Carter's cover-up on Afghanistan

Unionists have no stake in U.S. aid to Afghan rightists

The leaders of the International Longshoremen's Association ordered its members to boycott all Soviet cargo and Soviet ships on January 9. This action, which union officials are enforcing in the East and Gulf Coast ports, where the ILA is organized, goes beyond Carter's order to cut off grain shipments to Russia. ILA President Thomas Gleason and Anthony Scotto, a vice-president, claimed the action was taken at the urging of rank-and-file members of the union. Neither Gleason nor Scotto reported on the urging they received from shipping companies and the government. Elimination of the large Soviet merchant fleet as a competitor was met with joy by U.S. shipowners, according to the January 21 Business Week.

And the Carter administration was only too glad to use the union officials' action to offset opposition to the grain embargo from farmers. Gleason made this point explicitly, saying the ILA boycott would show "the farmers they are not the only ones making sacrifices." Gleason claimed: "Our people are upset, and they refuse to carry on business as usual as long as the Russians insist on being international bully boys."

That's false. No discussion or vote was taken among the union members. The sacrifice the longshore workers will make in having reduced work is no more voluntary than the sacrifice Carter has forced on farmers. And as American dock workers and farmers come to know the truth about the struggles by workers and farmers in Afghanistan they will be even less inclined to sacrifice jobs or income—or lives—for Washington's aims. Instead of calling the Soviet Union an international bully boy, the unions should be exposing Washington for secretly arming and financing the landlords, opium dealers, and rightist military officers who are trying to turn back the gains that workers and farmers of Afghanistan have made over the past year and a half. The Soviet troops sent in to Afghanistan are there to help crush the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries. (See pages 5-7.)

American workers are affected by and concerned about world events. We do have an interest in taking a stand on foreign policy issues—on the side of working people in other countries, not against them. Knee-jerk patriots like Gleason do not represent what American workers think on foreign policy issues.

Gleason never had anything to say while the international bully boys in Washington pummeled Indochina for years. He never called a boycott of South African shipping. Bully boy dictators, backed by Washington, trample on human rights all over Latin America, and Gleason keeps mum about it.

The patriotism that union bureaucrats like Gleason try to impose has always been costly for American working people. And it will be more so in the future.

Today the U.S. economy is in a sharp decline. The increased military spending is going to shoot inflation up even faster. Money to pay for the weapons will come from bigger cuts in social spending.

Labor officials are going to be asked to prove their patriotism by helping get bigger sacrifices from union members.

As the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers
The Continued from front page

local president quoted on page 9 of this issue says: "Last January we took Carter at his word that settling for a five percent wage increase would help fight inflation ... we felt we were doing the patriotic thing. But inflation is running higher than ever now, and without a decent wage increase we'll just fall further and further behind.

Inflation is pricing patriotism out of reach. Sixty thousand O'CAW workers are on strike now to try to catch up on inflation. The OCAW strike concerns the first of the major union contracts covering more than 1.2 million workers that will be negotiated this year. It will set an example, one way or the other, for steel, telephone, aerospace, and ILA contracts.

The efforts by the oil workers and others to fight inflation are undercut by the misleaders of the union movement.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser, and Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride sit on Carter's pay advisory committee. The wage guidelines they are suggesting are between 7.5 and 9.5 percent. This is 2.5 percent lower than the lowest estimate of the current inflation rate, 13 percent.

While the pay committee claims inflation will go down next year, Carter's sharply increased military spending guarantees that it will go up. So, American workers are really being told to take a substantial pay cut!

Workers cannot afford patriotic support to Carter's war against the standard of living of workers. It's against our interests.

Nore can we afford patriotic support to Wash­ington's moves against revolutionary strugg­les by people in Afghanistan, Iran, or else­where. That's against our interests too.

The same price is charged—in our standard of living, our lives, and our well being. The clearer the issues and the costs become, the fewer workers will want to pay the price.

George Meany

George Meany, longtime head of the AFL-CIO, died on January 10, aged 85.

Meany, who believed that he had never walked a picket line, was eulogized by the capitalist press as a man who rose from the "lowly status" of plumber to become a labor statesman—"Mr. Organized Labor," they called him.

George Meany certainly did earn the venera­tion of big business.

Under his stewardship the AFL-CIO official­dom was ridden by internecine raids; failed to organize the South; tied the workers to no­strike contracts and tightened the percentage of organized workers to decline.

Meany put up no serious fight against unemployment and inflation. He opposed la­bor taking the lead on social issues.

But he was adept at claiming credit—and a high salary—for gains that the workers them­selves had won in struggle.

Meany purged union militants and radicals and tightened the labor movement's ties to the Democratic Party. He gave full support to every war that Washington waged, advocating an even more bellicose policy.

To his everlasting shame he turned the AFL­CIO staff and treasury into a conduit for CIA interference in the labor movements of other countries on behalf of rightists and dictators.

No wonder the ruling class admired him so!

What labor needs is a leadership not of "statesmen" like Meany, but of men and women who are and represent the interests of the plumbers and laborers, the steel and auto

workers, the miners and machinists, and all the other workers in this country.

We need a leadership not of "statesmen," but of fighters.

Even if the ruling class doesn't like them. [Future issues of the Militant will carry an assessment of Meany's life by staff writer Frank Lovell.]

Abortion victory

A significant victory was won for women's rights January 16 when a federal judge de­clared unconstitutional the Hyde Amendment, which bars federal funds from being used to pay for abortions.

Judge John Dooling, Jr., ruled that "all factors, physical, emotional, psychological, familial, and the woman's age" should be taken into account by physicians in determin­ing "medically necessary" abortions.

The current version of the Hyde Amendment allowed Medicaid funds to pay for abortion only if the woman's life were in danger or in cases of promptly reported incidents of rape or incest.

Dooling's order will not go into effect for thirty days. During this time the Justice Depart­ment plans to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court.

In his decision Dooling stated, "To deny necessary medical assistance for the lawful and medically necessary procedure of abortion is to violate the pregnant woman's First and Fifth Amendment rights."

Dooling's ruling presents increased opportunities to deepen the struggle for a woman's right to choose abortion.

The successful January 13 labor march for the Equal Rights Amendment shows that the unions are moving into the forefront of cham­pioning the fight for the ERA. That same power and should be mobilized behind the majority sentiment among working people for full abortion rights, free of all restrictions.

Militant Highlights This Week

A day with Nicaraguan workers

This discussion with Sandinista union organizers gives supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution an inside view of conditions in the plants and factories since the overthrow of the hated Somoza regime. Page 19.

Workers pay for Chicago crisis

Mayor Jane Byrne is teaming up with other Democratic and Republican politicians under the direction of Chicago's bankers in a financial bailout plan aimed at workers' paychecks, jobs, and vital services. Page 12.

A big step in fight for ERA

Thousands of steelworkers, auto workers, electrical workers, teachers, and other labor unionists joined a march for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in Virginia. A feature photo display appears on page 4.
**Victims of anti-Afghanistan policy**

**Farmers protest Carter's grain embargo**

By Osborne Hart

The Carter administration's decision to place an embargo on grain shipments to the Soviet Union has drawn sharp reactions from U.S. farmers.

The American Agriculture Movement, which in recent years has organized farmers to protest government farm policy, issued a statement in Washington, D.C., January 11, saying: "We all know that previous actions of this type disrupted not only the immediate sales price and sales in general, but they had even a serious effect on long term sales not only for the farm sector but the entire nation."

In a telephone interview with the Militant, Tom Benson, a Minnesota farmer and AAM national treasurer, said, "The embargo quite seriously and naturally affects the lives of small farmers—that's evidenced by the price decline.

With thirty-three percent of farm acres needed for the export market, farmers' dependence on sales to the Soviet Union—which would be the largest outlet for U.S. grain this year—is very high.

It is anticipated that the Carter embargo will cause losses to U.S. farmers $7 billion in lost revenues. Carter halted shipments of 17 million tons of embargoed grain and 1 million metric tons of soybeans, a sale that farmers had expected to become the corn and soybean crops are a record yield, and the wheat harvest is the second largest ever.

As for the winter harvest, "the 1980 winter wheat crop has been planted with the idea of substantial demand from the Soviets in mind," commented Winston Wilson, a Texas wheat farmer, to the Christian Science Monitor. "The financial commitment has already been made."

To appease farmers, Carter announced government plans to purchase the 17 million tons of embargoed grain. But many farmers don't believe him. "The president says the government will move right in and support the farmers," remarked C. William Swank of the Ohio Farm Bureau. "To never happen before and I doubt that it will happen this time."

In fact, the decision to buy 17 million tons of grain was made only after the Department of Agriculture met with representatives of the major grain companies—such as Cargill, Continental, and others—that own most of the 17 million tons.

The AAM denounced Carter's policy with a grain commodity: "The administration's policy has protected the grain merchants for 100 percent of their entire sales, yet the farmers are put in the position of selling their entire inventory and also future production at low or disastrous prices."

Farmers have been protesting the rising cost of producing agricultural commodities due to inflation, rising fuel costs, and expensive machinery. Even before the embargo was imposed, predictions were that there would be a 10-20 percent drop in farm income during 1980 because of increased costs to farmers.

The AAM has called a farmer protest for February 16 in Washington, D.C., and a two-day conference February 18 and 19 to focus on the plight of farmers.

Farmers won't be the only victims of the embargo. Many workers will be forced out of their jobs, the administration lines through elimination of jobs.

The hardship to U.S. farmers and workers resulting from the embargo shows that our interests do not lie with Washington's aggressive drive against the Afghan revolution.

On the contrary, our interests are with the millions of Afghans who are struggling to extend the gains of their revolution.

Several of the major social reforms instituted by the new Afghan government were aimed at improving the lives of farmers. In the country where five percent of the population once controlled 80 percent of the farmable land, the government has begun redistributing land and water rights and cancelling the peasant debts to the landlords.

The Afghan government has legalized trade unions, launched a literacy campaign, and built schools and medical facilities.

This means, with the aid of Soviet troops, are not fighting U.S. farmers or workers. They are fighting against imperialist policies. The workers are trying to turn back the gains that have been made.

It is in the interests of U.S. farmers and workers to support the progressive measures taken in Afghanistan and to help people move, which are directed against us as well as against the Afghan people.

---

**Opposition deepens to U.S. attacks on Iran**

By Janice Lynn

Six American clergymen who returned from a fact-finding trip to Iran told reporters at a January 4 news conference that they concluded the United States had supported a terrorist regime under the shah.

The Rev. William Kirby, Methodist-Prebyterian, who was at Princeton University, said, "I believe the American government should ask forgiveness for imposing a government means to turn around and follow a new path which does not interfere with the Iranian people."

Kirby added, "The Iranian people are angry at the American government, not at the American people. We must tell the American people the truth."

The six clergymen and one American professor visited Iran from December 19 to January 3 as part of a delegation headed by the Rev. Jimmy Allen, of the Southern Baptist Convention. Allen is also a personal friend of Carter's.

The seven met with Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, whom Allen described as "a man of great principle." Allen warned against following a "reactionary course" of Khomeini as an "extremist religious fanatic." He also said the current political decision-making in Iran depends on "whoever has power," rather than from the leaders down. This "inverts the decision-making process we're used to," Allen said.

Dr. Thomas Ricks, a specialist in Iranian and Middle Eastern studies at Georgetown University, said, "My hope is that the shah indeed be returned to the jury of the maimed and the tortured."

Rev. John Walsh, Baptist chaplain at Princeton, said the clergymen had learned during their twelve-day trip that "sufficient information exists that calls for an international tribunal" to try the shah.

Rev. Charles Cesaretti of the Episcopal Church in New York City agreed.

---

**A threat to civil liberties**

The U.S. State Department has revoked the passport of Phillip Agee, the ex-CIA agent who has been quoted speaking on illegal CIA activity around the world.

What especially angered the Justice Department's lawyers was Agee's suggestion that the U.S. turn over CIA files on its activities against Iran in exchange for the hostages in the embassy.

Agee now lives in West Germany, where authorities have repeatedly begun efforts to revoke his residency permit.

"Let him stand in the public arena and explain his actions," he told the news conference.

The sentiments expressed by these clergymen reflect the thinking of more and more Americans as they learn the truth about the shah's crimes against the Iranian people.

A new Harris poll showed that by a two-to-one ratio (58 percent to 26 percent) Americans agreed with Sen. Edward Kennedy that the shah is one of the most repressive regimes in modern times.

Other polls continue to show that the American people oppose the use of military force against Iran.

A nationwide poll reported in the December 18 Los Angeles Times reported that 88 percent of those polled opposed the use of military force as a form of punishment after the hostages are released.

Seventy-one percent of those polled opposed the use of military force as a "basic policy of the government" to keep others from taking hostages in the future. And a majority (53 percent) opposed using military force even if the hostages are harmed or killed.

The majority of those polled (55 percent) considered the shah guilty of crimes against the people of Iran and by an overwhelming margin (65 percent to 24 percent) agreed that the shah should not be given permanent asylum in the U.S.

In the latest Gallup poll reported in the January 12 New York Times, only 7 percent favored using military force to punish Iran in the event of the safe release of the hostages, 60 percent favored diplomatic and economic sanctions and 25 percent favored doing nothing.

Protests against U.S. threats to Iran continue. Militant correspondent Doug Parker reports that more than 100 people heard Hoes Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and others at a December 8 Iran Teach-In in Atlanta. Williams called for the return of the shah to Iran for trial.

