who say they want peace. This is no time for vacillation and ambiguity, for half-

found conviction that each people must be free to build their own destiny; that each people and only the people of each country must and will make their own revolution. The Government of Cuba has never thought of taking revolution to any nation of this hemisphere with the arms of its military units. Such an idea would be absurd and ridiculous. . . .

"No country of black Africa has anything to fear from Cuban military personnel. We are a Latin-African people—enemies of colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, apartheid, which Yankee imperialism aids and protects." (*Current Problems of Underdeveloped Countries*, pp. 125-26.)

Some ultraleftists, like the Spartacist sect, have the opposite point of view. The Spartacists,

military forces to overthrow bourgeois regimes. Lenin's view, which was the majority opinion in the party, was that this was ultraleftist nonsense with reactionary implications. He argued:

"What, then, can we do in relation to such peoples as the Kirghiz, the Uzbeks, the Tajiks, the Turkmen, who to this day are under the influence of their mullahs? Here, in Russia, the population, having had a long experience of the priests, helped us to overthrow them. But you know how badly the decree on civil marriage is still being put into effect. Can we approach these peoples and tell them that we shall overthrow their exploiters? We cannot do this, because they are entirely subordinated to their mullahs. In such cases we have to wait until the given nation develops, until the differentiation of the proletariat from the bourgeois elements, which is inevitable, has taken place."

He added, "As long as the bourgeoisie, or the petty bourgeoisie, or even part of the German workers, are under the influence of this bugbear—the Bolsheviks want to establish their system by force—so long will the formula 'the self-determination of the working people' not help matters. We must arrange things so that German traitor-socialists will not be able to say that the Bolsheviks are trying to impose their universal system, which, as it were, can be brought into Berlin on Red Army bayonets. And this is what may happen if the principle of the self-determination of nations is denied." (*Collected Works*, Lenin, volume 29, Progress Publishers, 1965, pp. 172-74; also *Speeches to Party Congresses*, Progress Publishers, 1971, pp. 89-91.)

Trotsky, on the same subject, wrote in 1939: "Robespierre once said that people do not like missionaries with bayonets. By this he wished to say that it is impossible to impose revolutionary ideas and institutions on other people through military violence. This correct thought does not signify of course the inadmissibility of military intervention in other countries in order to cooperate in a revolution. But such an intervention, as part of a revolutionary international policy, must be understood by the international proletariat, must correspond to the desires of the toiling masses of the country on whose territory the revolutionary troops enter. The theory of socialism in one country is not capable, naturally, of creating this active international solidarity which alone can prepare and justify armed intervention. The Kremlin poses and resolves the question of military intervention, like all other questions of its policy, absolutely independently of the ideas and feelings of the international working class." (*In Defense of Marxism*, p. 28.)

Like these Marxist predecessors, the Cuban leadership weighs very carefully the question of national sovereignty in relation to sending

## 'Hundreds of protests throughout the United States expressed the widespread antiwar and antidraft sentiment that exists in the working class and among students.'

hearted measures, for viewing Vietnam and China in the same light. This is the time to define who is who. No one who loves peace, no one who considers himself a revolutionary or a progressive, can fail to condemn as energetically and categorically as possible this criminal adventure on which the Chinese government has embarked." (*Current Problems of Underdeveloped Countries*, pp. 217, 221-22.) Castro clearly differentiated the interests of the Chinese people, including the soldiers, who he said had nothing to gain from this war, from the reactionary Peking leadership.

It is clear from these examples that the Cubans see the use of troops by workers states as a means of defending revolutions from imperialist attack, not organizing revolutions in other countries. The defeats for imperialism in Angola and Ethiopia, of course, created a more favorable situation for workers and peasants to carry forward their struggles against capitalism and, in this way, advance the goal of socialist revolution. But, this is different from the illusion that a revolution can be forced on a country from the outside. Only free men and free women can build socialism.

Fidel made this crystal clear in his April 1976 speech on Angola quoted earlier. Answering Washington's hysterical campaign of whipping up fear in Latin America and Africa about the threat of Cuban invasion, he said:

"No Latin-American country, whatever its social system, will have anything to fear from the Armed Forces of Cuba. It is our most pro-

for example, justify their enthusiastic cheering for the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan on the basis that a "revolution from without" is being organized. In their opinion, revolution from within is impossible because of the small size of the industrial working class and large number of mullahs. They call on the USSR to "impose a social revolution on backward and mullah-ridden Afghanistan." This is a false position in general, over and above the fact that the Kremlin does not seek revolution in Afghanistan at all—whether from "within" or "without."

Cuba's policy outlined by Fidel is a model of the Marxist approach to this question. It was foreseen by Marx and Engels and is totally consistent with the policy carried out by the Bolshevik government led by Lenin and Trotsky in Russia.

In a letter to Karl Kautsky in 1882, Engels wrote, ". . . the victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing. This does not of course exclude defensive wars of various kinds. . . ." (*Selected Correspondence, Marx-Engels*, Progress Publishers, 1975, p. 331.)

At the eighth congress of the Bolshevik party in 1919, Lenin presented his views on this question in a debate with Bukharin. Bukharin's position was that the Soviet government should not honor the right of nations to self-determination because that was a concession to the capitalists in those countries. Instead, under the slogan of "the self-determination of the working people," the Bolsheviks should use their



Antidraft march and rally in New York City February 9, 1980

Militant/Lou Howort



troops to another country, even for defensive purposes. As Fidel explained, the "occasion, form and circumstances" are evaluated closely from the standpoint of whether national rights will be violated or could be seen by the masses as being violated. They especially consider whether such action can be politically explained and justified to the working classes and oppressed nations throughout the world. They also take a look at whether other forms of aid—weapons, ammunition, instructors, advisers, medical supplies, etc.—would be adequate to help repel imperialist aggression or assist revolutionary struggles.

The sovereign right of the Afghan government to seek aid from the USSR or any other country to fight off the imperialist-backed guerrillas is indisputable. However, the Kremlin's decision to violently oust the head of state and occupy the country with tens of thousands of troops is not an example of respecting Afghanistan's national sovereignty as part of an *internationalist proletarian* foreign policy. It was the reactionary continuation of a *narrow nationalist* foreign policy of a bureaucratic caste.

As important as the Cubans view military assistance in combating imperialist aggression, they place even greater importance on the more than fifty thousand Cuban doctors, nurses, teachers, skilled construction workers, agronomists, engineers and technicians who have volunteered to help in more than thirty countries, including Angola, Ethiopia, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Grenada, and Vietnam. Cuba alone, for example, has 1,500 doctors in other countries, more than all those from countries organized by the World Health Organization.

In his July 26, 1978, speech Fidel noted that "twenty times as many teachers and professors graduated as there were officers for our Armed Forces, even though it is a very high honor for a Cuban to be a soldier or an officer, because the arms borne in our homeland and even outside it are used in the most noble cause of the Revolution and internationalism. When it comes right down to it, we are all soldiers of the Revolution, but it is more difficult to teach than to die. More than once, our men fought and died for this right, for men must also know how to die so that mankind may live. . . .

"We will live on what our technology, natural resources and sweat can create, and we won't be egoists like a snail closed in its own shell; we will give the world everything within the reach of our revolutionary and internationalist generosity." (*Current Problems of Underdeveloped Countries*, p. 189.)