In Los Angeles 250 people turned out December 29 to hear reports from two Americans who visited Iran, Carol Downer and Rebecca Chalker. On January 4, sixty-four people picketed the Panamanian consulate calling for the return of the shah to Iran.

In Boston, Militant correspondent Rich Cahalane reports that 250 people attended a December 14 teach-in on "Iran—informer Vietnam?" Speakers included Prof. Richard Falk, Kaukauk Siddique of the Iranian Embassy in Washington, D.C.; Tony VandeMeer of the National Black Student Association; and others.

One of the best received speakers was William Worthy, columnist for the Baltimore Afro American and one of the first Americans to travel to Iran after the revolution. Worthy drew sustained applause when he said, "The longer the hostage crisis drags on, the more Americans will be drawn to the side of the Iranian people."

"The Iranian people are struggling to extend the gains of their revolution. The American public will become. The Iranians have forced the U.S. media to drop their campaign against the shah and our culpability. The hostage issue, the embassy occupation, is not a moral issue, it is a political issue."

Worthy concluded, "History will absolve the students who seized the embassy."

---

THE MILITANT/January 25, 1980
LABOR MARCH FOR ERA

Five thousand marched in Richmond, Virginia, on January 13 to demand ratification of the federal Equal Rights Amendment. Sponsored by the Labor for Equal Rights Now coalition, the demonstration included auto workers, steelworkers, Teamsters, teachers, postal workers, electrical workers, rail workers, food and commercial workers, telephone workers, hospital workers, and other unionists. Chapters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and of the National Organization for Women along with anti-nuclear activists and students also marched. While a sizeable part of the march was from the ranks of Virginia labor, protesters came from neighboring states as well as from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Georgia, Illinois, and California.

A broad list of speakers included Addie Wyatt, United Food and Commercial Workers vice-president and CLUW executive vice-president; Frank Mont, United Steelworkers civil rights director; John Kennedy, United Mine Workers District 28 president; NOW President Eleanor Smeal; and Dr. Joseph Lowery, Southern Christian Leadership Conference president.

Next week's 'Militant' will carry a full report of the demonstration.
Afghan rightists dealt setback

By Ernest Harsch

Soviet troops continue to fan out throughout Afghanistan to bolster the Afghan military drive against U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary forces.

The Soviet government had first begun sending in large numbers of troops in the summer of 1979 to stave off the threat that the regime in Kabul would be overthrown and replaced by a pro-imperialist regime. The Soviet Union's southern border. The move came in response to an escalation of imperialist-sponsored guerrilla attacks against the Afghan revolution, including guerrilla actions by rightist groups opposed to the 1978-79 revolution and to the legalisation of trade unions, and other measures introduced following the seizure of power by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan's (PDPA) military dictatorship of Gen. Zia ul-Haq.

Officially, the Afghan bases in Pakistan are designated as "refugee camps." But unlike most refugee populations, a large proportion of those in the camps are adult males. They receive military training, arms, and supplies in the camps, periodically recrossing the border to engage in guerrilla attacks against supporters of the Afghan revolution.

The Pakistani regime denies that it is directly aiding the guerrilla forces. Instead, it maintains the fiction that it is only helping "refugees." This assistance averages, according to official Pakistani figures, about $5 million a month.

In a January 10 dispatch from the New York Times correspondent William Borders reported that the Afghan guerrillas "operate with relative impunity on Pakistani territory, holding news conferences to denounce the Soviet Union and the Afghan sympathizers flying from Pakistan to other parts of the world in their campaign for international support.

A class war

The groups that Washington is backing represent the most reactionary forces in Afghan society.

"Although the rebels will not concede it publicly, it is widely believed they get some of their arms here, either from Pakistani sources or from Middle Eastern contacts who ship them through Pakistan into Afghanistan across a mountainous border that is untamed, unpatrolled and in an implicit attack on Washington concede the attempts of some outside powers to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan by training, arming and supporting groups with identical or convergent elements to create disturbances inside Afghanistan." (Tokyo Yomiuri Shimbun, January 9)

The Indian government, following the perceived victory of Indira Gandhi, dropped its earlier condemnation of the regime in Kabul before the United Nations January 11. Indian representative Brajesh Chandra denied that India had supported the subjugation—in Carter's words—of "an independent Islamic people." This transparency beg to isolate the Afghan revolution from other anti-imperialist forces in the region, in the Middle East, has not been particularly successful.

Speaking in late December 27-pledged to defend the social gains registered since the April 1979 revolution against a "new democratic constitution" would soon be enacted, said that there would be freedom to form "patriotic, progressive and people's political parties," and decreed a "general amnesty.

On January 6, more than 2,000 political prisoners—of an estimated 10,000 arrested by the amnesty—were released from Kabul's Pul-i-Charkhi prison. Although Western reporters in Kabul claimed that the Soviet government was still being arrested, an Associated Press dispatch in the January 9 New York Daily News declared that "even anti-government Afghans in Kabul said the measures taken so far have been less drastic than those under [Hafizullah Amin]," Kar- ma's predecessor, who was killed in the December 1978 coup.

Counterrevolution

The setback to the counterrevolution in Afghanistan comes at a time of rising anti-imperialist struggles throughout the region, especially in Iran, but also in countries like Pakistan and India. The stakes for imperialism are enormous.

Under the cover of an extensive propaganda campaign, the Soviet "invansion," Carter has acted to strengthen the remaining U.S. allies in the region and to open the way for open support to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

Reversing up the Pakistani regime is a key element in this effort. On January 13, the White House announced that it would double its aid, to $400 million worth of economic and military aid. The military aid, about half of the total, would include massive ground equipment, antitank weapons, and antiaircraft systems; the remainder would be inviolate to the Afghan counterrevolutionary forces if it is passed along to the Zia regime.

Zia, however, has been cautious about accepting the U.S. aid offers too eagerly, fearing that he is too closely identified with the White House the deep anti-imperialist sentiments among many Pakistanis. Not enough Pakistanis could be turned against the regime itself. As a report in the January 3 Wall Street Journal noted, "President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq's regime is so weak, most U.S. officials say, that a sharp switch toward the U.S. could come at any time.

Given Zia's political difficulties in accepting direct and open American military support, the White House announced January 7 that the White House would like to form an international "consortium" to provide aid to Islamabad, which would be partly financed by the Soviet republics.

This "consortium" will undoubtedly seek to funnel arms, money, and support to Pakistan directly instead of through official U.S. channels.

The White House announced January 7 that Zia would like to form an international "consortium" to provide aid to Islamabad, which would be partly financed by the Soviet republics. The same day as Carter's announcement, the Washington Post reported that the President was considering various plans to support the counterrevolution.

"One plan," correspondent George C. Wilson wrote, "is an effort to ally the United States, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and China in supplying anti-Soviet forces in Afghanistan with modern weapons."

Afghan rightists released showing their execution of "Communist" woman schoolteacher. Rightists oppose government efforts to build schools, and illiteracy.

Although the rebels will not concede it publicly, it is widely believed they get some of their arms here, either from Pakistani sources or from Middle Eastern contacts who ship them through Pakistan into Afghanistan across a mountainous border that is untamed, unpatrolled and largely unrecognized by the people who live along it.

Behind this extensive support apparatus for the Afghan counterrevolution stands American imperialism. From the very beginning, Washington has opposed the revolutionary changes under way in Afghanistan. It fears that the example of the Afghan revolution will further strengthen anti-imperialist struggles throughout the region.

While backing up Zia's support to the counterrevolutionary forces, the Carter administration has also been indirectly involved.

New details about Washington's activities have been revealed in "Afghanistan: An Afghan in Afghan," a report by an Afghan critic living in red Ege, published in the most recent issue (Vol. 4, No. 1) of CounterSpy, a Washington-based journal that specializes in exposing American intelligence activities around the world. Its information generally proved accurate.

One of the U.S. institutions currently based in Kabul is the Asia Foundation, which in the past has had close ties to the Central Intelligence Agency and which still receives more of its funds from the U.S. government. In a June 1979 letter to Ege, Joel W. Scarbo-rough, the foundation's representative in Afghanistan, admitted that the foundation collaborated closely with the CIA before 1979 to improve the image of the PDPA regime. Ege, the department's Afghan desk officer, according to Ege, Lorton refused to say whether arms shipments were discussed, since Nasser "is an American citizen." Senators Frank Church and Jacob Javits, who also had discussions with Nasser, likewise refused to comment.

A class war

The groups that Washington is backing represent the most reactionary forces in Afghan society.

"These Afghan patriot"—as the American press often refers to them—favor the reimposition of imperialist control over the country. If successful in overturning the PDPA regime, they have promised to scrap the reforms that have been enacted, including the agrarian reform, under which 1.4 million acres of land have already been redistributed free to poor and landless peasants. They are actively opposed to the government's literacy campaign and steps to improve the social position of women.

The leaders of the various groups include dispossessed landlords, who want to regain their vast estates and reimpose serf-like conditions on the peasants; supporters of the monarchy, with which the revolution could put them out of business.

There are other who support the government's progressive measures.

Although no restrictions have been placed on religious freedom, the numerous guerrilla groups claim they are fighting for "Islam." But they are in reality fighting a class war—with the fall and active backing of American imperialism.

It was against the growing threat that the U.S. would come to power in a neighboring country that Moscow felt compelled to act. In the late 1970s, thousands of troops to Afghanistan represented a sharp blow to the counterrevolutionary drive.

In one of his first public statements, President Babrak Karmal—who came to power in the December 1978 coup—pledged to defend the social gains registered since the April 1979 revolution against a "new democratic constitution" would soon be enacted, said that there would be freedom to form "patriotic, progressive and people's political parties," and decreed a "general amnesty.

On January 6, more than 2,000 polit-

ical prisoners—of an estimated 10,000 arrested by the amnesty—were released from Kabul's Pul-i-Charkhi prison. Although Western reporters in Kabul claimed that the Soviet government was still being arrested, an Associated Press dispatch in the January 9 New York Daily News declared that "even anti-government Afghans in Kabul said the measures taken so far have been less drastic than those under [Hafizullah Amin]," Kar- mal's predecessor, who was killed in the December 1978 coup.

Counterrevolution

The setback to the counterrevolution in Afghanistan comes at a time of rising anti-imperialist struggles throughout the region, especially in Iran, but also in countries like Pakistan and India. The stakes for imperialism are enormous.

Under the cover of an extensive propaganda campaign, the Soviet "invansion," Carter has acted to strengthen the remaining U.S. allies in the region and to open the way for open support to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

Reversing up the Pakistani regime is a key element in this effort. On January 13, the White House announced that it would double its aid, to $400 million worth of economic and military aid. The military aid, about half of the total, would include massive ground equipment, antitank weapons, and antiaircraft systems; the remainder would be inviolate to the Afghan counterrevolutionary forces if it is passed along to the Zia regime.

Zia, however, has been cautious about accepting the U.S. aid offers too eagerly, fearing that he is too closely identified with the White House the deep anti-imperialist sentiments among many Pakistanis. Not enough Pakistanis could be turned against the regime itself. As a report in the January 3 Wall Street Journal noted, "President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq's regime is so weak, most U.S. officials say, that a sharp switch toward the U.S. could come at any time.

Given Zia's political difficulties in accepting direct and open American military support, the White House announced January 7 that the White House would like to form an international "consortium" to provide aid to Islamabad, which would be partly financed by the Soviet republics. The same day as Carter's announcement, the Washington Post reported that the President was considering various plans to support the counterrevolution.

"One plan," correspondent George C. Wilson wrote, "is an effort to ally the United States, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and China in supplying anti-Soviet forces in Afghanistan with modern weapons."

Continued on page 7
Attack Soviet aid

Spain, Italy CPs knife Afghan revolution

By Steve Clark

By adding their voices to the capitalist propaganda campaign against Soviet aid to Afghanistan, the Italian and Spanish Communist par
ties have not only stabbed the Afghan workers and peasants in the back, but once again betrayed the class interests of Spanish and Italian workers.

"... we say No! to the intervention of the Soviet military forces in Afghan­istan," said an editorial in the Spanish CP's daily Mundo Obrero. An editorial in the Italian CP stated its "sharp disagreement" with the action by the Soviet government.

Furthest from the minds of the Italian and Spanish Stalinist leaders is how they can aid the defense of the Afghan workers and peasants against U.S.-backed counterrevolution. The Afghan masses are fighting to pre­serve the social gains of the April 1978 revolution, which includes a major land redistribution to benefit the poor peasants, legalization of trade unions, expanded language rights to oppressed nationalities, upgrading of the social position of women, and a campaign against illiteracy among some 90 per­cent of the country's 18 million people.

Stalinists' goals

The Italian and Spanish Stalinists are unmoved by such considerations. Instead, they are motivated by a desire to stay on the good side of the Italian and Spanish capitalist classes. The Italian CP doesn't want additional barriers to its efforts to gain labor control in the Christian Democratic gov­ernment. Likewise, the Spanish Stalinists are eager to demonstrate their moderation and reliability to the Span­ish rulers.

Of course, the CP leaders cannot explain their real motivations to Span­ish and Italian workers. One of the main attractions of the CPs to these workers, especially young workers, is the material gains they can make by struggling against the oppression and exploitation around the world.

So the Stalinists cloak their capitulation to the class enemy behind protestations of concern over "peace" and "national independence." Not only are these arguments patently insincere, they are also just plain false. Let's take a look at a few.

• Both the Italian and Spanish CPs say that the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan is a violation of the principles of national independence and non-intervention, which is the work of the peoples who suffer from it.

The real threat to Afghanistan's national sovereignty, however, comes from Washington and the capitalist military dictatorship in Pakistan, which ever since the April 1978 revolution have been funding and arming the landlords and other reactionaries. The Afghan government has repeatedly requested Soviet military aid to coun­ter these efforts by Washington, and Moscow has finally committed major forces to prevent the establishment of an openly pro-imperialist regime on its southern border.

• The Italian CP statement comments on the "unexportability of revo­lution," while the Spanish Stalinists strike a similar note, saying that "the liberation of peoples from imperialism is the work of the peoples who suffer from it."

These are particularly cynical at­tempts to paper over a counterrevolution­ary stance by claiming to speak— as the Spanish CP put it—"from a clear and revolutionary position."

Such statements are an insult to the Afghan workers and peasants. Their revolution against imperialist-perpetu­ated economic and social backwardness is "the work of the peoples who suffer from it." The April 1978 rebel­lion brought tens of thousands into the streets of Kabul to bring down the old government and replace it with one more responsive to the needs of the oppressed.

That revolution was not "exported" from anywhere. In fact, the U.S. gov­ernment has admitted that Moscow was taken by surprise when the insur­rection occurred.

Real threat to peace

• The Italian CP statement says, "The Soviet intervention in Afghan­istan is the most recent of grave epi­sodes in the multiplication of political and military tensions, of acts of force that place world peace in danger."

But the joint Afghan-Soviet offen­sive to crush an imperialist-instigated counterrevolution does not "place world peace in danger." To the con­trary, it is another blow against the reactionary foreign policy aims of the government of the U.S. banks and big busi

Pulley protests, Aeroflot bombing

The following statement was issued January 15 by SWP Presidential candidate Andrew Pulley.

The January 13 explosion of a bomb at the New York office of Aeroflot, the Soviet airline, must be condemned by every defender of democratic rights.

The terrorists who committed this crime were clearly emboldened by President Carter's efforts to isolate the Soviet Union, as punishment for its role in pushing back U.S.-organ­ized rightists in Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union isn't the only target. The bombing is designed to intimidate anyone who might con­sider visiting the Soviet Union, as well as anyone who speaks out against U.S. support to Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

As occurred in two bombings last year at the Cuban mission to the United Nations, the New York police let the bomb thrower get away.

Phone calls to the police credited the bombing to two different right-wing gangs—the Jewish Defense League and Omega Seven. Leaders of the JDL later denied playing a part in the bombing.

Omega Seven has boasted of its responsibility for bombings at the Cuban mission and for the murder of Eulalio José Negrín, a member of the Committee of Scientists' Peaceful Dialogue between Cubans in this country and Cuba. He was gunned down November 25 in Union City, New Jersey.

The immensity of Omega Seven from anti-Cuba, is the flagrant sign of its close relationship with the FBI, the CIA, and local police departments.

I call on President Carter and New York Mayor Edward Koch to stop covering up for these bombers and murderers. Arrest and convict all those responsible for the bombings at Aeroflot and the Cuban mission, and the murder of Negrín!
Rightist victories invented

How U.S. press lies about Afghanistan

By David Frankel

Afghanistan has replaced Iraq as the number one enemy in the mass media. As in the case of the Iranian revolution, the capitalist newspapers and television industries are attempting to shape public opinion in accord with the needs of the ruling class.

Just compare the reaction of the big-business media and the U.S. government to the invasion of Soviet troops in Afghanistan to the reaction to the invasion of Vietnam by Chinese forces in February 1979. In that case, the Carter administration (which later admitted having discussed the move in advance with Chinese Vice-premier Deng Xiaoping) responded by sending a delegation to Peking to arrange expanded trade ties. One of the most powerful levers of capitalist rule is the bourgeoisie's control of the mass media. The capitalist class uses the means of communication as a weapon in the class war. That is why we are sensitive now in regard to the revolution in Afghanistan.

Lies becomes 'news'

Lies have been presented as "news"—not only in the scandal-mongering tabloids but also in those periodicals that claim to offer truthful and objective reporting.

An important purpose to promote the lie that there was no popular support for the fight against the reactionary uprisings, the big-business media tried to portray the struggle in Afghanistan as a fight against an invading Soviet army and the Afghan people as a whole. Fierce battles, later admitted to have been staged, were reported by both the U.S. State Department and the capitalist news media. The New York Times correspondent Wil­liam B. Holstein in Kabul January 14: "The invaders were soon locked in bitter combat with Islamic rebels." Pilling and his ilk were "sketchy reports from the coun¬try-side." Newsweek touted "of a Soviet column advancing on the provincial capital of Bamian" being ambushed and destroyed. "The Soviets were reported to be attacking pockets of guerrilla resistance with paratroops and a devastating Mi-24 helicopter gunships." Time magazine carried a similar report, all of it derived from the fantasy about Soviet paratroops.

The Washington Post carried an Associated Press dispatch by Robert H. Reid on its front page January 3: Reid, reporting from Kabul, said: "So¬viet troops and tanks went on the attack, thrown tanks and sophisticated attack helicopters against Moslem rebels in fierce fighting about 100 miles north­west of Kabul, the capital city." Reid, apparently impressed that he was able to get the same story in so many places, said that "information about the battles came from four different Western embassies." (which later admitted having dis­missed the fantasy)

New York Times correspondent Wil­liam B. Holstein didn't bother to give his sources when he claimed in a January 7 dispatch that "battles between Soviet troops and the rebels are believed to have occurred in several widely scat­tered areas in the last few days.""

Afghan Army

Borders also repeated the frequently made claim that "a major part of the [Afghan] army is reported to have been neutralized." The implication, of course, is that there is no Afghan opposition to counterrevolutionaries and backing that Soviet intervention is a handful of traitors.

But on January 8 the Pentagon defended the invasion and the failure to "take action with reports that Soviet troops have been battling Afghan in­surgents. Defense Department an­alysts said today that the invaded Afghan Army that was doing the fighting." Times correspondent Richard Halloran reported.

Halloran said that the Pentagon had found "no evidence of pitched battles between Soviet troops and Afghan in­surgents." (Time's correspondent Richard Halloran reported)

It is most likely that the Pentagon's information "appeared to differ from [that] of the State Department and the reports in the international press.

State Department officials quietly dropped their stories about big battles between the Soviet Army and Afghan rebels. "Briefing reporters on the latest intelligence information," Times cor­respondent Bernard Gwertzman said in a January 11 article, "Hudding Carter 3d, the State Department spokesman, said that Soviet troops... had not so far engaged in any signifi­cant military action with the insur­gents.

Little opposition to troops

Despite the capitalist media's claims of massive support for the rightist rebels, there has been little direct opposition to the Soviet troops. One disappointed "senior military analyst" complained to Christian

Afghanistan

Continued from page 5

Saudi Arabia has expressed interest in selling weapons to either or both, either directly or by paying for those supplied by another country, according to ad­miral William B. Pilling, who said the Saudi connection is not expected to be made public by the Carter administration officially.

Defense Secretary Harold Brown raised this proposal during his visit to Peking last week. "Bipartisanship is not meeting the needs of the day."

Defense officials said that Brown will seek a U.S. military presence in the region as a result of the Saudi offer of military help.

President Carter has likewise been seeking to get Washington's imperialist allies to take more direct responsibility for the war in Afghanistan. The Canadian and Australian governments agreed to join Washing­ton's embargo on grain sales to Mos­cow, and British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington began a tour on Janu­ary 9 of Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Oman, and Pakistan on behalf of NATO to discuss ways to respond to the Afghan events.

These steps against Afghanistan and the Soviet Union are closely con­nected to Washington's efforts to strengthen its military position in the region as a whole, especially its bases in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean.

Washington's move has been ac­companied by a massive propaganda campaign and a drive within the Uni­ted Nations to generate opposition to the Soviet actions and to politically isolate the Afghan revolution from potential allies.

One particularly cynical maneuver has been Carter's attempt to sow divisions between the Afghan and Soviet revolutions, which he says is not met with any real success.

Karmal, in a January 1 speech, hailed the "national, Islamic, anti-imperialist" revolution in Iran and pledged to "promote closer ties with its western neighbor. This was a signifi­cant shift in the IFJPA regime's policy, since both Karmal's predecessors, Noor Mohammad Taraki and Hafifis­lah Amin, had maintained a sectarian stance toward the Iranian revolution.

Immediately after Soviet troops be­gan moving into Afghanistan in large numbers, the Iranian Foreign Ministry issued a statement denouncing the move, but Khomeini himself did not speak out against it and Iranian revo­lutionary guards helped protect the Soviet embassy in Tehran from right­ist Afghan demonstrators.

Journalsists travelling with Afghan guerrilla forces operating in western Afghanistan noted bitter complaints over the lack of Iranian backing. "What kind of Islam is this Islam of the Khomeinis,' who has never personally condemned the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, who has said that they are near the Soviet Union, such as Roma­nia, have condemned it?" one rebel leader asked. They pointed out that the Soviet Union has condemned the counterrevolution in Afghanistan and is the latest example of the big lie at work.

For Intercontinental Press/Impeorcor

THE MILITANT/JANUARY 25, 1980
Socialists win support in N.C. ballot drive

By Rebecca Finch

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—"There seem to be more and more socialists around these days," said one Black man who signed a petition.

The man signing had an explanation for that. Times are harder for working people, he said, "because the rich don't care about anything except getting rich."

The two men were among hundreds here who signed petitions January 14 to help get Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot in North Carolina.

Twenty-five socialist campaigners hit the streets that day, kicking off a national drive to put socialists on the 1980 ballot in thirty states. This is the biggest ballot drive ever undertaken by the SWP. In 1976, its presidential ticket was on the ballot in twenty-six states.

Hundreds of thousands of signatures will be collected across the country. In North Carolina, petitioners will seek well over 10,000 names of registered voters.

Socialist workers have come here from all over the country to help launch the North Carolina drive. One campaigner has come all the way from technical institute, a vocational school.

One young Black woman she approached was impressed that socialists were going to be on the ballot.

"You've got a battle ahead of you in North Carolina," she said as she signed the petition.

One of her friends especially liked the idea of nationalizing the energy industry. She signed too. A young white woman came up while a friend was signing. "I signed over there," she said "I take the newspaper, the Young Socialist. It's a terrific paper."

As she went to call her car she said she hoped to see Zimmermann at the socialist rally on Saturday night, January 19.

One student was disappointed that he couldn't sign because he wasn't registered to vote. But he took Zimmermann's petition to get it signed by his classmates.

At a shopping center later on in the day, Zimmermann approached a white man in his sixties. He wanted to read his campaign leaflet before he signed.

"Money for jobs, not war. That's good," he said, noting that Carter had promised to cut military spending but was raising it instead.

He also liked the idea of nationalizing the energy industry.

Then he pointed to one line and said, "That's the smartest thing on this sheet. Sign back the shah." He signed the petition.

The socialist effort to get on the ballot has attracted a lot of attention in North Carolina (see box). On the first day of the drive one young man who heard about it on television turned up to sign the petition at the SWP's election campaign headquarters. After a short conversation, he contributed $18 to the election campaign and asked to join the Socialist Workers Party.

The socialist petitioners last fall. 1980 ballot drive is most ambitious ever for SWP.

"The February 2 march will be a chance for working people to stand up and show that the majority opposes Klan violence," said Douglas Cooper, SWP candidate for governor. Cooper is a production worker at the Robinson Company in Winston-Salem, where the SWP has recently "established a branch.

"The march can be a powerful answer to the North Carolina Right's attacks on democratic rights by state and local officials.

"Since the murders in Greensboro," Cooper noted, "Gov. James Hunt has called for stepped-up investigations of 'extremist' groups. And he doesn't mean right-wing things like the Klan. His target is civil rights activists, workers fighting for unions, anti-nuclear activists, socialists, and others."

"Our campaign to get on the ballot," he added, "is another battle in the fight for democratic rights in North Carolina. For years we've received to our petitioning convinces us there are thousands of workers in the state who will support the socialist alternative and see us on the ballot."

New anti-Cuba bombings in Miami, Montreal

Counterrevolutionary Cubans claimed responsibility for bombings set off in Miami on January 13 and Montreal on January 14.

The explosion in Miami caused "significant damage" to the Padron Cigars factory, according to Miami police, but no injuries were reported. A caller to the Associated Press said that the bomb had been set by the group named "Omega Seven."

The Cuban Consulate was the terrorists' target in Montreal, where city authorities claimed little damage resulted. Responsibility for the bomb was claimed by the "Anti-Castro Organization of Montreal," which said that the explosion had been set off in retaliation for Cuban and Soviet moves in Afghanistan, and which threatened further bombings.

The name used by the Montreal newspaper of the Montreal Group, "Omega Seven," is the same name used by anti-Castro terrorists who claimed responsibility for bombings on the Cuban mission to the United Nations in October and December and the New York offices of the Soviet airline, Aeroflot, on January 13, as well as numerous other bombings in the United States.

The recent bombings indicate a pattern of stepped up terrorism by Cuban counterrevolutionaries. In all cases the police authorities claim to be unable to find the culprits, even though they surely have detailed information about Omega Seven and similar groups. It has even been disclosed that the National Front of the Cuban Revolution, a fascist group that Omega Seven is a pseudonym for the Cuban Nationalist Movement, which maintains public offices known to the authorities..."
Oil workers strike over health and wages

By Stu Singer

The strike by 60,000 members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) over refining companies entered its second week January 16.