The Cubans are very consistent in their foreign policy, and, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we assume that they have approached Afghanistan with the same considerations that they did Angola, Ethiopia, Vietnam, Nicaragua and Grenada. The conclusion they have reached in regard to the situation there is that it is a "historic dilemma."

Faced with this situation, Fidel, in his capacity as the chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, has offered to mediate discussions between the Afghan and Pakistan governments.

In late March, Fidel sent messages to this effect to President Babrak Karmal of Afghanistan and General Zia of Pakistan. They were personally delivered by Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca who visited Moscow, Kabul, and Islamabad.

According to the report in the April 13, 1980, *Granma*, Fidel "offered the good offices of Cuba to try to contribute to arrange for a political solution to the complex situation existing in the region of Southwest Asia, which seriously threatens world peace and security." This initiative was apparently unsuccessful.

## VII. Tasks of American Workers

In the wake of the Kremlin's occupation of Afghanistan, U.S. imperialism mounted a massive international propaganda campaign designed to disorient the working class. It utilized the presence of Soviet occupation troops in Afghanistan to try to whip up fear about the threat of "communist aggression." It continues to lie about the origins of the revolution and the class character of the civil war in Afghanistan, while attempting to cover up the extent of Washington's reactionary involvement in the region.

This is all aimed at creating a climate more favorable to winning acceptance from American working people for increased war spending and military intervention, including the use of com-

**'It is our most profound conviction that each people must be free to build their own destiny; that each people and only the people of each country must and will make their own revolution.'**

**—Fidel Castro**



Cuban soldier in Angola. Cuba's intervention helped drive out South African invaders.

bat forces, against the struggles of the oppressed throughout the world. Washington is driving forward with the expansion of its nuclear weapons program including the cruise, MX, and Trident missiles; and it is stepping up its production of weapons-grade plutonium. As the first step toward using troops, they are attempting to reintroduce draft registration and get agreement for a draft when they want it.

Washington and its allies also responded to the Kremlin's occupation of Afghanistan with stepped-up military aid to Afghan rightists and the military dictatorship in Pakistan. They have taken punitive measures against the USSR and Afghanistan and increased their war preparations.

**'It is impossible to impose revolutionary ideas and institutions on other people through military violence.'**

**—Leon Trotsky**

The key task of class-conscious workers must be to combat this reactionary campaign. We must oppose all imperialist intervention in Afghanistan. Not one penny should go to maintaining the CIA and military advisers, nor to financing the landlord-backed counterrevolutionary guerrillas. We must demand the withdrawal of all imperialist forces from the region, including naval forces, and the dismantling of all their bases. We must explain the responsibility of imperialism for the worldwide militarization drive, combating "third camp" currents in the petty-bourgeois left that seek to place "equal blame" on imperialism and the government of the Soviet Union.

We must condemn imperialism's aggressive actions, which hurt the working classes here and abroad, such as the suspension of grain deliveries to the Soviet Union and the cutoff of food aid to Afghanistan by the European Common Market.

We must explain the truth about the situation in Afghanistan, detailing the scope and nature of Washington's reactionary intervention and exposing the anticommunist lies fabricated by the bourgeois press. We must oppose its military

build-up of the Pakistani and Turkish regimes, which is solely aimed at our fellow working people in the region.

It also means explaining the economic and social backwardness suffered by the majority of the population in Afghanistan as the result of decades of imperialist oppression. It means explaining the revolutionary opportunity that opened up for the workers and peasants with the April 1978 coup, the popular actions of the masses that took place immediately following it, and the importance of these gains for the Afghan people. Political consciousness has been changed and social relations challenged. Afghanistan will never be the same. We are unambiguously on the side of the Kabul regime in any clash with the imperialist-backed rightist guerrillas and must explain the importance of defeating the rightist opposition.

We have to show how this opening and the fight against the reactionary landlord resistance was obstructed and stifled by the government headed by the PDPA and by the Stalinist policies of the Kremlin. Their disastrous policies led to the unpopular and reactionary occupation of the country by tens of thousands of Soviet troops—an occupation that has harmed and continues to make more difficult the struggle to win and mobilize the toilers against the exploiters and oppressors.

The working masses of Afghanistan must be able to take initiatives to advance their own interests. The Soviet occupation makes this qualitatively more difficult. For revolutionary Marxists in the Soviet Union, this means denouncing the antiworking-class policy of the Kremlin and demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops. However, in the imperialist countries campaigning on the slogan of Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan today would only serve to add fuel to the imperialist propaganda campaign, militarization drive, and intervention in Afghanistan. Our job is to concentrate our fire on the militarist and aggressive policies of the employing class and present the working-class alternative to this policy.

One way we can help counter Washington's anticommunist campaign is to explain Cuba's revolutionary internationalist foreign policy, which stands in sharp contrast to the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary line. This will also help make more clear to our fellow workers what we mean by internationalism.

Millions of Polish workers, fighting for their own organizations in order to move toward a democratic workers state, are exposing the imperialist lie that the only alternative to Stalinism is capitalism. We solidarize with this historic struggle and help to get its lessons to American workers. We fight to reverse the current American trade union officialdom's policy of backing Washington's imperialist foreign policy which is directed against the Polish workers.

Washington's militarization campaign is aimed at trying to secure a better position to deal blows to and reverse the revolutions in Iran and Central America and the Caribbean. We must reaffirm our solidarity with the revolutionary masses there and condemn all threats by imperialism against them.

We must condemn the counterrevolutionary attack by the Iraqi regime against Iran which only aids the imperialist objective of undermining and reversing the Iranian revolution.

Finally, a central, ongoing campaign is our participation in and initiation of protests against nuclear weapons and power and the draft.

We are for unilateral nuclear disarmament by Washington and its imperialist allies, the true aggressors and warmakers in the world. We are against all attempts by imperialism to develop a first-strike capability, including the beefing up of its nuclear arsenal in Western Europe, increasing research and production of chemical and biological weapons, and the construction of the MX missile system. We condemn the hazards created by the production, transportation, storage, testing, and disposal of nuclear weapons.

The fiasco suffered by the Carter administration in the face of the response of American youth to its draft registration law this summer means that the capitalist rulers will have to take further measures to try to win support for registration and conscription. The deep antiwar and antidraft sentiments in the working class and among students mean that such moves will be met with significant protests.

No Draft, No War!

## Under cover of phony 'amnesty'

# Gov't panel urges new war on undocumented

By Nelson González

On March 1, the Select Panel on Immigration and Refugee policy is to file its report and recommendations on immigration policy.

The Carter-appointed panel was headed by the Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh and was composed of eight members of Congress, four Cabinet members, and four others.

After two years of study behind closed doors, this commission came up with essentially the same Carter administration proposals that Congress shelved in 1977. These had provoked an outcry from Latino, labor, and civil liberties organizations.

The plan purports to include an "amnesty" for undocumented persons currently residing in the United States.

It sounds very nice until you look at the fine print. This so-called amnesty covers only one million of the up to six million undocumented that the commission itself now estimates reside inside the U.S.

Many of those not given full "amnesty" could be given conditional entrant status for a five-year probationary period, putting them at the mercy of employers and cops. Up to five million others would be subject to being rounded up and deported.

This phony amnesty won't do a thing to stop sweat shop owners and agribusiness giants from continuing to impose inhuman working conditions and subminimum wages on the majority of undocumented workers.

One thing the panelists agreed on was a series of proposed "employer sanctions" aimed at banning the hiring of "illegal" aliens. Employers who violated the recommended ban could be fined up to \$1,000 for each "illegal" employed. Repeated violations could result in criminal prosecutions and jail



Demonstrators protest Carter 'amnesty' plan in March 1978. Current scheme will meet same opposition.

sentences. The real effect would be to intensify the status of undocumented workers as hunted people with no rights on the job.

"Sanctions will be used by the employers as a license to deny employment to qualified Hispanics," warned the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

A staff report for the Hesburgh panel issued December 4 recommended that

every citizen and legal alien be issued counterfeit-proof cards by a government agency. The cards would include name, date of birth, sex, a photo, and an identifying number. Job applicants would be required to show the card to prospective employers, who would report their names and numbers to Washington.

This proposal was backed by panel chief Hesburgh.

That means increased police surveillance of workers in this country, with full job records being kept by an as yet unnamed government agency (the INS? CIA? FBI?)

This will be a weapon not only against foreign-born workers, but against all of us. It would provide government and employers with a ready-made blacklist of "troublemakers": union militants, civil rights fighters, antinuke activists, feminists, and others.

Some union officials are playing along with this. Last February 25, the AFL-CIO Executive Council endorsed the identity card proposal and other proposals to restrict immigration.

There were divisions within the commission on the question of a new identity card. Some members like Senator Kennedy and Secretary of Health and Human Services Patricia Harris apparently held that existing forms of identity cards would be sufficient to implement a crackdown on "illegals."

While the "identity card" proposal was not formally endorsed by the commission, it will be put before Congress and the president when they make the final review.

These disagreements are nothing more than the same "hard cop, soft cop" approach used in 1977 when Secretary of Labor F.R. Marshall supported the identity card scheme, and Attorney General Griffin Bell opposed it.

Then as now, they were simply testing the waters to see what they could get away with.

Kennedy and his friends on the commission are for a slightly more disguised attack on our rights while others feel that now is the time to let us have it right on the chin.

## GM: the monster that devours Detroit

By Elizabeth Ziers

DETROIT—General Motors wants to build a new auto plant and told the city administration here to find a site for it.

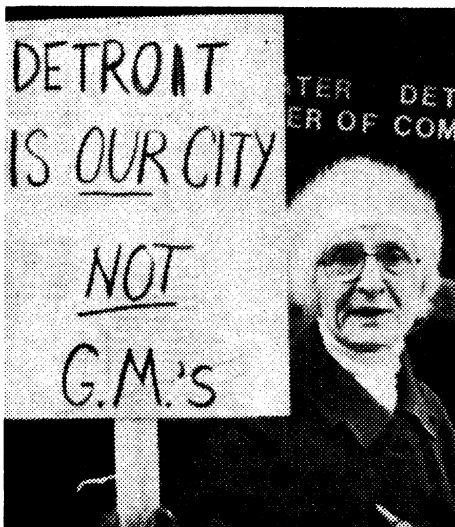
The city found the perfect location. There is only one complication—3,400 people live on it.

The 465-acre proposed site is a neighborhood popularly known as Poletown. It has been the home of an established, tight-knit Polish working-class community since 1900.

Today it's one of the few well-integrated neighborhoods in Detroit. About half of the residents are Black.

The city administration has offered to spend \$200 million to prepare the site. It plans to get the residents out, demolish the buildings, and build extra roads and rail lines for GM by May 1, 1981.

Elizabeth Ziers is a member of United Auto Workers Local 600. She works in the River Rouge Assembly Plant in Dearborn, Michigan.



Poll shows 72 percent in Detroit oppose GM's plan to tear down Poletown.

Some 1,200 residents have been offered a maximum of \$15,000 for their homes—take it or leave it.

The destruction of Poletown is part of a proposed \$700 million giveaway to GM, which threatened to move its operations out of Detroit unless its demands were met.

The sweetheart deal was authored by Detroit Mayor Coleman Young. It will allow GM, one of the richest corporations in the world, a twelve-year tax break of 50 percent. This is expected to save GM \$160-\$190 million.

That's \$190 million that could be going to Detroit schools and social services.

The Young administration at first justified this by saying it would create jobs. When caught in that lie, it retreated to saying it would retain jobs.

Any auto worker knows too well that the companies are not retaining jobs today. They are eliminating them daily through speedup and through highly automated plants, like the one being proposed by GM in this case.

Two years ago, the Fleetwood and Cadillac plants employed 14,000 workers. Today they employ 10,000. When the new plant, which replaces them, starts up in 1983, it will only employ 6,000, a net loss of 4,000 jobs.

There have been picket lines and angry community meetings in Poletown to speak out against the scheme. A Detroit *Free Press* poll found that 72 percent of its readers are opposed to it.

Tom Olechowski, chairperson of the Poletown Neighborhood Council (PNC), spoke at a recent Militant Labor Forum in Detroit. He called the plan "an economic abomination, as well as a social abomination. And who has to pay for all that? The people who will be 'privileged' to work in it, that's who.

"At another time in history, this would have been called a pogrom," Olechowski said.

The PNC took the city of Detroit to court in an attempt to block its plans to give Poletown to GM.

On the last day of the trial Mayor Young made a surprise appearance to testify on behalf of GM. According to the Detroit *Free Press*, he said he didn't want to disappoint them because "other large cities across the

nation are watching the progress of the Detroit project to see if it provides a model for urban revitalization."

On December 8 the Poletown residents lost their lawsuit. Circuit Court Judge George Martin decided after a week's deliberation that what is good for GM is what's good for Detroit.

Carol Dockerty of the PNC said on the night of the decision, "We're not through yet. We'll appeal. We'll organize protests. We're not through 'til we see the bulldozers."

## ... Lockheed

Continued from back page

were also fired.

Garrett Brown, one of those fired, told the *Militant*, "Lockheed wants us out of the plant because we are socialists and activists in the union here."

"The company has also targeted us," he added, "because of our participation in recent anti-Klan demonstrations."

"What is at stake here is a very fundamental issue," Brown said.

"Does an employer have the right to fire someone because of their politics? What does this mean for other workers in the plant who want to speak out on safety conditions, affirmative action, or anything else?"

One older Black worker, who has worked in the Lockheed plant for twenty-three years, told Kahlmorgan that he'd seen all of this before.

In the early 1960s, when the civil rights movement was rapidly growing in the South, virtually every Black worker in the plant—then completely segregated—was interrogated by security officers.

"They'd ask you if you had ever participated in any meetings or marches or demonstrations. But if you were in the Klan they'd leave you

alone," he said.

Despite rumors circulated in the plant that they are "violent," "security risks," or "communist agents," the socialists were stopped in hallways and washrooms by co-workers offering aid or seeking information.

One twenty-year-old worker told Martin, one of those fired, "You passed the company proficiency test, you do a good job and get along with everyone, they must be looking for some excuse to run you off."

Margaret Winter, a lawyer in the SWP and YSA lawsuit, told the *Militant*, "We intend to subpoena and question Lockheed's security officers."

She pointed out that only last month the SWP blocked a similar attempt to fire five socialists who work in the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

"In that case we found that both the Naval Intelligence Service and the FBI worked with Coastal Dry Dock, which openly admitted it was firing the five because of their political views," Winter said.

"Under pressure from support for the socialists in the yard, and because the SWP's suit unnerved them," Winter added, "Coastal backed down and rehired them in less than forty-eight hours."