The strike affects workers operating 70 percent of U.S. oil refining capacity. The other 30 percent are in plants that are either non-unionized or organized by unions other than OCAW, such as the Teamsters.

The two main issues in the strike are wages and health benefits. The nationwide average was called a recent election union president Robert Goss after Gulf Oil, which is supposed to have won by a margin of 13 percent a year, refinery workers ended the first year of this contract with a substantial pay increase.

This is in contrast to the incredible profits reaped in the oil companies in the last nine months of 1979.

An OCAW ad printed in a number of newspapers pointed out that while refinery workers’ wages are less than one cent of the dollar you pay for gas and gas oil, . . . whether you have a little, if any, perceptible effect on the price you pay for gasoline, oil and heating fuel.

The union has not announced the exact amount of the wage hike it is demanding, but it has called for a price for the second. With inflation seems to be increasing, so that settling for a 5 percent wage increase we’ll just fall further behind.

The contract was OCAW’s first negotiation under President Carter’s 7 percent guidelines.

The union originally accepted an 8 percent raise the first year and only 5 percent for the second. With inflation running at 8 percent and an erg of 13 percent a year, refinery workers ended the first year of this contract with a substantial pay increase.

The union has not announced the exact amount of the wage hike it is demanding, but it has called for a price for the second. With inflation seems to be increasing, so that settling for a 5 percent wage increase we’ll just fall further behind.

The union has not announced the exact amount of the wage hike it is demanding, but it has called for a price for the second. With inflation seems to be increasing, so that settling for a 5 percent wage increase we’ll just fall further behind.

Pathetic v. inflation

By Diane Groth and Chuck Petrin

WOOD RIDGE, III.—Five hundred striking OCAW Local 7-776, with the aid of Teamster drivers, made the first full day of the nationwide strike more than a protest by workers’ strike a union success here.

Management at the AMOCO refinery here vowed to “keep things at the same level” during the strike. The giant compressor on that unit can pump a million pounds of gas oil a day. A publicity committee of OCAW Local 7-776 President Horace Farrell told the Militant that OCAW’s demand for a 5 percent pay increase by “negotiation” in 1980 is not only fair considering what inflation has done to workers’ paychecks.

“Last January,” Farrell explained, “we took Carter at his word that he was going to get a 5 percent increase. It just would be a national wage increase would be to solidly behind the strike.

I hear no criticism of President Goss’s decision to call a nationwide strike against the oil industry January 8. This strike makes a lot more sense to oil workers than the “wage guideline” approach which had been followed since the last nationwide strike in 1969.

Day tour

Picketers on the afternoon shift at the ARCO refinery are enjoying clear skies and seventy-degree weather. It is obvious that inside the refinery it is not so pleasant. A flare (“as big as I’ve ever seen it, and I’ve been here six years,” says one picketer) is burning behind the four tall derricks of the coke unit. It’s burning off excess gas. The plant compressor on that unit can be heard rumbling. Things are not going well at the coke unit.

I stop at the main entrance to the plant. An electrician has heard an alarm from inside the plant indicating trouble in a certain electrical substation. He points to another substation, visible from the road, surrounded by vehicles from the surrounding substation. It’s driving those supervisors crazy. I’ll be the next to go down.

Further down the road two striking supervisors are walking the pickets line, but by the “hugging” the refineries.

A mixture of oil and catalytic cracking unit where a serious fire on New Year’s day led management to force maintenance workers to work overtime to repair damaged equipment prior to the strike. The giant compressor on that unit had just sprayed high into the air, covering a passing motorcyclist and the roadsides with a kerosene-like smell is still in the air. “I just hope those supervisors shut the fluid down before there’s another fire. We’re too close for comfort.”

OCAW strikers are not too pleased about management’s attempt to keep the refineries running. The hazards to the community are obvious. And the danger signals are already being created by workers—even from outside the gates.

Oil profits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>1979 m. chg.</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1978</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amerada Hess</td>
<td>392.35</td>
<td>269.80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amoco</td>
<td>65.83</td>
<td>447.49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashland Oil</td>
<td>475.52</td>
<td>132.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic Richfield</td>
<td>632.69</td>
<td>40.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chevron</td>
<td>218.72</td>
<td>152.45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities Service</td>
<td>341.53</td>
<td>62.74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities Oil &amp; Refining</td>
<td>20.19</td>
<td>119.90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coastal State Gas</td>
<td>234.50</td>
<td>98.90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conoco</td>
<td>243.69</td>
<td>110.98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exxon</td>
<td>3950.00</td>
<td>53.40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getty Oil</td>
<td>506.14</td>
<td>35.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulf Oil</td>
<td>356.10</td>
<td>74.45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerr-McGee</td>
<td>95.70</td>
<td>119.68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathon Oil</td>
<td>214.50</td>
<td>70.85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobil</td>
<td>277.76</td>
<td>121.40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murphy Oil</td>
<td>150.69</td>
<td>132.47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulf Coast Petroleum</td>
<td>65.56</td>
<td>86.80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penske</td>
<td>161.36</td>
<td>94.39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillips Petroleum</td>
<td>584.00</td>
<td>62.74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserve Oil &amp; Gas</td>
<td>37.32</td>
<td>101.71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shell Oil</td>
<td>683.77</td>
<td>27.85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Oil (Indiana)</td>
<td>355.50</td>
<td>94.39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Oil (Ohio)</td>
<td>736.10</td>
<td>24.45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Oil of Calif.</td>
<td>277.76</td>
<td>121.40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior Oil Company</td>
<td>1350.30</td>
<td>72.87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Oil Co.</td>
<td>1982.83</td>
<td>119.68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenneco</td>
<td>152.81</td>
<td>119.33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texaco</td>
<td>1149.58</td>
<td>119.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas G &amp; O</td>
<td>340.20</td>
<td>34.72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Oil Co. of Calif.</td>
<td>1877.88</td>
<td>73.51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* NM = not meaningful.

Date: Standard & Poor’s Composite Services Inc.
Sanctions against Iran vetoed in UN

By Janice Lynn

The Iranian revolution has won a victory January 13 when the Soviet Union vetoed a United Nations Security Council resolution that would have imposed economic sanctions on Iran. East Germany also voted no, while Bangladesh and Mexico abstained on the resolution. The Chinese delegate did not participate in the voting.

The "no" vote by the Soviet government, one of five permanent members of the Security Council with veto power, was decisive in blocking the Carter administration's plan to obtain UN backing for its plan to cut off all shipments to Iran.

This marked a shift from the December 31 vote, when the Soviet delegate abstained on a resolution calling on all countries to adopt "effective measures" if the American hostages were not released. The Soviet abstention allowed that resolution to pass.

Christian Science Monitor correspondent Lewis Wright explained January 15 that the U.S. government would not submit its proposal to a General Assembly vote "because it is well aware that it would not receive the necessary two-thirds support... Iran is considered by many here to be a victim—a victim which made a mistake, but still a victim—rather than a culprit."

Instead the State Department announced on the January 13 vote that the U.S. government would proceed anyway to impose sanctions on the export of goods to Iran, and would try to pressure other governments to do the same.

In the latest administration trial balloon about the possible use of military force against Iran, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance said he would not rule out a naval blockade to ensure that no goods reach Iran.

Iran had proposed to the UN that a commission of inquiry be quickly convened to look into the crimes in Iran on the charges of the shah. The Carter administration refused to consider this offer, insisting that the hostages be released before any investigation could begin.

What Carter really fears is the worldwide exposure of the crimes the U.S. government committed against the Iranian people during the shah's regime.

The targets of the proposed sanctions are the people of Iran. They are threatening to take control of production in the factories into their own hands and out of the hands of the U.S. corporations which have dominated the economy of the frightened Washington, which wants to use hunger and shortages to break the workers' fighting spirit.

On January 14, the Islamic Revolutionary Council announced that all American journalists would have to leave Iran. The Council protested the "biased reporting and insults to our Islamic revolution."

The January 16 New York Times quotes council Secretary Ayatollah Mohammad Beheshti as saying that "if a correspondent can prove in the future that he intends consistently to reflect the facts, his case will be looked into and a new discussion will be held on his fate."

There is justified resentment among the Iranian people at the biased reporting by the big-business media in the United States.

However, the council's decision to ban U.S. journalists will not stop the lies about the Iranian revolution or help get out the truth. The big-business media will simply add to their slanders of Iran the charge that the Iranian people have something to hide.

The fact is that news about the Iranian revolution is not well known to American working people. They are trying to find out what is happening, and the biased reporting of the capitalist media is not accepted without question.

Americans who read newspapers or see TV coverage of hundreds of thousands of Iranians demonstrating—expressing their hatred of the U.S.-backed shah and telling about the murders and tortures committed under his regime—have increasingly come to realize that the Iranian people have cause for complaint.

The U.S. capitalist media carried completely biased coverage of the Vietnamese fight for national liberation. Nevertheless, the people came to see through the lies. Over time, the same awareness can develop in relation to the Iranian people.

For example, the anti-imperialist students in the U.S. Embassy have made a serious effort to bring their views to the attention of the U.S. media. And although the students have been vilified and their statements butchered, they have also succeeded on several occasions in making their points.

The continuing debate and discussion over the direction of the revolution is now focused on the January 25 elections for president. More than 100 candidates have entered the race. They include Economics Minister Abu al-Hassan Bani-Sadr; Foreign Minister Sadegh Khodayari; Aboul Madani, head of the Iranian navy; Massoud Rajavi of the Mujahedeen; and Mohammad Sayrafiezadeh of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE). Sayrafiezadeh is running on a socialistic program to unite all the struggles of the Iranian workers and farmers against U.S. imperialism (see facing page).

Campaign supporters, who have been distributed at the recent election platform at factory gates, report that it has met with a good response.

At one oil refinery, copies of Sayrafiezadeh's program were taken to the factory where workers then passed them up throughout the refinery.

News on HKE prisoners

In another victory for democratic rights, 10 Iranian candidates of the members of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) who had been imprisoned in Abaraz, has been released. This brings to eight the number of HKE prisoners who have been freed on bond.

One of the remaining six HKE prisoners, Fatima Fallahi, has been granted a medical leave, and severe loss of weight. On January 14 she was transferred to a hospital. An appeal of the Iranian revolution urged that this anti-shah fighter receive emergency measures.

Mahsa Hashemi, the other woman prisoner, has transferred to Feshan prison in southern Iran.

Unemployment: how can labor fight back?

By Stu Singer

According to the U.S. Department of Labor new unemployment claims jumped 13 percent the week of December 16-22. That comes to 447,000 people who filed claims to receive unemployment benefits.

On January 2 the Carter administration responded—it cut back unemployment benefits.

This blow to American workers has received little publicity. Carter's action will cut the federal funds used to extend state unemployment benefits after twenty-six weeks. It goes into effect February 3.

If Carter's action sounds bad, wait until you hear the explanation. It had to be done because "more money was needed for housing in Mr. Carter's budget for the fiscal: 1981," according to the January 5 New York Times.

Douglas Fraser is president of the 1.4 million member United Auto Workers union, which has at least 140,000 members laid off now.

Fraser said Carter's action was "callous, cold, and cruel." Conclusion: Kennedy. Fraser announced his support for Edward Kennedy for president.

Kennedy's response to the cut in unemployment benefits: nothing.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland estimated that 900,000 workers will be hurt by this cut in the next two years. His solution: postpone its start from February until July, when the National Commission on Unemployment Compensation makes its report.

He has no other proposal.

Carter's line about using the money for housing is a complete lie. The government is not proposing to increase money for housing. The only increases in the 1981 budget are for weapons. And these increases are enormous.

A $10 billion a year increase in the military budget is projected.

The military budget has increased every year since Carter became president. That is, before he could find Iran or Afghanistan on a map.

Carter's Democratic and Republican opponents for president, who are all silent on unemployment, have a lot to say about war spending. They want more.

What kind of program can be put forward in response to unemployment?

The Socialist Workers Party proposes "an emergency bill to guarantee the right to a job for everyone who wants to work." The proposal says:

- All jobless workers, including youth and others just entering the labor force, shall receive unemployment—unemployment for full union-scale wages for the entire time they are out of work.

- Spending for war shall be eliminated, and those funds used to launch a $131 billion (the size of the war budget) emergency public works program to provide millions of useful jobs, expand social services, and rebuild the country.

- "The legal workweek shall be reduced from forty hours to thirty hours with no reduction in pay."

It is appropriate for the proposals like these to protect workers against unemployment. But these are much more realistic than the proposals for Kennedy and/or wait for another government commission report.

Jimmy Carter looks more and more like Herbert Hoover, the president who presided over the beginning of the depression of the 1930s. Hoover did not believe in unemployment pay either.

After suffering under the blows of the depression for five years under Hoover and his successor Franklin Roosevelt, American workers finally fought back. The explosion of the mid-1930s created the powerful unions that won big gains for working people.

Whether or not Hoover the second and his successors learn the lesson, the struggle of the workers today and tomorrow will be continued.
Socialist platform in Iranian elections

The Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (Hezb-e Kargaran-e Engelab—HKE) is running Mahmoud Sayrafiezadeh for a seat in the upcoming national elections. In the January 1 issue of Tehran's daily bilingual newspaper on the front page, the election platform of the HKE was published.