## Most successful drive in years

# Socialist press wins thousands of new readers

By Nancy Rosenstock

A highlight of the 1980 Socialist Workers election campaign of Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president was the ten-week fall drive to win 8,000 new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The results are: 6,160 new readers for the *Militant* and 894 to *PM*, bringing the total of new subscribers over the fall period to 7,634, 95 percent of our goal.

Thousands more bought a single copy of the *Militant* or *PM*. In addition tens of thousands of campaign brochures were distributed during the course of the drive.

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party adopted goals totalling 6,885. One thousand subscriptions were slated to come from national teams traveling outside branch areas and the

The discussion beginning in the union movement about the need to break with the Democratic and Republican parties and build a labor party also spurred subscription sales.

Nationally, close to 16 percent of those buying subscriptions identified themselves as union members.

At the General Motors plant in Tarrytown, New York, forty-nine auto workers bought subscriptions to the *Militant* and *PM*. New Jersey auto workers sold fifty-seven at the Ford plant in Metuchen.

In Seattle, machinists set a goal of thirty new subscribers at Boeing. They wound up with forty-five.

At the Brooklyn Navy Yard, where socialists scored a recent victory over the Navy's attempt to witch-hunt them out of the yard, thirty-seven people are now regularly following this fight in the pages of the *Militant* and *PM*.

In Atlanta, twenty subscriptions were sold at the giant Lockheed plant.

Nationally, forty-seven subscriptions were sold to coal miners.

### Political gatherings

The *Militant* and *PM* made an impact at important political gatherings this fall. At the Black College Day demonstration in Washington, D.C., in September, thirty-six *Militant* subscriptions were sold; thirty-two at the National Black Political Convention; twenty-two at the National Organization for Women Convention; and nineteen at the Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment.

At two El Salvador solidarity conferences, in Los Angeles and in Washington, D.C., twenty-four *PM* subscriptions were sold. Thirty-three more *PM* subscriptions were sold at a Latin American Studies Association conference in Indiana.

The *Militant* was also well-received at picket lines. Dallas socialists sold more than twenty subscriptions to striking transit workers. In Gary, more than ten were sold to striking steelworkers at Northern Indiana Public Service Company.

This circulation campaign included the second subscription drive in the four-year history of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

### 'Perspectiva Mundial'

Thirty-three branches took *PM* goals, but only six made their goals.

The Manhattan SWP led the way with 202 *PM* subscriptions.

The areas that had the most success with *PM* organized teams specifically to sell subs in Latino neighborhoods.

Events in solidarity with the revolutionary struggles in Central America were prime spots for *PM* sales. Los Angeles reports that the bulk of the sixty-six *PM* subscriptions they sold were to activists in the solidarity movement.

Selling 894 subscriptions to *PM* (74 percent of the projected goal of 1,210) is an accomplishment and provides a solid foundation on which to increase the magazine's sales in the future.



Milwaukee's Fiesta Mexicana celebration provided a good opportunity for sales of 'Perspectiva Mundial.'

However, we have to examine why we fell short.

In many areas, attention and organization were not devoted to *PM* early enough in the drive.

Some areas that had large *PM* goals lagged in the drive in general. *PM* suffered as they organized last-minute catch-up efforts.

Some areas took goals that proved to be too high. These reflected a desire to reach Spanish-speaking workers, but exceeded what the branch could realistically accomplish at this time.

As more SWP branches organize Spanish classes and the party becomes more involved in the solidarity movement, we will be in a stronger position to increase *PM* sales.

### National sales teams

Seventeen national teams hit the road to areas where there are no branches of the SWP or chapters of the YSA.

The team members sold 493 subscriptions, including thirteen to *PM*. This was about one-half the projected figure of 1,000.

The teams also sold over 1,000 single copies of the *Militant* and 100 of *PM*, distributed more than 12,000 pieces of campaign literature, and recruited thirteen to the Young Socialist Alliance.

Several teams were led by local SWP candidates. Mark Friedman, SWP candidate for Congress in California's 43rd District who ran against Klan-Democrat Thomas Metzger, headed up a team to the Imperial Valley.

"The highlight of this trip was campaigning at Imperial Valley College," he wrote. "The MEChA built a meeting for me. We distributed about 5,000 pieces of campaign literature, had two newspaper interviews, two radio interviews, and a TV spot.

"On Saturday, we campaigned and sold at the major shopping plaza, where the response was the best I've ever had at such a location. Two of us sold seventy-five newspapers in four hours."

Tom Moriarity, SWP candidate for governor of West Virginia, led a team through the coal mining region of southern West Virginia. During their eleven days on the road, Moriarity was interviewed by five newspapers and five radio stations.

### Socialist coal miner

"When we knocked on doors and said we were campaigning for a socialist coal miner running for governor against Rockefeller, most people listened to what we had to say," the team reported. "There was widespread, quick agreement with the proposal to shut down nuclear power plants and switch to coal."

Twenty-three new readers were won in this center of working class militancy.

Some areas made gains by fielding their own teams to nearby areas. The Piedmont, North Carolina, and Tidewater, Virginia, branches were quick to respond to the union victory at J.P. Stevens. They sent a team to Roanoke Rapids, site of the key organizing drive, and sold thirteen subscriptions.

The fact that the teams fell short of their goal clearly did not reflect a lack of interest in the *Militant* or *PM* but rather an overestimation of what each team could accomplish. Many went to areas which, although politically important, lack big population centers. In addition, fewer teams were fielded than originally planned.

Looking back over the fall, it becomes clear that this circulation campaign is one of the most successful the SWP and YSA have carried out in some time.

Discussions with thousands of workers on the job and in their homes put us in close touch with the real political thinking of our class. The disaffection we found with the Democrats and Republicans, and the openness to the ideas put forth in the *Militant* and *PM* belie the capitalist media's claims that American workers are becoming more conservative.

### Future plans

In the weeks and months ahead we can follow up the fall's success in several ways.

The upcoming trial in the SWP and YSA's lawsuit against government spying and harassment is one focus for getting out the ideas the rulers have tried to silence. As the Reagan administration comes into office and millions of workers feel the intensified assault on their rights and living standards, this suit is a counteroffensive that will be attractive to all those looking for a way to fight back.

Already socialist coal miners are organizing subscription sales around the defense of Marian Bustin, a miner who is fighting the government's attempt to deport her because of her membership in the YSA and SWP.

The 1981 local SWP election campaigns, protests against racist violence (including the January 15 marches demanding that Martin Luther King's birthday be made a national holiday), meetings to discuss the new National Black Independent Political Party, and antidraft protests during the week of registration scheduled in January—all these present important sales opportunities.

In addition, branches will want to get in touch with the subscribers they met last fall to talk with them about the SWP and YSA lawsuit, invite them to the local socialist bookstore and to the YSA convention, and urge them to renew their subscriptions.

### Best sellers

Sue Millington of Detroit was the top salesperson nationally, with seventy-four subscriptions. She wins a three-year subscription to 'Intercontinental Press,' a \$105 value. The same prize goes to Ike Nahem of Chicago, top 'Perspectiva Mundial' salesperson with eighteen, and to Phil Bustin of Newark and Doug Hord of Chicago, who had the highest on-the-job sales of sixteen subscriptions each.

remainder from miscellaneous sources.

How did we do?

The branches' efforts were an outstanding success, as thirty-six branches made or surpassed their goals. Of these, thirty-two went over 100 percent. Only seven branches fell short of their goals, and only three made less than 60 percent.

Fifteen branches raised their goals during the drive.

The final total sold by branches was 7,022, which is 137 subscriptions over the goal.

From city to city, socialists rang doorbells, introducing themselves as representatives of a working class campaign that urges formation of a labor party. Discussions, sometimes lengthy, were held in home after home.

The New Orleans branch sent in the following report on some of their experiences: "The big majority of subs were gathered in Saturday door-to-door sales. We learned a lot about the city's working class neighborhoods. While we concentrated on one area within the city, we also sold in a half-dozen other neighborhoods, some of them outside the city proper. We targeted areas of industrial workers. The response was one of openness—sometimes considerable interest—sometimes curiosity."

Socialists who work in the mines, mills, rail and ship yards, and plants across the country played a big role in the subscription drive. The workers' upsurge in Poland proved to be an inspiration to American workers.



Sales team in Colorado went to campuses and many other sites to win new readers to the 'Militant' and 'PM.'

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



'Tis the season to be jolly—Three years ago, a Georgia dam broke, flooding Tocoa Falls Bible College. Thirty-nine people were killed. But donations and federal grants poured in to the stricken little college, now significantly expanded. "In 1977," the bubbling director of development explained, "we had a debt structure of \$1,000,900. In four months we were debt-free. All the good things that have happened to us, the Lord has blessed us."

**Shopping tip**—Our favorite department store, Neiman-Marcus, is offering, for \$24,000, a "silver-plated roast meat trolley." We don't even know what a non-plated roast meat trolley is, but if they include a prime roast beef, it might be worth the money.

**It's good on gas**—Abercrombie & Fitch, the New York gadget store, is offering a full-sized operating version of a 1931 Ford Phaeton. \$20,775.

**No place for your feet?**—Hammacher & Schlemmer is also offering an executive desk for \$8,900. It only has one drawer for paper, pencils, etc. But it includes such features as a paper shredder, a digital thermometer, color TV and, best of all, a radio alarm clock. For \$2,500 extra, they throw in a lie-detecting voice analyzer.

**Wrinkle-proof**—Many useful items are offered for Xmas. In our view, one of the most practical is offered by Tiffany's. Gold collar stays for men's shirts. \$145.

**Splinter-proof**—Another neat item at Tiffany's is the gold, retractable toothpick. \$175.

**With sterling silver ice?**—A New York specialty shop is offering a hand-made sterling silver ice bucket. \$3,500.

**The holiday spirit**—One of our favorite scenes in "Bank Dick" was when W.C. Fields returned the bank's lost money and the bank president offered him "a hearty handshake and a copy of the bank calendar." We were reminded of this on learning that each year the chairman of B. Altman, the New York department store, walks around and shakes hands with each employee. "That," a spokesperson said, "is our Christmas party."

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## By Any Means Necessary

### Tamayo: first Black person in space

HAVANA, Cuba—He's known as Tamayo here. Arnaldo Tamayo Méndez, an Afro-Cuban pilot, is the first Black person to travel in outer space. Tamayo was launched into space—or as the Cubans say, *el cosmos*—along with Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Romanenko last September for the first joint Soviet-Cuban spaceflight.

During my visit to the island, I saw that the Cubans took special note of this accomplishment and demonstrated great pride that one of their own had ventured into *el cosmos*. Throughout the streets of this city posters with Tamayo and Romanenko adorn buildings, store fronts, and offices. Buttons and T-shirts with the Intercosmos emblem are worn by children and adults alike. The Cuban postal service has printed a stamp commemorating Tamayo's flight. Newspapers and periodicals such as *Granma*, *Bohemia*, *Prisma*, *Juventud Rebelde*, and *Cuba International* all feature articles on the flight. Tamayo made a special tour of Cuba's cities.

As our group traveled the length of the island, stopping in Santiago de Cuba, Holguín, Camagüey, and Cienfuegos, posters and other momentos of Tamayo were evident everywhere. Tacked on the



sides of *bohios*—small rural dwellings—were Cuban and Soviet flags or Intercosmos emblems.

In addition to their enthusiasm for Tamayo, the Cuban people displayed a keen interest in science and scientific achievements.

Near the Habana Libre Hotel, a scientific and space exhibit entitled "*El Cosmos al Servicio de la Paz y del Progreso*"—Space at the service of peace and progress—occupies an entire block. The exhibit included: a display on Valentina Tereshkova, the first woman in space, films and animated booths of space travel and research, as well as a section devoted to Tamayo. The night I walked through the exhibit, it was crowded with Cubans of all ages viewing and attentively listening to the recorded descriptions at each booth.

Tamayo has become a national hero of the Cuban people. But there's not the least bit of cultism involved. During a ceremony honoring Tamayo, Cuban President Fidel Castro aptly described what Tamayo symbolizes:

"He symbolizes our people's heroic internationalist fighters, our heroic internationalist workers. . . .

"The Revolution opened the doors for him, as it did for our youth and as it did for all our people: providing the opportunity to study, to improve his education and to serve his people. . . .

"It is indeed symbolic that our first cosmonaut, Latin America's first cosmonaut and Africa's first cosmonaut—it is not a whim on our part to say that he's also Africa's first cosmonaut, because Tamayo,

Osborne Hart



who is eminently Black, also has Indian and Spanish blood running through his veins and he symbolizes African, Indian and Spanish blood that merged in the crucible of our history and gave rise to our people. . . . This is why we say that he also symbolizes Africa, since he's the first descendant of Africans to travel to space.

"It is indeed symbolic that a man of such a poor family should have accomplished such an extraordinary feat, because only through the Revolution, through the Revolution alone could a young man like him have such an opportunity. . . .

"This is why we are proud of this feat as revolutionaries, as socialists, as Communists, as internationalists. Ours is not a nationalist but rather an internationalist kind of pride."

The enthusiasm with which Cubans hail Tamayo represents the internationalist spirit of their revolution.

While we were in the city of Santiago de Cuba, actors and musicians from the Cuban *Teatrova* group performed for us. Afterwards, *Teatrova* members exchanged gifts and signed autographs.

The inscription given to me by the main actor was illustrative of the pride in Tamayo felt by all Cubans. "Although your skin is not yet walking through the 'Great Halls' of the White House, it has already been in space—in a brother of yours and mine."

Signed, "Your brother."

## Union Talk

### Merry Xmas from General Motors

This week's column is by Fran Collet, a member of United Auto Workers Local 664 at General Motors' Tarrytown assembly plant.

TARRYTOWN, N.Y.—Detroit recently announced more layoffs, bringing the number of unemployed auto workers to the highest level in twenty years.

As one of those "privileged" enough to be working during this holiday season, I'd like to share with *Militant* readers some of the things workers at my plant are supposed to be grateful for.

For starters, we are constantly reminded how lucky we are to have a job. This reminder is supposed to justify everything the company does. With this reminder come the threats about producing quality products and cutting absenteeism, or else. "Or else we will close down like Mahwah."

Along with the job of course, we can be thankful for the overtime. It means the car is selling. Our work schedule at the Tarrytown plant has been almost a steady fifty-three to fifty-four hours a week since GM started building its new X-car here in

February 1979. How could we complain when so many people are out in the street?

Second, we can be thankful for speedup because again, if the company couldn't speed up production in order to increase its profits, then it would have to shut down and there we'd be—unemployed.

We're also reminded that if it weren't for all those Japanese cars, things would be better for everybody. Japanese cars are laying people off, not Chrysler, Ford, or GM. . . .

About one month ago, shortly after GM announced its third quarter "loss" of \$500 million, plant management announced they would be eliminating some jobs. In my department they hoped to cut ten out of fifty-two jobs.