The HKE explains that the elections are being held during a period of U.S. military and economic political attacks against the Iranian revolution. The United States has mobilized its imperialist allies and capitalist forces inside Iran to try to defeat the struggles of the workers and peasants; to beat down the oppressed nationalities; to block the road to independence and freedom. On the unity of all toilers against this threat by U.S. imperialism is the key task and a question of life or death.

The HKE also denounces those who have criticized the Muslim Students Followers of the Imam's Line, who have been releasing spy documents. Continue the exposures! Build the army of 20 million, and mobilize the population through the workers and neighborhood shoras; Support the efforts of the workers and peasants to stop sabotage by the capitalists and landlords; Grant demands of the peasants for land reform. The shoras in the rural areas should control the big landholdings; Expropriate the property of capitalists who are hoarding goods and closing plants. Place their property under the control of the workers shoras; Nationalize and place under shora control all capitalist-owned companies, to defend the country against U.S. economic blockade; Implement a government monopoly of foreign trade; Release to the public all facts about the imperialist blockade and the sabotage of production by the capitalists. Open all the capitalists' books and place them under the supervision of the shoras; For a sliding scale of wages and a cost-of-living allowance for all workers to combat inflation; For a thirty-five hour workweek with no reduction in pay to provide jobs.

To unite all of Iran's nationalities against the imperialist threats, grant full national rights now to the Kurds, the Azerbaijanis, and other oppressed nationalities. Withdraw Pasdaran and army units from Azerbaijan and Kurdistan; Establish equal rights for women. To put the above program into practice, defeat the imperialist threat, and solve the daily problems of the workers and peasants, the HKE calls on the factory shoras to unite in their common struggles and ally with the shoras in the cities and nationally to create. Through this, united shoras in the cities and nationally can be created. These are the steps toward the need for a workers and peasants government in Iran, a basis or delegates elected by the shoras of the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

New from Pathfinder: a weapon in the anti-nuclear fight

What are the dangers of nuclear radiation? What caused the Three Mile Island nuclear accident? What are the alternatives to nuclear power? This pamphlet answers these and other questions about the problems and dangers of nuclear power.

Also included is a statement "What We Can Do To End Nuclear Power" by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Enclose $7.50 for postage.

UAW letter: what a labor party could do

The following are major excerpts from a letter to the editor printed in the November 1979 Labor Temple News, the official newspaper of United Auto Workers Local 1364 in Fremont, California.

Last September, the California Federation of Labor voted to give serious consideration to the idea of a labor party. The letter below by retired UAW member Bill Kiezel is a valuable contribution to that discussion.

We are facing a new decade in a few weeks. But there is no sign of a let-up to the long recession that began in the 70s. In fact, as time goes on, the economy looks bleaker than ever.

The President and congress are proving daily that, as representatives of this system, they are incapable of solving the nation's ills. I'll swear on a stack of Bibles that the Democratic and Republican hacks are nothing but leeches living off the backs of the working and poor people.

In case you think I'm the only one who does not have faith in our present form of government, listen to what the President of the UAW said in the International's magazine, "Solidarity," on Sept. 15, 1979. "The Republican Party isheaded by a man, William Winpisinger,

The President of the International Association of Machinists, also knows the score. On the CBS show "60 Minutes" in October, he stated that, "Business controls the Senate." Well, if this is so, why does the American labor movement have to fight to live with it? In his State of the Union address, Carter shows he is full of peanut oil. "Government cannot solve our problems. It can't set our goals. It can't define our vision. Government cannot eliminate poverty, or provide a bountiful economy, or reduce inflation, or save our cities, or cure illiteracy, or provide energy. And government cannot mandate goodness." Well, for goodness sake, if those fakers in Washington can't solve any of our problems—we eat!

You don't have to belong to the Billionaire's Club to have a government represent you. We can form our own, the American Labor Party—which will represent us.

What can a Labor Party do? It would like to see a Labor Party that will be directed to the interests of the American workers. Our Labor Party would have to answer to American Labor.

First, we must end the recession. For starters we could take the $12 billion, now used for war expenditures and put them to productive use. This would halt the armament race.

Second, we would appeal to the Soviet Union to do the same. At present, both countries have enough

atomic weapons to blow up the world 25 times over; and, in my opinion, that's 25 times too many.

Third, our Labor Party would put these billions of dollars to work: clearing slums; constructing well-built, low-cost housing; getting rid of the oxidized, dilapidated and dangerous Rapid-Transit systems along with the inefficient, incompetent and corrupt management that runs them.

We would end rent gouging; the high cost of food and rent; the jobless; the poor people.

With what it would cost to build one battleship we could construct one beautiful school. We'd begin one beautiful school. We'd begin a nuclear reactor. We'd begin one battleship. Who needs one battleship we could construct one beautiful school. Who needs a one beautiful school. We'd begin a nuclear reactor. One day we could construct a one beautiful school. Who needs one battleship we could construct one beautiful school. We'd begin a nuclear reactor. One day we could construct this wonderful land.

One day we could construct this wonderful land.

We in the workforce, employed or unemployed, must search for those with good morals and principles to create and give leadership to our Labor Party.

It does no good to scream about the ruling elite making too much profit, too fast and that the tax burden should fall on these profit-makers. These cows in Washington are of no use. The milk that the milk is coming from: This, from R. Heath Larry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, "You have to feed the cow in order to extract the milk out of it. The problem is not that profits are rising too fast but too slowly.

You see, Larry isn't hungry.

So I'm asking the readers not to write their congressman in or senator. Instead, write your International Executive Board and demand that they start planning to build a Labor Party NOW for the interest, health and well-being of American Labor. AND MARK IT URGENT!
Bankers plunge Chicago into fiscal crisis

By Rich Robohm

CHICAGO—"Politicians hand city to brokers, bankers." The front-page headline in the Chicago Defender, the city’s Black daily, told the story.

As if by two payless paydays in the middle of the holiday season were not enough, almost 50,000 Chicago Board of Education employees and the community they serve now face drastic cutbacks in the school system. Mass firings, school closings, and the scrapping of special programs are just a sample of what the Democratic and Republican politicians and their big-business sponsors have ordered up.

The same antilabor alliance is gang­ ing up on Chicago’s transit workers and fire fighters who are fighting for their first union contract ever.

The bankers’ and billionaires’ cam­ paign to slash vital social services and to force workers to assume a much greater share of the cost is taking a particularly brazen form in Chicago.

The signal of a banking squeeze came last November 13, when Moody’s Investors Service lowered its rating of Chicago Board of Education bonds.

The next day the school board offered a total of $124.5 million in bonds for sale. There were no takers.

Within weeks, the nation’s third­ largest school system was nearly bank­ rupt. For the first time since the Great Depression of the 1930s, Chicago’s school board failed to meet a payroll. It was January 7, when they received a partial pay­ ment of 25,600 other school board employees went home empty-handed. This payment, with the rest promised later in the week, averted a walkout scheduled for that day by the Chicago Teachers Union.

The poli­ ticians, bankers, and business execu­ tives closed themselves to hammer out a “solution” to the school board’s financia­ l crisis.

The “solution” is racist and antilabor­ er to the core.

In exchange for the bankers’ $850 million bailout plan, Chicago’s LaSalle Street loan sharks are demanding a ransom that would make Al Capone blush.

Hills students

Hardest hit will be the 480,000 stu­ dents in the Chicago public schools, along with their parents and teachers.

Eighty percent of these schoolchild­ ren are Black or Latino. The school system that much worse. Up to $100 million—7 percent of this year’s $1.4 billion budget—will be slashed be­ tween now and August 31. One teach­ ing post in twelve will be eliminated, primarily by firing up to 2,000 teachers. Six percent of the city’s schools will be closed, with a resulting increase in class sizes and overcrowd­ ing of facilities. Art, music, sports, and language programs, education for the handicapped, and other such “frills” will be sharply curtailed. And officials are trying to force school unions to renegotiate their contracts.

The centerpiece of the bailout plan is the creation of a five-member “finan­ cial oversight committee” to be headed by business executive Jerome Van Gorkom. Modeled after New York City’s Emergency Financial Control Board, this unelected body will be given sweeping powers to slash the school budget and to pass judgment on all major expenditures.

Pay interest

The oversight committee will soon seize control of at least one-fifth of school board property-tax revenues in order to ensure that interest and principal payments will continue to the owners of education bonds. These pay­ ments will take precedence over all else, from teacher paychecks to school lunch programs, on the school board’s revenues.

Property tax increases within the next year of as much as 50 percent are being discussed.

Small homeowners already shouldered a grossly disproportionate share of the property tax burden—and they will be the ones to suffer from the new tax hike.

Adding insult to injury, the bankers’ and the city’s local union leaders into lend­ ing money from their pension and other funds to the board of education. For starters, the United Auto Workers, United Food and Commercial Workers, and Chicago Teachers Union put up $1.8 million of an anticipated $10 million union contribution.

December 21 the first day that the school board of education defaulted on its employee payroll. The same day, a city supervisor forced 11,000 bus drivers and rapid transit workers to end a four-day strike against the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA).

The workers, members of two locals of the Amalgamated Transit Union, walked off the job on December 17, in the city’s first major public transporta­ tion strike in almost fifty years.

The CTA and Mayor Byrne provoked this strike when they refused to allow payment of a twenty-four-cent-per-hour cost-of-living increase due the workers according to their previous contract.

Union negotiators had already agreed to modify the twenty-eight-year­ old cost-of-living allowance (COLA) clause in the union contract. Under the new contract, wages would be adjusted twice a year instead of every three months, and COLA increases would not exceed 14 percent annually.

But Byrne and the CTA insisted that the twenty-four-cent raise be deferred until 1981, that the CTA be allowed to hire part-time employees, endangering job security, and that all disputed issues go to binding arbitration.

Attack strike

As soon as the first picket line went up, the city’s news media joined Mayor Byrne in an orgy of antiunion rhetoric. Hundreds of cups were mobilized to escort a handful of buses and the few rapid transit trains that operated to­ ward the end of the strike. Transit workers were pilloried for daring to protect their standard of living against inflation.

But other Chicago unionists rallied to their defense. “These tactics,” the Chicago Coalition of Black Trade Un­ ionists warned, “if permitted to go unchallenged, will certainly become the pattern to be used against other unions who will have to deal with the city of Chicago and could even spread over into the private sector.”

In order to break the strikers to work, Circuit Court Judge Donald J. O’Brien granted the twenty-four-cent increase retroactive to December 1, a victory for the transit workers.

At the same time, however, he ordered that all other disputed issues be decided by binding arbitration, not later than March 1, 1980.

Fire Fighters union

The next union to do battle with the Byrne administration may well be the Chicago Fire Fighters Union, a newly organized affiliate of the International Association of Fire Fighters, AFL-CIO.

The Chicago fire fighters are seeking to become the first union to sign a contract with city officials.

Under the old Democratic Party patronage system of former mayor Richard Daley, most city employees had no union representation at all. Those who did did so in no-fault union contracts, but “handshake agreements” worked out by their union leaders and Democratic Party bosses.

As this system breaks down, city officials have attempted to form collec­ tive bargaining agreements with city workers.

A number of unions are cam­ paigning for the right to negotiate collec­ tive bargaining agreements with city workers. A number of unions are cam­ paigning for the right to negotiate collec­ tive bargaining agreements with city workers.

A number of unions are cam­ paigning for the right to negotiate collec­

Socialists on fightback

Lee Arzt, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, speaks at forum on Chicago crisis.

CHICAGO—Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Ful­ lip spoke at the Militant Forum on the city’s deepen­ ing financial crisis.

The meeting was to help launch a discussion of how working people can fight to prevent such a crisis in the Future.

“Workers need their own political platform and party to meet this crisis,” Palley said. “We intend to bring this idea into Black organiza­

attended by more than eighty people, were Lee Arzt, the SWP cand­ date for U.S. Senate from Illinois, and Dan Caine, a member of the House of Representatives of the Chi­ cago 76ers Union.

Caine explained the background of the school crisis, comparing it to New York, where the banks carried out the same kind of profit-gouging operation in 1975.

Pulley, a steelworker, was the SWP candidate for mayor of Chi­ cago in 1978.
Interview with students at U.S. Embassy

Why Iranians want the shah back

By Cindy Jaquith

TEHRAN—On January 2, I was invited to the U.S. Embassy here, renamed the spy den, to conduct an interview with the students inside.

Although it was 9:30 in the morning, there were already several hundred Iranians outside the main gate. They had come there to demonstrate their support for the return of the criminal shah.

There was one that said "No interviews. We were taken through the main gate. They had come there to negotiate—just delivering the message." Another with a picture of the shah—"torture, poverty, absence of democratic rights." They explain how the U.S. government was behind the shah's regime every minute of the way.

They express their view of the Iranian revolution and where it is going.

We have also reprinted here excerpts from the interviews with the students conducted by the Mexican and Japanese reporters (see page 15).

The students stressed the importance of getting out the truth about the shah and the U.S. role in Iran. They told the Militant how the mass media in the United States has consistently distorted their statements and interviews. For example, they said, ABC, CBS, and NBC all censored the film of the hostages' Christmas celebration. The three networks cut out the most important part of the film, which was an appeal by one of the hostages to the American people.

In the interview, the students call on the American people to help them get out the truth, to help "in exposing the crimes of the shah's regime and of imperialism so that the peoples will not be abused anymore by their oppressors."

The full text of the Militant interview begins below.

Question: You have appealed to the American people to support your struggle against the U.S. government. Based on the deep oppression in the United States to the Vietnam war, are you optimistic about winning solidarity with the people of Iran?

Answer: We believe that the imperialism of the United States, by its evil and oppression, has dominated all of the people of the world. It has used and exploited the nations.

Guns, poverty, lies

The United States has dominated the peoples of the Third World with guns and poverty; the people of the industrialized world by the philosophy of consuming, buying, and destroying systems and devices which do not give the people the truth but seek to deceive them.

The oppressors try to destroy these freedom-seeking peoples when they rise up to gain freedom and independence.

The different sectors of the United States administration and the different parties—who we believe are all of the same nature—use everything for their own benefit and in order to become president.

The crimes of the Republican Party in our country are evident to us. The coup d'etat (that returned the shah to power in 1953) was made at the time of a Republican president.

But now the Republican Party says that Carter has to explain the crimes of the shah in the last two years. This is not acceptable to us.

The people of America have seen the crimes. They have seen the bodies of 100,000 martyrs of our revolution. But now some people try to say that those crimes were only taking place in the last two years.

The Imam [Khomeini] said that a court must be set up so that it will be clear who has given orders to the shah for twenty-five years. And the shah has also said that if he is tried the presidents of the United States of his time should be tried, all of them, as well. This shows how the life of the United States government has depended on crime, on oppression, on bloodshed. And we expect that the American people will understand this and protest it.

Blacks and Indians

The Blacks in America and the Indians are oppressed like us. In the meeting of their ministers, in their demonstrations, and in the support messages that they have sent to us we see that they understand much of our cause.

We are sure that this wave of awakening will spread throughout America and the whole world. The people will revolt against the oppressors and this wave will spread throughout America and the whole world.
they planted crops which have no use and voted against their main enemy. They stood all of these realities, they re-national. Thus when the masses under­ but in reality it betrayed all of the _

... reality. It is putting pressure on the state. The terrible prisons of the shah have been... If possible we would bring all the oppressed peoples to Iran. But since that wasn't possible, we brought their representatives.

... the oppressed peoples of Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East have a similar situation as us. They have a common enemy: imperialism. They must explain to each other their problems so as to recognize their enemy and find a common solution.

Carter's human rights

The United States has committed crimes here. This must be shown to the American people—that beneath the claims of Carter that he is for human rights something else was happening. These were only lies to deceive the people. They must understand the evil nature of their government and rise themselves in struggle to overthrow their oppressors.

One of the other goals of the confer­ ence is to introduce our revolution to all peoples of the world. The Iranian revolution disrupted the normal values and criteria for a revolution. It was something unique. When people with no weapons and empty hands, with only faith and unity overthrow the largest power of the world, this brings hope for all people. Iran is a class where revolutionary methods stemming from the masses and based on the Islamic revolutionary ideology is taught. This is an ideology

**Special offer to new readers**

The Militant—10 weeks/$2.50

The American capitalist media are covering up the truth about the Iranian revolution and the U.S. role there. To find out what the Iranian people are really saying, keep up with the Militant: Don't miss a single issue—subscribe today.

**Subscribe today**

( ) $5—four months ( ) $12—six months
( ) $20—one year ( ) new ( ) renewal
( ) $2.50—ten weeks (new subscribers only)

Name __________________________
Address _________________________
City ____________________________
State __________ Zip _____________

14 Charles Lane New York, New York 10014

Continued from preceding page

corrupt system will be destroyed forever.

All oppressed peoples, intellectuals, and revolutionaries who desire to struggle against evil must rise up and struggle to expose the crimes of the shah and the United States to the American people.

We believe that if the American people understand all of what hap­ pened and all of what is coming to other nations, they will support these other peoples.

The evidence is the time of Vietnam. When the American people understand what we have accomplished, what the courageous and militant Vietnamese people, they rose up and supported them. The evi­ dence of the crimes that have taken place in Iran is the 100,000 injured, the U.S. Embassy documents, and the poverty. But unfortunately the United States government is distorting the reality. It is putting pressure on the Iranian Muslim students in America who are helping to expose the crimes of the United States. The government is not allowing them to use their limited resources to express the truth to the American people.

**Help get out truth**

We ask the intellectuals and the revolutionaries to support the Muslim students in America. Help them in exposing the crimes of the regime and of imperialism so that the peoples will not be abused anymore by their oppressors. This will be achieved by reaching the society of justice and unity and freedom for all nations.

Q. Thousands of people, most of them very poor, have come to the U.S. Embassy to support the demand that the shah be returned for trial. What has the Iranian revolution meant for their lives?

A: In the name of God, the benefi­ cent, the merciful. The Islamic revolu­tion is in the direction of building a society based on Islam. A society where justice prevails, where there is no evil, no oppression.

This revolution was in the direction of building a society based on Islam. A society where justice prevails, where there is no evil, no oppression.

Man has two dimensions, and the spiritual dimension must be considered as well as the economic one. The masses want an Islamic society. On this basis and based on the method that Islam gave, they revolted. We students see ourselves as part of the people. We believe that revolutions in the world before the Islamic revolution had come to a dead end and to a stop. But this Islamic revolution has intro­ duced a new method and a new dimen­ sion for the oppressed nations of the world to obtain freedom.

Q: You are hosting a Gathering of International Liberation Movements in Tehran January 3-9. What are the goals of this conference, and how do you see the Iranian revolution in rela­tion to national liberation movements around the world?

A: The goals of the gathering of the liberation movements in Tehran is for these movements to come here and see our revolution, see our people, see the crimes the shah has committed so as to understand them.

In this country we have 100,000 handicapped people who are clear evi­ dence of the crimes of the shah. We have villages and cities which are made of mud houses. We have great graveyards which are full of our mar­ ties—youth, children who have struggled and stood up against the oppressors. We want to expose this evidence and the crimes of the shah to the people of the world. And we want to introduce them to the methods of our struggle.

**Best judges are the people**

The international courts have no value. The courts must be in the hands of the oppressed nations. We believe that the best of the judges are the people of the nations. They can judge better than anyone else. We believe that the realities must be known to all peoples of the world.

In the interviews below, the students at the U.S. Embassy (shown at right) describe what life was like under the shah and his U.S. masters. These photos, clockwise from the left, show a boy whose arms were cut off to make his father talk; a SAVAK torture chamber with bloody footprints remaining; Black marine hostage William Quarles just be Kennedy and Carter; a farmer takeover of the U.S. Embassy; bassey discussing a photo display.
used on a complete understanding of the need was vain. And this understanding brought this great freedom. Another one of the conference’s goals is to introduce the invited liberation movements to the peoples of the world including our people. We hope to increase the support of our people for these movements, and also obtain the support of the administrative sector of our government for the struggles of the oppressed peoples in different parts of the world.

We believed before that the exposure should continue. They will go on from now on.

'Files belong to world'

These documents belong to our people but not only our people. They belong to the peoples all over the world, since the United States has committed many crimes in other nations and other American embassies have the same nature as the embassy here.

Our message to other people is that they should open up these dens of espionage to clarify the nature of what the U.S. was doing. If the American people would go to the CIA center or to the Defense Department they would see documents there against the American people, documents of plotting against the interests of the nations.

We will continue our exposures and the people will continue to follow.

Interview with Mexican & Japanese reporters

Nippon Cultural Broadcasting: What is the health situation of the hostages?

Answer: The hostages are all in good condition and they have all the possible facilities. They have said themselves many times, they are satisfied with the relations that we have with them.

But the criminal Carter wants to deceive the general opinion of the world by saying that the hostages are threatened, that they have no baths, that they do not have good food.

He wants to divert the public opinion of the world from the real problem, the problem of the shah, and the crimes that the United States has committed. He wants the people only to think of the hostages so that they forget the crimes of the United States.

But our relations are human with the hostages. They understand our ideology.

Nippon Cultural Broadcasting: How do we know the hostages are OK?

A. Many films have been taken of the hostages. At different times various people have come to see them, such as the ambassadors or the Red Cross, or Rep. George Hansen and the priests who came for Christmas. And in all the cases they and the hostages have said that their situation was good, that they were healthy.

This can be understood when you consider our ideology. Because of our ideology we believe in Christianity, and we think that Jesus was a great prophet who came to save mankind.

Another one of the conference’s goals is to introduce the invited liberation movements to the peoples of the world including our people. We hope to increase the support of our people for these movements, and also obtain the support of the administrative sector of our government for the struggles of the oppressed peoples in different parts of the world.

Q. You have released secret files and at the embassy to show how the U.S. government is still trying to penetrate Iran economically and politically. Recently, you called on the Iranian people to express their views on these revelations—to say if they wanted these documents exposed. Based on your response, what will you do now?

A. We have released the documents to clarify the methods by which the United States was increasing its influence and penetrating the Iranian nation. These files show the covers under which the U.S. government was working to gain more dominance and to secure its interests and benefits in Iran. It was gaining dominance to exploit our people. Our nation wants to understand these methods so as to be able to stop any such influence.

Our people, just as they have persistently struggled against the shah’s regime, will now persistently and resolutely struggle to cut off the influence of the United States in Iran.

For a short time no documents were released. This was to clarify whether the Iranian people desired more exposure. During this period it was made clear to everyone that the Iranian people do want to know the methods by which the United States carried out a dominance in Iran. The people’s support shows that the students are not terrorists, but seen backed by the population. They are supported by the leader and the people.

He has tortured our youths. He has destroyed our agriculture. He has given our lands to foreigners. He has destroyed our economy. He has destroyed our culture.

Our people lived in mud huts and then last year, the people revolted, the shah escaped, and afterwards, the United States and their enemy gave asylum to this criminal under the pretext of sickness.

This was a great insult to our people. Such criminals must be tried, for their trial is the trial of all oppressors. The demand of the Iranian nation is unchangeable. This is a demand of the people who have arisen and will continue to struggle until they have achieved their demands.

The United States is the great python. And similar pythons are around us. This is an Islamic idea. All around the world imperialism puts up puppet regimes dominant over the people.

Since all peoples of the world are united, the Panamanian people began protests against the shah regime. We only gave them a message of thanks. But we know that the Panamanian people will ask their government to give the shah back to Iran—or else the Panamanian people will do with their government what we did with ours.

Kennedy: no friend of Iran

In early December, when it was rumored that Democrat Edward Kennedy would come to Iran to resolve the hostage crisis, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini announced he would not meet with him. The students at the embassy also refused to meet with Kennedy, and issued a statement denouncing his racist, imperialist record. Following are excerpts:

Edward Kennedy, you claim you are a supporter of the oppressed, the workers.

Don’t you hear the cries of the Indians and Blacks in America? You say you also support the Imam Khomeini and the Iranian revolutionary nation.

U.S. imperialism, in order to find a way out of the deadlock that the Iranian revolution has created, is looking for any trick or conspiracy that might work. One thing it has done is to put a new mask on one of its dirtiest tools of imperialism—you.

In this way imperialism hopes to start negotiations with the leader of the Iranian Islamic revolution, Imam Khomeini, to divert this Islamic revolution from its real goals.

We never stood against the American people and we never will. Our insurrection and revolution are against bloodsuckers like you, not against the American people. It’s you who want to turn the American people against our people, because you have only one aim—to exploit and oppress the people of this world.

The Kennedys and Carters can do nothing else but exploit and oppress the nations.

Do you think we have forgotten the decimated statements of your brother [John F. Kennedy] before he was elected? How he lied to the heroic people of Iran, and you think we have forgotten his despicable crimes after occupying the post of president? How he ordered the attack on the Cuban nation?...
**Secret files from U.S. Embassy**

The Iranian masses believe that the U.S. Embassy was a spy center within their country, whose purpose was to overturn the gains of their revolution.

The U.S. State Department and the capitalist media have tried to discredit the charge that embassy personnel were agents. But the students have produced solid evidence.

Above are passports and documents from the embassy's files that raise some interesting questions.

Why were two German-issued passports, bearing two different names but belonging to the same individual, included in the files of an American embassy?

And why was it necessary for the man referred to in the lower left document, "COVER CONSIDERATIONS," to pass himself off as a "commercial business representative" from Antwerp, Belgium?

The lower right document, written by U.S. Charge d'Affaires Bruce Laingen, helps answer some of these questions. Discussing the problem of covert CIA operations in Iran, he observes:

> "With opportunity available to us in the sense that we are starting from a clean slate in SRF coverage at this mission, but with regard also for the great sensitivity locally to any hint of CIA activity, it is of the highest importance that cover be the best we can come up with."

The Iranian students have released other embassy documents including comprehensive instructions on how to falsify passports with entry and exit stamps.

When the students first began releasing the secret files, U.S. officials bemoaned the carelessness of embassy personnel in leaving such material around. Now we know why.

---

**Books from Pathfinder in English and Persian**

**The Crowned Cannibals**

*Writings on Repression in Iran*  
By Reza Baraheni

Reza Baraheni, the founder of modern literary criticism in Iran and one of Iran's finest living poets, was kidnapped in 1973 by SAVAK, the secret police. During his imprisonment, he was tortured and beaten. The Crowned Cannibals is about the reign of terror under the Shah, the problems of oppressed nationalities and women. The book also contains Baraheni's poems illustrating the conditions of life under the Shah. 280 pages, $3.95.