Each of us was called into the foreman's office without our union representative (since this wasn't supposed to be disciplinary) and given a little speech that went something like this: "Look, the company's in trouble. We have to save money. We don't want to wind up like Chrysler. We'll be eliminating some jobs, which means we'll be adding

more work to yours. Do you have any suggestions that will make it easier?"

As they began eliminating jobs and adding to others, many of us could not keep up with the line. Management responded by stepping up harassment—calling people into the office, threatening suspensions, even ignoring requests for "emergency relief" (to use the toilet) or requests to go to the plant's medical department, thus forcing workers to walk off the line.

The intimidation by the company failed to achieve its purpose, however. Although personnel cuts in our department and plantwide are supposedly incomplete, because of workers' spontaneous and unorganized resistance management was not able to cut all the jobs it wanted. In fact, it had to create one or two new jobs on our line.

In about a week or so, management will give us a chance to forget all our grievances for 1980. On this occasion, just before our Christmas break, the foremen, general foremen, and supervisors make the rounds to *shake our hands* and wish each of us and our families, "Happy holidays."



## 'Uprising of 20,000'



Striking shirtwaist workers from 1909 strike.

A diary of the 1909 garment workers' strike in New York City recorded: "December 3rd initiated the month's activities with a monster indignation parade to City Hall—ten thousand striking Waistmakers, marching four abreast, in orderly fashion, to call upon the Mayor, their Mayor, to present to him their petition and their protest against the abuse and mistreatment received at the hands of their police force."

"Inspiring host of class-conscious workers, bent on maintaining their rights, headed by three noble women of the [Women's] Trade Union League and three noble victims of brutal assault, they reached City Hall Park. . . ."

Nine days before, on November 24, 20,000 shirtwaist makers had walked out of 500 shops in New York City. This was the first of the massive strikes that erupted among garment workers desperate to end sweatshop conditions.

Trouble had been brewing for some time. Throughout the fall, shirtwaist makers had walked out at several shops. Strikers at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company, as at other shops, had faced thugs and police.

A huge rally was called at Cooper Union Hall on November 22, with overflow crowds filling other halls as well. Samuel Gompers and other trade union leaders spoke. The *Call*, a socialist newspaper of the time, described the climax:

"Clara Lemlich, who was badly beaten up by thugs during the strike in the shop of Louis Leiserson, interrupted Jacob Panken just as he started to speak, saying: 'I wanted to say a few words.' Cries came from all parts of the hall, 'Get up on the platform!' Willing hands lifted the frail little girl with flashing black eyes to the stage, and she said simply: 'I have listened to all the speakers. I would not have further patience for talk, as I am one of those who feels and suffers from the things pictured. I move that we go on a general strike!'"

No one had expected the massive strike that followed. It was called "the uprising of 20,000."

Four weeks before the strike, the shirtwaist makers union, Local 25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), had only 800 members.

Many assumed the industry was impossible to organize. After all, the garment workers were young, 80 percent of them between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. Two-thirds were recent Jewish immigrants who spoke little English. They were considered too ignorant to organize.

Nearly all the workers were women. Although the ILGWU had passed a resolution in 1903 about recruiting more women, no serious effort had been made. ILGWU leader Joseph Barondess claimed women were too preoccupied with finding

a husband to be serious unionists.

But the women did organize. And their strike was as militant and hard fought as it had been unexpected. By December 22, more than 700 women had been arrested on the picket line; 19 were sent to the workhouse. The *Call* carried strikers' stories:

"I just called to a girl and said that I wanted to talk to her. She then turned on me and smashed me in the face, breaking my glasses and cutting my eye. I began to scream and called the policeman to protect me. Instead of that he arrested me and dragged me to the station house where I had to spend the entire night."

Unionists, socialists, and women organized solidarity. Philadelphia waistmakers went on strike and shut down companies scabbing on the New York union.

The *Call* printed a special strike edition and donated it to the union.

The women's suffrage movement held weekly motorcades through New York's Lower East Side and organized a rally that overflowed the Hippodrome.

The Women's Trade Union League, which included both unionists and women's leaders, played the major support role. The WTUL walked the picket lines, set up the strike headquarters, sent speakers to women's groups and campuses, and raised money.

In February the strike was settled, with 354 companies signing the union contract. The workweek was reduced from sixty to fifty-two hours; overtime pay was set; and workers were no longer forced to pay for materials.

Today there are about 170,000 garment workers in New York City's Manhattan garment district alone. Sweatshops have sprung up throughout the city. The big majority of the workers are women; most are immigrants whose first language is Spanish or Chinese. Some estimate that one-third are undocumented immigrants.

Women, immigrants, struck the first blow for the union in 1909. Women, immigrants, should not be written off today. An echo of "The Uprising of the Twenty Thousand," the song dedicated to the strike, may be heard again:

"In the black of the winter of nineteen nine,  
When we froze and bled on the picket line,  
We showed the world that women could fight  
And we rose and won with women's might.  
Hail! the waistmakers of nineteen nine,  
Making their stand on the picket line,  
Breaking the power of those who reign,  
Pointing the way, smashing the chain."

—Diane Wang

### Maura Clarke, martyr of the revolution

During the months just prior to the fall of Somoza in July 1979, when the Sandinistas were waging a massive struggle against the dictatorship, the Boston Socialist Workers Party organized a solidarity meeting and invited as speakers two Maryknoll nuns who had been working in Nicaragua for many years.

I was asked to represent the party at that forum.

I had had a Catholic education, but these nuns were a lot different from the nuns who had taught me in grade school.

Sister Maura Clarke did not speak at this forum, but she accompanied the other Maryknoll nun who did. This sister told of the misery and degradation of the workers and peasants under Somoza. She spoke of the brutal repression by the dictatorship to maintain these conditions. And then she spoke of the Sandinistas and the united front that had been created to fight the oligarchy.

It was crystal clear from her talk that her sentiments were on the side of the revolutionary forces—similar to those priests now serving in the Sandinista government of national reconstruction.

The forum elicited such interest and enthusiasm that participants stayed for several hours afterward asking our two guests many questions. This is how we got to know Sister Clarke. She was an uncompromising opponent of the Somoza regime and a supporter of the Sandinista freedom fighters.

What surprised me most was her interest in the Socialist Workers Party and her openness to socialist ideas. She bought George Novack's *Humanism and Socialism* and several other pieces of literature.

I had heard about the savage

slaying of the three nuns and the lay worker that took place in El Salvador, but I did not make the association until the New York *Daily News* ran a photo of Sister Clarke. It was a shock to realize that such a dedicated person was no longer alive.

Sister Clarke, true to her vocation of aiding the poor, held her ground despite all threats—in the tradition of Camilio Torres, the guerrilla priest. Her efforts in El Salvador placed her once more on the side of the revolution and in the direct firing line of the murderous junta.

Sister Clarke and the other three victims will be remembered as martyrs of the revolution by the workers and peasants that they aided. These are the people who will finally liberate El Salvador and bring to justice the criminals who were responsible for her death and the death of many more.

Nelson Gonzalez

New York, New York

### Assault on gay rights

The united Democratic-Republican assault on Blacks, women and other minorities extends to gays as well, and is growing more serious.

The new appropriations bill passed by Congress for the Legal Services Corporation, federal legal-aid agency, specifically denies lesbians and gays assistance in defending our rights in court.

The anti-gay measure, originated by right-wing Representative Larry McDonald, is the first of what may be many more. Along with their threat to attach anti-gay amendments to additional bills, right-wingers in Congress are organizing to defeat civil rights legislation for lesbians and gays now pending in the House and

### Lew Berman, S.F. socialist

We would like readers of the *Militant* to know that Lew Berman, socialist and well-known labor leader, died in San Francisco on Nov. 2. He was eighty-four years old. All who knew Lew will not be surprised to hear that he was active in the labor movement until the very end.

Although he had long since retired as an official of the Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union, Local 362, he was held in such esteem by his union that he was continued as its delegate to the San Francisco Central Labor Council. Despite poor health and failing eyesight, Lew attended the Council meeting held just before he died.

In the council he had played a special role. He was always in the forefront, defending Cuba, opposing the Vietnam War, supporting equal rights for minorities and women, for aid to Nicaragua. He came up on the

right side in every class struggle issue.

Lew had been a member of the Communist Party. But he was reeducated by the lessons of the 1950s and 1960s. He became a close sympathizer of the SWP and the YSA, and a staunch supporter of their activities and public meetings. And after meetings, he seemed always to find time to discuss the issues—especially with young people anxious to learn. He had much to teach. He was the survivor of a thousand battles, as he said, "Some won, some lost, but all were worthwhile."

Thus far, two memorial meetings have been held in San Francisco—one by his union and the other by his close friends and comrades.

Lew Berman was, for sure, a dedicated man, quite small in physical stature but big in courage and strong in voice for labor's cause. He will be sorely missed.

Asher Harer

San Francisco, California

# Learning About Socialism

## Marx refuted?

### A reader comments:

I am writing to argue against the article by William Gottlieb, "Why the great crash?" [October 31 *Militant*], which I found quite naive.

Karl Marx saw the contradiction between interdependent, organized workers and the individualistic social system of private property as being out of sync, incapable of long-term organized production that would benefit society as a whole. He felt that such a system consisting of clashing forces needed planning, and that if the system was left alone, unplanned, it would lead to economic crisis after crisis and eventually destroy itself.

Gottlieb wrote that the contradiction between the two forces caused the crisis in the business cycles, which he identifies as general crises of overproduction, and that every attempt to solve these periodic crises has failed. He is wrong on both points.

Capitalism is not unplanned because of any social imbalance between enterprise and labor, it is unplanned because of the underlying forces of market mechanisms. The fact that capitalism works through the basic economic demands of society is the reason for the planless nature of capitalism—not organizational structure differences. It is the freedom of production that makes capitalism unique in that it directs its energies toward actual consumer wants and needs, and *not some vision of the current political/economic leader of a country.*

About business cycles and depressions, Gottlieb and Marx are completely wrong. Business investment is the tool for economic growth, and because of the unplanned nature of capitalism, investment will not occur evenly throughout time—there will be times of high investment; there will be times of low investment. Business cycles are the result of changing investment patterns.

Gottlieb writes that every attempt to solve the problems of periodic business crises has failed. Of course he is wrong. Using his focal point of the Great Depression, government spending provided the investment stimulus to revive a stagnant economy. Investment will prime an economy whether it is business or governmental investment.

*Brian Jenkins*

*San Diego, California*

### William Gottlieb replies:

The letter sent by Brian Jenkins offers an opportunity to elaborate on basic points of Marx's critique of capitalism, a critique that Jenkins has completely misunderstood.

First, Marx never said that "a system consisting of clashing forces needed planning." He pointed out that under capitalism the clash between social production and private appropriation made an overall economic plan *impossible*.

However, he held that modern industry also made such a plan necessary—both on a national and eventually on an international scale. Failure to achieve such a plan would inevitably lead—through a chain of convulsions and crises, including wars—to the destruction of modern industrial society.

Marx said that the only way such a general economic plan could be achieved was through a social revolution. The working class will have to take political power in order to abolish private ownership of industry and end capitalist anarchy.

Jenkins's misunderstanding does not end here. He writes

that capitalism works "through the basic economic demands of society. . . . actual consumer wants and needs. . . ." He forgets one little thing. The economic demands of class-divided capitalist society are determined not by human need but only by need that is *backed by the ability to pay*.

It is a well-known fact that the ability to pay of a Rockefeller is somewhat greater than the ability to pay of an unemployed steelworker, or an employed one for that matter, even though the needs and wants of the steelworker may be just as great.

This makes possible the socially destructive and irrational situation of millions of workers being unemployed because of "slack demand" while billions of the world's people live in dire poverty.

Jenkins claims that Marx was completely wrong about business cycles. Cycles occur, Jenkins tells us, because business investment is unevenly distributed through time. Therefore there are periods of high investment and periods of low investment.

This explains absolutely nothing. Why should business investment be so uneven through time? Is it because the needs of society are periodically fully met, as Jenkins implies? In fact, the real needs of most members of capitalist society are never met.

Besides, changes in business investment merely reflect changes in the business cycle and belatedly at that. This is so well known to students of business cycles that the U.S. government, in compiling its index of economic indicators, considers business investment a *lagging* indicator.

Jenkins says that I was wrong to write that every attempt to solve the problem of periodic business crises has failed.

What does he point to? The fact that the Great Depression finally did end and that a rise in government spending played a key role in ending it. (Jenkins doesn't mention that this was largely spending for World War II.)

But I did not say that any given depression would be permanent. I simply pointed out that crises break out periodically and that all attempts to find a way of avoiding them within the framework of capitalism have failed.

Events during the past year give a clear illustration of that fact.

The capitalist government can increase demand by spending more than it takes in in taxes. The results of such an operation, however, will differ radically depending on the overall economic situation.

If such deficit spending occurs after a major economic depression has liquidated "overproduction," it can accelerate recovery (a recovery that will occur anyway).

If such deficit spending occurs amidst continuing overproduction it will lead to a monetary and credit crisis that will end, one way or another, in a new contraction of demand and renewed depression.

That is what we are seeing right now. Economic policies designed by the Carter administration to bring a hasty recovery from the 1980 recession have apparently backfired. Interest rates have soared back to the astronomical levels of last spring, leading to widespread predictions of a renewed slump in 1981. The alternative is greatly increased inflation, leading to a collapse of demand and employment a little later.

Far from being overcome, the problem of periodic business crises remains intractable, just as Marx predicted it would as long as capitalism exists.

Senate.

Extreme right-wing outfits like Moral Majority and Christian Voice are backing the effort, along with various TV preachers whose audiences number in the millions. (One TV preacher has called on the air for the immediate execution of all gays!)

The assault on lesbians and gays endangers all workers and oppressed. Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell's main argument against the ERA is that it would legalize homosexual marriages.

All supporters of democratic rights must unite against this assault and demand "Lesbian and Gay Rights Now!"

*Robert Laycock*

*Kent, Ohio*

### Irish freedom fighters

The horrible tragedy of seven Irish freedom fighters trying to show the British people the inhumanly cruel and deplorable conditions of Long Kesh, while the British government does everything to keep the whole damn thing quiet, is one of the countless tragedies that the Irish people have suffered for centuries under British imperialism.

It is most unfortunate that the news media has done a pretty good job of keeping most of this from the eye of the public in both the U.S. and Great Britain. The news media only gives us small glimpses of a problem that seems "insoluble."

They have yet to mention that in Northern Ireland there is no civilian government, but rather that it is under the control of the British military because Northern Ireland is a "British province."