**Iran Dictatorship and Development**  
By Fred Halliday

This work serves as an introduction to the history of Iran, including the economic and political conditions which led to the overthrow of the Shah.

Halliday takes up the development of agriculture and the oil industry, as well as the development of the armed forces, SAVAK, and the Shah's government. 348 pages, $3.95.

In Persian:

- **The Communist Manifesto** by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels  
  $1
- **The Young Lenin** by Leon Trotsky  
  $5
- **The Opposition of Women in Iran**  
  $1
- **On Socialist Man** by Isaac Deutscher  
  $1
- **Dynamics of World Revolution**  
  Two documents of the international Trotskyist movement. $4

Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Include $.75 for postage and handling.)
Call for Feb. 2 mobilization against KKK

In the wake of heightened Ku Klux Klan violence—particularly the brutal murder of five anti-KKK demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, November 3—more than 250 people from a variety of churches, civil rights organizations, and political groups gathered at a two-day conference on New Strategies to Counter the Ku Klux Klan, held December 13-14 in Atlanta.

Out of that conference, which was sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, came a call for a February 2 march and demonstration against the Klan to be held in Greensboro.

The date was picked to coincide with the twentieth anniversary of the birth of the civil rights movement, which began in Greensboro on February 1, 1960.

The call for the demonstration, announced by SCLC President Dr. Joseph Lowery, is reprinted below.

The shots that killed five anti-KKK demonstrators in Greensboro November 3rd were aimed at all Blacks, working people regardless of class and color, and all who desire justice in America. The attacks upon those who stood off the block away, with full knowledge of the KKK's activity, must be held responsible along with those who pulled the triggers.

These cold-blooded murders were not an isolated incident. In the Bakke and Weber cases, the anti-alien hysteria, proposals for type legislation, new attempts to discourage any response to the Klan and Nazi terror. The nation has yet not shown out rage equal to the acts of murder, intimidation and attempts to deny our basic humanity perpetrated by the Klan. We refuse to be silenced by KKK terror, government repression, and those who would tell us to close our eyes, hoping that the terror will go away. We must respond with moral outrage commensurate with the magnitude of those atrocities.

The economic crisis has deepened with high inflation, unemployment and hard times. The powerful and wealthy have tried to create the various scapegoats to turn our frustrations toward everything but the real source of our problems. Contrary to what the Klan and others who stood off the block away, with full knowledge of the KKK's activity, must be held responsible along with those who pulled the triggers.

The violence in Greensboro is part of a pattern, and it must be turned around.

Twenty years ago on February 1, 1960, four Greensboro A&T students sat down at the lily-white lunch counter of Woolworth's. Their courage sparked an entire generation of struggle against Jim Crow segregation, the electoral disenfranchisement of Black people and discrimination. The nation responded and the people won some meaningful steps towards freedom and justice.

Entering the 1980's we find ourselves in a situation where even the limited gains achieved during the 60's are under increasing attack. The Klan is a part of that pattern. We will not return to the back of the bus nor should decent people desire it. Their support, shams and outrage can create for us a better nation.

Twenty years after the Greensboro sit-ins and the passage of much legislation, the deep yearning for freedom, justice and humanity in our country has yet to be satisfied. Increasing poverty, a growing income gap between the rich and the poor, the lack of real political power necessitates a new era of struggle for the 80's to be ignited.

Conditions in the United States today demand that we call on labor, church, civil rights and human rights, political and social organizations who wish to express their concern for the crisis issues we face. The conditions for the Greensboro Massacre are for us to come to Greensboro, North Carolina on February 1, 1980, to commemorate the last twenty years of struggle and take part in launching this offensive.

Cincinnati anti-Klan rally

CINCINNATI—Rev. Fred Shut- tlesworth, member of the national board of directors of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and pastor of the Greater New Light Baptist Church, will address a rally against Klan violence and racial violence here on January 20.

The rally, called the “National Mobilization Against Intimidation and Violence from Ohio to North Carolina,” will rally build support for the anti-Klan movement, Shuttlesworth said.

Other speakers at the rally will be Alfred Young, chairman of the organizing Committee for Economic and Racial Justice in Louisville; Mac Wallace, a member of United Auto Workers Local 600 in Detroit and a former leader of the Boston desegregation struggle; Marcus Hammonds, president of the Middletown NAACP; and Rev. Bertola Hacker, of SCLC and the National Network Against the Klan.

The rally is sponsored by the Cincinnati Anti-Klan Coalition. Among the many endorsers are the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers; Cincinnati Coalition of Black Teachers; Unions; Marjorie Robertson, executive director, American Civil Liberties Union; Ron Hooks, organizer, J.P. Stevens Boycott, Algalated Textile Workers Union; John McDonald, Human Rights Committee, United Steelworkers Local 7897; and Marcus Hammonds, president of the Greater New Light Baptist Church, who said, “we've come here to support this demonstration...to once again beat down that snake of racism.”

The call for the march was initially made at the two-day National Conference on New Strategies to Counter the Ku Klux Klan, sponsored by the Greater New Light Baptist Church, which called for mobilization and expressing the determination to turn back the racist tide in America and move forward in the 1980's. We invite all people of good will to join us.”

Riot in Mexican jails

USLA Report, November 1979 (Volume 9, Nos. 3 and 4), Special Report from U.S. Commission for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, 200 Park Avenue South, Suite 812, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10003.

Despite threats to her life, to her family, and to her community, the local woman has offered public testimony of her abduction, secret imprisonment, and torture at the hands of the police and interior ministry functionaries who carried out the abduction and torture making no real effort to conceal their involvement.

Zarate's testimony, which was made public at a meeting in Mexico City last August, is now availa- ble in English in the current issue of the USLA two communities of the SCLC Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. The New York Times, which reported Zarate's story on December 31, commented that the policy "not only provides powerful evidence of secret jails, but also reveals the determination with which the government has been acting to mislead the world about the way they have abandoned their guerrilla actions." These admissions are a further blow to the Lopez Portillo government, which has always officially denied responsibility for or even knowledge of the White Brigade. They confirm the argument of Helen MacPhee, the British activist who is fighting deportation to Mexico on the grounds that his life would be endangered there because he has been targeted for victimization by groups such as the White Brigade.

—Gus Horowitz

THE MILITANT/JANUARY 25, 1980

Torture in Mexican jails

Nelson Blackstock, a native southerner, takes a look at the changing South. The fight against Jim Crow segregation. The gains won by the civil rights movement. The growing radicalization of southern workers today.

30 pp., $5 Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include $.75 for postage.
Israel: a haven for Jews?

Israelis are unable to defend the interior and border of the country against constant rocket attacks from Gaza. As a result, due to shortages of economic, political, and military resources, they are further increasing their human, financial, and military capabilities to meet the needs of their security situation. The main focus of the Israeli government is on building a reliable and sustainable security system. The government also plans to expand its military capacity to meet the threats from the west and the south of the country. The government intends to build a network of military bases and fortresses as part of this goal.

Austerity

The Israeli welfare system has failed to provide a significant economic stimulus as the country experiences a financial crisis. The government and the public are trying to cut down on spending in order to save money, but the need for austerity measures is still evident in the economy. The country has to adjust its budget and spending to meet the needs of its citizens. The government is also planning to reduce taxes in order to stimulate the economy.

Repression of democratic rights

The situation of human rights in Israel is not as ideal as it should be. The government continues to suppress opposition and dissent, and there are reports of human rights violations. The democratic rights of the citizens are not being protected by the government. The government also continues to suppress opposition and dissent, and there are reports of human rights violations.

Israel: a haven for Jews?

The Israeli government is continuing to build up its military forces, especially in the southern parts of the country. The government is planning to construct new military bases and fortresses to meet the security needs of the country. The government also plans to increase its military spending in order to ensure that the military is well-equipped to meet the threats from the west and the south of the country.

The government is also planning to increase its economic stimulus measures in order to boost the economy. The government is planning to increase its spending on infrastructure projects and social programs to provide economic stimulus. The government is also planning to increase its spending on research and development in order to boost the economy.

Israel: a haven for Jews?

The Israeli government is implementing policies to reduce the economic stimulus of the country. The government is planning to reduce spending on social programs and infrastructure projects to reduce the fiscal deficit. The government is also planning to increase its spending on military projects to ensure that the military is well-equipped to meet the threats from the west and the south of the country.

The government is also planning to increase its spending on research and development in order to boost the economy. The government is planning to increase its spending on education and training programs to provide economic stimulus. The government is also planning to increase its spending on health care and social programs to ensure that the citizens have access to basic needs.
Nicaraguan workers speak out

'We are the ones who hold the power!'

By R. Sylvain

MANAGÜA—Carlos arrives at 7 a.m., as we had arranged, in a pick-up truck. Work had met the day before, at a meeting of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) commemorating the FSLN’s audacious action December 27, 1974, that led to the release of several Sandinista leaders.

He works in an auto repair shop. General assemblies are held there every day, with discussions on a broad range of topics. That would probably interest us, right? Right.

So we set off together—two Mexican socialists he knows already and myself. The repair shop is not far—a few kilometers out on the road to Masaya. The “Mercedes-Benz” sign is still in place. “Somoza was the actual owner of the place,” Carlos explains, so the shop was nationalized. The old manager is still on the job, and there is no shortage of fractures.

The thirty-five workers are paid a monthly wage of 2,950 córdobas (about US$250).

“It’s quite a bit better than average,” Carlos says. “We work forty-two hours a week, spread over six days—from 8 to noon and from 1 to 4.” Some time ago, however, they began working until 4:30—half an hour for the revolution.

Not everybody is there, sitting on odds and ends of furniture in the parts department. The meeting begins. I am introduced by Carlos as a French compañero who wants to learn about the revolution.

Then he turns the meeting over to the head of the parts department, who has many, many things to say. To begin with, he suggests that the other compañeros don’t speak up enough.

Free to criticize

Why? he asks. We have nothing to fear today. Each one of us should speak up, so that individual problems can be discussed collectively. We want unity and consolidation. But they do not talk of a single working-class federation—the CST.

There is no need to hesitate about criticizing anything, even the government. That’s the meaning of the slogan “Workers and peasants to power.” We are the ones who hold the power.

Increasing production is fine with us, but we also have to see what use our work is being put to.

The meeting continues. The CST delegate takes the floor. He is going to read an important document that the CST council had received from the demands made by the bosses.

He pulls out the issue of La Prensa in which the statement was published, as had been earlier the statement by COSEP (the employers organization). He reads. The audience is attentive, even though the statement takes some time to read. (See accompanying text.)

That’s about up. But perhaps the French compañero would like to say a few words about what he thinks of our revolution, about the situation in France. Gladly. And we discuss for a few minutes May 1968, millions of workers occupying the plants, the lack of a revolutionary leadership to carry through the seizure of power, the defeated.

As he gets ready to start work, Carlos insists that we come back another morning, some time the following week. We promise.

One last word—his pride that here the workers and peasants have taken power. Much remains to be done. The revolution must continue to its ultimate consequences.

Conflicts at Texcosa

We return to the CST offices, where Frank is expecting us. We take off for

Continued on next page
...workers speak out

Continued from preceding page

the duty-free zone*. There have been several conflicts there in recent weeks, particularly at a company called Texcosa, which is where we are going.

"My name is Francisco," he says, "but they almost call me Frank. I've been a member of the FSLN for three years. I call myself a 'People's Child'. People's Child is a People's People's People's Party."

Frank, who is barely twenty-five years old, wears a Che Guevara-type t-shirt and black jacket. Shortly after the victory, the Sandinista Front asked him to go to work full time organizing the CST. It was something new for him; he has no trade-union experience. Before joining the FSLN he worked in a small clothing factory.

We take one bus to the market in the eastern section of Managua. We change to another to get to the duty-free zone, past the Augusto Sandino international port.

The duty-free zone consists of several groups of modern buildings. Many of them are being built to house the companies that were built at the end of 1972, just after the earthquake.

Texcosa is not the largest plant, but when running at full production it employs 140 workers. Ninety-five percent of them are young women. The men either work in the back to the United States.

"This is the situation Somozaism left us in," Frank tells me. "This is the... An area of factories for which foreign capitalists can import raw materials and export finished products without paying Nicaraguan taxes.

Women textile workers in the duty-free zone march in support of FSLN.

Sandinista unionists

Continued from preceding page

ite that this group's sole aim is to discipline the other workers so as to conquer economic territory.

Pluralism—Synonym for Special Interests

When the FSLN appeared as a political movement, these very same gentlemen did not call for pluralism but instead condemned and excluded the FSLN and considered it their enemy. But the FSLN remains the vanguard of the majority that they are now trying to divide.

The businessmen also demand pluralism in television. They lament not being able to see the luxuriant imperialism that emptied the pockets of the exploited, but instead, the blandishments and mirrors and trinkets for our gold at the time of the conquest.

The CDSs (Sandinista Defense Committees), these gentlemen don't care to recognize the reality of a revolution in which the exploited are the bombers, or are they still dreaming of Ali Baba and his forty thieves? Let them take a look at us, for we are the majority. We are guided by the FSLN in our fight, and we recognize it also in the CDSs, the defenders of the defense of our interests. The CDSs have been organized by the people themselves, and they speak in the name of the FSLN, the guarantor of the revolution.

Trade Unions

Not once under the dictatorship did these gentlemen offer any support to the spread of trade unions. What few unions that existed legally were manipulated by the CIA and defined as the interests of the bosses. Political struggle was prohibited inside these unions, and the only thing an honest trade unionist could expect was jail, exile, or death. These gentlemen did not ask for trade-union pluralism then, because they were protected by the National Guard and by maneuvers with Labor Ministry functionaries.