Because of this the people, whether they be Catholic, Protestant Christian, or Jew, have *no* civil rights and can be arrested on mere suspicion of belonging to or aiding an organization that undermines "British authority" (notably the Irish Republican Army, or IRA).

The majority of those arrested have never been tried for alleged offenses, and those that have been tried were tried in British military courts. A lot of prisoners live outside of their country on prison barges (many of them interned since the early 1970s!) or other prisons in Great Britain.

The news media doesn't bother to tell any of their readers this.

The *Militant*, in my opinion, gives very good and accurate information on events not really covered in the news media. I give them special thanks for revealing a good deal on the true tragedy of Northern Ireland.

*Daniel Nardini*  
*Beloit, Wisconsin*

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.

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**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Tel: (205) 323-3079. Send mail to P.O. Box 3382-A. Zip: 35255.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Tel: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

**CALIFORNIA:** Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. **Los Angeles:** SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

**ILLINOIS:** Campaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. **Chicago:** SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

**INDIANA:** Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. **Indianapolis:** SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

**IOWA:** Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837.

Zip: 01004. Tel: (413) 256-0640. **Boston:** SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, 4120 Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. **Detroit:** SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. **Twin Cities:** SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

**NEW YORK:** Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. **New York, Brooklyn:** SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. **New York, Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. **New York:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369.

**Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (215) 734-4415. **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. **State College:** YSA, c/o Bill Donovan, 1240 E. Branch Rd. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 1322, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. **Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. **San Antonio:** SWP, YSA, 1406 N. Flores Rd. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.

**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. **Baltimore-Washington District:** 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

**WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. **Seattle:** SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.



## Socialists protest Lockheed witch-hunt IAM backs eight fired workers

By Tom Fiske

MARIETTA, Ga.—The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are challenging the firing by Lockheed-Georgia Company of eight socialists who work in the huge aircraft plant here.

The plant, which employs 10,000 workers, is a division of Lockheed Corporation, one of the major suppliers of military aircraft.

Lockheed claims it fired the eight workers because of discrepancies on their job applications.

But an official of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709, which represents the workers at the plant, called that issue "completely ridiculous. They could look on anyone's application and find some mistake," he said.

Officials of the Machinists have held lengthy meetings with the eight. They are filing grievances against all the terminations.

The workers who were fired have asked lawyers for the SWP and YSA's lawsuit against government harassment to help them uncover the facts behind Lockheed's action. They are planning a December 19 news conference in Atlanta to publicize this discriminatory and anti-union move.

### Ex G-man

Lockheed launched its witch-hunt December 9. Sally Thorsen, Jeff Martin, Andree Kahlmorgen, Greg Zensen, and Garrett Brown, all aircraft assemblers, were called down one by one to the plant security office.

They were interviewed and interrogated by security officer Robert Lang. Lang is an ex-FBI agent who keeps autographed photographs of J. Edgar Hoover on his office wall.



Atlanta Journal/Jerome McClendon

Front page 'Atlanta Journal' photo of Andree Kahlmorgen, left, at anti-Klan rally resulted in harassment at work by Lockheed officials.

Sally Thorsen, the first employee he grilled, saw the letters "SWP" written in red on her personnel folder, which was on Lang's desk.

Lang began the interrogation by

demanding to know why Thorsen had not told Lockheed that her eight-year-old daughter had been born in Puerto Rico.

Thorsen pointed out to him that

there is no question concerning the birthplace of children on Lockheed's application form.

The SWP wants to know how and why Lockheed is prying into the private lives of its employees.

During Lang's questioning of Kahlmorgen, he tried to convince her that the special attention being given to her application had nothing to do with her "political affiliation with any group."

### Harassed for marching

Kahlmorgen had previously been harassed by the company after her picture appeared on the front page of the *Atlanta Journal*. Kahlmorgen was one of hundreds of Atlantans who participated in a rally called by the NAACP and various Atlanta churches to protest the murders of Black children.

Kahlmorgen had also been active in a union effort to end a production speed-up and harassment campaign against workers modifying C-141 cargo planes. As a result of her activity, Kahlmorgen was slapped with a disciplinary "employee performance notice."

On December 12 the five workers were terminated and walked out of the plant.

On the same day three other socialists—Jean Savage, Jude Coren, and Chris Hoepfner—were taken before Lang for interrogations.

All three had been working more than six months in the plant, long past the company's probationary period.

Their interviews were extremely brief. Lang ended the questioning as soon as the workers raised the issue of political harassment.

On December 15 these three workers  
*Continued on page 23*

## FBI frames up San Diego shipyard workers

By Bobbie Bagel

SAN DIEGO—Three union activists here face up to forty years in prison in an entrapment frame-up engineered by an FBI provocateur.

David Boyd, Rodney Johnson, and Mark Loo are charged with plotting to blow up the main power transformer at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (Nassco), the largest shipyard on the West Coast.

The three defendants are among twenty-seven union militants, including seventeen union officials, who were fired last August for leading a walkout and protests against unsafe conditions in the yard.

The September 16 arrests came just two weeks after the deaths of two workers in the hold of the destroyer tender *Cape Cod*.

In late June two of the defendants, Loo and Boyd, had led a work stoppage over an unidentified gas leak on the same destroyer. That leak sent thirty of the yard's workers to the hospital.

Defendant Rodney Johnson told the *Militant*, "It is clear that these deaths were the result of criminal neglect on the part of the company."

Johnson and Loo are members of the Communist Workers Party, Boyd is a CWP supporter. They charge they have been singled out for prosecution because of their political views.

The case against the three is based on the testimony of FBI provocateur Ramon Barton.

During the August safety protests, Barton repeatedly urged union members to blow up the homes and cars of Nassco officials, according to a fact sheet from the defense committee for the Nassco Three.

The fact sheet states that at a legal informational picket, Barton told one discharged worker he should fill bottles with gasoline and throw them through the company's windows at night.

Union officials reportedly told Barton to end his wild talk, that this was not what the fight was about.

Attorney Leonard Weinglass, a

noted civil libertarian, described the frame-up of the Nassco Three this way: "Shortly after the August protests, an FBI informant who had infiltrated the union and had previously distinguished himself by spray painting profanities on company walls and threatening management personnel, began pushing for a bombing of the facility."

"And although no bombing occurred and the only destructive devices found were discovered in the van of the agent, the federal prosecutors now claim their agent succeeded in bringing the Nassco Three within the ambit of their own government-concocted conspiracy."

"This tawdry piece of business is sadly reminiscent of the old conspiracy prosecutions launched against the antiwar and civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s. This time the target is militant labor," he said.

Leaders of the safety protests recently won elections in the 2,900-member Iron Workers Local 627.

Twenty-six-year-old Miguel Salas,

who was elected business agent, was among those fired in August.

A former organizer for the United Farm Workers, Salas says he plans to organize demonstrations on behalf of the three victimized workers.

Militancy among workers in the yard clearly has Nassco worried. According to the December 22 *Business Week*, Nassco "appears headed for stormy labor clashes in 1981."

Nassco, which the article describes as "a bright spot in the otherwise problem-plagued shipbuilding industry," pays its workers \$8.71 an hour while most West Coast yards are paying \$11.50.

On November 25 a federal judge refused to drop the charges against the three. Their trial is expected to begin on February 10.

Protest letters and statements of support demanding that the charges against the Nassco Three be dropped and that all the fired workers be rehired should be sent to the Nassco Three Defense Committee, P.O. Box 8363, San Diego, California 92101.