But now they call for the proliferation of trade-union federations. They seek to use their imperialist maneuvers to divide our working class. But the working class is well aware of the exploiters' tricks. We are coming together in the united workers federation—the Sandinista Federation of the Working Class, which is playing the game of the most reactionary agents of the imperialist enemy.

Economic Policy

If any doubt exists concerning eco-nomic policies, it can only be that of businessmen like the ones who besides having transferred all their money to other countries keep trying to sell to multinational corporations factories such as Corlisa and others that still retain markets offering acceptable and honest profit margins. Such moves can only lead to unemployment and hunger for many heads of families; nonetheless, these businessmen are the same ones who are demanding urgent financing. As for the charge that much time is being wasted at the Labor Ministry in meetings and disputes, this should be understandable at the present stage of the revolution. Such disputes have to do with justice and not legal technicalities; they flow from injustices committed against the working class through trickery and legal maneuvering in collaboration with the Sandinista officials of the old Labor Ministry. If the businessmen could get it through their heads that they are living under a new system of justice where they must reap what they would not make themselves ridiculous with such statements.

This revolution is irreversible. It is not abstract or passive—it is concrete. We must all participate actively toward the same goal—the benefit of the great majority—and not for the benefit of a minority. Sandinista ways of doing things are sharply at the cost of the CDSs' pretensions and to guide the destiny of the country under the leadership of our vanguard, the FSLN.

The COSEP declaration is a counterrevolutionary tactic aimed against the working class. It is an open and insolent aggression to the imperialist banks, which are at the head of the CDSs' opposition to all revolutionary action. The COSEP document is an open and insolent aggression against the exploitation of the working class. The working class is well aware of the exploitation of the country, it is fighting the imperialist banks, to sell our country to the multinational corporations, and to sell our country to the multinational corporations. This form of exploitation is in total contradiction to the spirit of the Sandinista revolution.

The COSEP represents the bourgeoisie of the Sandinista revolution. It is playing the game of the most reactionary agents of the imperialist enemy of this process, in order to under- mine the rightful economic plans of the revolution.

We condemn their claim that they are indispensable. We don't want them to tie us—to behind their benevolent and paternalistic mask—of exploitation—to the imperialist banks, or to sell our country to the multina tionals, or to sell our country to the international kleptocracy. This form of exploitation is in total contradiction to the spirit of the Sandinista revolution.

d. Nationalization of the mines.

e. Creation of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, which was a political and economic necessity to bear fruit with no guidelines other than those that arise from the majority.

Besides the damage done to honest dealings, in the light of the economic process, the COSEP document is an open and insolent aggression against the Sandinista revolution. The businessmen have not acknowledged their freedom with dignity and valor and broken the chains that tied them to imperialism.

Free homeland or deaths.

The COSEP represents the burguesia vendepatria [traitorous bourgeoisie]. It is playing the game of the most reac tionary agents of the imperialist ene my of this process, in order to under mine the rightful economic plans of the revolution.

We condemn their claim that they are indispensable. We don't want them to tie us—to behind their benevolent and paternalistic mask—of exploitation—to the imperialist banks, or to sell our country to the multinationals, or to sell our country to the international kleptocracy. This form of exploitation is in total contradiction to the spirit of the Sandinista revolution.

We condemn their claim that they are indispensable. We don't want them to tie us—to behind their benevolent and paternalistic mask—of exploitation—to the imperialist banks, or to sell our country to the multinationals, or to sell our country to the international kleptocracy. This form of exploitation is in total contradiction to the spirit of the Sandinista revolution.

The COSEP declaration is a counterrevolutionary tactic aimed against the working class. It is an open and insolent aggression to the imperialist banks, which are at the head of the CDSs' opposition to all revolutionary action. The COSEP document is an open and insolent aggression against the exploitation of the working class. The working class is well aware of the exploitation of the country, it is fighting the imperialist banks, to sell our country to the multinational corporations, and to sell our country to the multinational corporations. This form of exploitation is in total contradiction to the spirit of the Sandinista revolution.

The COSEP represents the bourgeoisie of the Sandinista revolution. It is playing the game of the most reactionary agents of the imperialist enemy of this process, in order to undermine the rightful economic plans of the revolution.

We condemn their claim that they are indispensable. We don't want them to tie us—to behind their benevolent and paternalistic mask—of exploitation—to the imperialist banks, or to sell our country to the multinationals, or to sell our country to the international kleptocracy. This form of exploitation is in total contradiction to the spirit of the Sandinista revolution.

The COSEP declaration is a counterrevolutionary tactic aimed against the working class. It is an open and insolent aggression to the imperialist banks, which are at the head of the CDSs' opposition to all revolutionary action. The COSEP document is an open and insolent aggression against the exploitation of the working class. The working class is well aware of the exploitation of the country, it is fighting the imperialist banks, to sell our country to the multinational corporations, and to sell our country to the international kleptocracy. This form of exploitation is in total contradiction to the spirit of the Sandinista revolution.

The COSEP declaration is a counterrevolutionary tactic aimed against the working class. It is an open and insolent aggression to the imperialist banks, which are at the head of the CDSs' opposition to all revolutionary action. The COSEP document is an open and insolent aggression against the exploitation of the working class. The working class is well aware of the exploitation of the country, it is fighting the imperialist banks, to sell our country to the multinational corporations, and to sell our country to the international kleptocracy. This form of exploitation is in total contradiction to the spirit of the Sandinista revolution.

The COSEP representation is the bourgeoisie of the Sandinista revolution. It is playing the game of the most reactionary agents of the imperialist enemy of this process, in order to undermine the rightful economic plans of the revolution.

We condemn their claim that they are indispensable. We don't want them to tie us—to behind their benevolent and paternalistic mask—of exploitation—to the imperialist banks, or to sell our country to the multinationals, or to sell our country to the international kleptocracy. This form of exploitation is in total contradiction to the spirit of the Sandinista revolution.

The COSEP declaration is a counterrevolutionary tactic aimed against the working class. It is an open and insolent aggression to the imperialist banks, which are at the head of the CDSs' opposition to all revolutionary action. The COSEP document is an open and insolent aggression against the exploitation of the working class. The working class is well aware of the exploitation of the country, it is fighting the imperialist banks, to sell our country to the multinational corporations, and to sell our country to the international kleptocracy. This form of exploitation is in total contradiction to the spirit of the Sandinista revolution.

The COSEP declaration is a counterrevolutionary tactic aimed against the working class. It is an open and insolent aggression to the imperialist banks, which are at the head of the CDSs' opposition to all revolutionary action. The COSEP document is an open and insolent aggression against the exploitation of the working class. The working class is well aware of the exploitation of the country, it is fighting the imperialist banks, to sell our country to the multinational corporations, and to sell our country to the international kleptocracy. This form of exploitation is in total contradiction to the spirit of the Sandinista revolution.

The COSEP declaration is a counterrevolutionary tactic aimed against the working class. It is an open and insolent aggression to the imperialist banks, which are at the head of the CDSs' opposition to all revolutionary action. The COSEP document is an open and insolent aggression against the exploitation of the working class. The working class is well aware of the exploitation of the country, it is fighting the imperialist banks, to sell our country to the multinational corporations, and to sell our country to the international kleptocracy. This form of exploitation is in total contradiction to the spirit of the Sandinista revolution.
Columnist refutes Carter on Kampuchea

The Carter administration has been trying for months to build the government of Kampuchea, using a CIA report to justify charges that the Heng Samrin regime is blocking distribution of food to the Kampuchean people. Carter is trying to organize an international boycott of aid to Kampuchea in order to force the Kampuchean government to accept a pro-imperialist government—whether headed by Pol Pot, Prince Sihanouk, or some other reactionary dictator—in place of the government of Heng Samrin. Carter's actions fly in the face of the humanitarian feelings of millions of Americans who want to help the Kampuchean people rebuild their country.

As statements by representatives of UNICEF, Oxfam, Church World Services, and other relief organizations working in Kampuchea have exposed Carter's charges of U.S. policy, all are making their voices heard. The following article by syndicated columnist Mary McGrory appeared in the December 17, 1979, 'Washington Star.'

If the Carter administration put as much effort into feeding the Cambodian people as it does into trying to discredit the Cambodian government, the famine would be over in a month.

The latest attack on the people in charge of the stricken country, has baffled and angered the private relief agencies who are trying against tremendous odds to combat the famine. On Dec. 6, President Carter accused the Vietnamese, who put the Heng Samrin regime in place, of deliberately starving the Cambodians for political purposes. He repeated charges that the Vietnamese are in full operation to prevent the famine deaths of 2 million people.

Carter's actions are in line with the anti-Cambodian policies of U.S. imperialism. These actions are in support of Vietnamese imperialists .

Aid official nails distortion

The capitalist newspapers fell right in line with the anti-Kampuchea campaign. The 'New York Times' even suggested late last year that a cutoff of aid to Kampuchea might be a 'humanitarian' gesture.

An example of the distortions used to justify such claims was exposed to me in a letter written by an official of Church World Services, one of the relief organizations working in Kampuchea. It appeared in the December 28 'Christian Science Monitor.'

It has come to my attention that a remark attributed to me in a story on Soviet assistance to Cambodia gives the impression that I believe that most Soviet food assistance is intended for Vietnamese troops, while "some of the aid... could be spilling over to starving civilians." In fact, I would put the emphasis just the other way around.

Based on conversations with Soviet officials and the eyewitness accounts of colleagues who have recently visited Cambodia, I have every confidence that Soviet food assistance is intended primarily for civilians, while some of it may also be used in support of Vietnamese and Khmer troops—certainly a normal procedure between allies. I regret the misunderstanding, which may have resulted from a lack of precision in my conversation with the representative of the relief agency.

William D. Herod
Consultant
Office on Indochina Relations
Church World Service

Washington
...El Salvador

Continued from back page

In face of mounting pressure by rural workers organizations, the gov-
ernment had to make new wage increases for those who harvest El Salvador's main export crops of cotton, coffee, sugar cane, and rice. But even these increases did not cover the immense majority of rural workers who for nine months a year tended the fields, had no place in search of jobs, however, so the ha-
cienda and mill occupations took place simply to demand their subsistence.

On December 18 the government responded to this by killing twenty-five campesinos and蕾MP-88 mil-
itants in the “El Congo” hacienda, some fifty kilometers from San Sal-
dador.

The military used airplanes, helicopters, armed trucks, mortars, tear gas to dislodge the campesinos. Furthermore, according to the Indepen-
dent News Agency (API) El Salvador, “combined army and security forces set up a military cordon five kilometers wide and the Entre Rios plant and approached the place as if it were an enemy camp that they were going to take over.

The night of December 19, the BPR opened fire on the people in San Salvador. The demonstra-
 tors called on the government to meet the demands of workers who had earlier agreed to end their occupation of two military barracks, six hundred armed workers of labor and the minister of the economy. (The ministry was seized peacefully at the end of October by the BPR and the “Jose Guillermo Riveria” Trade Union Coordinating Committee; those occupations ended November 6 when the government promised to meet the workers’ demands.)

The BPR’s December 19 demonstration stepped off from San Salvador’s Central Market, which at that time was being used as a prison by Somoza. It was occupied by the LP-88. Four Na-
tional Guard trucks and police units opened fire at close range on the de-
nimators. The marchers dispersed, setting fire to nine vehicles.

Between December 27 and 29, FPL comandos touched off bombs in the San Salvador offices of the giant U.S.-owned First National City Bank.

This new bout heightened the political crisis. Nearly all the cab-
inministers appointed after the October 15 coup resigned in protest, along with two of the three civilian

ciudadanos, the Truth Commission, and the National Human Rights Institute).

The courageous struggle of the Sal-
dadorans masses and their revolu-
tionary organizations is preparing for a show-
down that could come at any time. The religious editor from Detroit’s Black newspaper, the Chronicle, volunteered in the churches workshop to try to reach the religious community with the truth about Nicaragua.

The courageous struggle of the Sal-
dadorans masses and their revolu-
tionary organizations is preparing for a show-
down that could come at any time. The religious editor from Detroit’s Black newspaper, the Chronicle, volunteered in the churches workshop to try to reach the religious community with the truth about Nicaragua.

The courageous struggle of the Sal-
dadorans masses and their revolu-
tionary organizations is preparing for a show-
down that could come at any time. The religious editor from Detroit’s Black newspaper, the Chronicle, volunteered in the churches workshop to try to reach the religious community with the truth about Nicaragua.

The courageous struggle of the Sal-
dadorans masses and their revolu-
tionary organizations is preparing for a show-
down that could come at any time. The religious editor from Detroit’s Black newspaper, the Chronicle, volunteered in the churches workshop to try to reach the religious community with the truth about Nicaragua.

The courageous struggle of the Sal-
dadorans masses and their revolu-
tionary organizations is preparing for a show-
down that could come at any time. The religious editor from Detroit’s Black newspaper, the Chronicle, volunteered in the churches workshop to try to reach the religious community with the truth about Nicaragua.
In Review

'Things Fall Apart'


In the concluding chapter of Woman's Evolution, Marxist writer Evelyn Reed uses classical tragedies by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides to explore the transition from matriarchal clan to patriarchal family as expressed through Greek mythology. Anthropologists and social historians of future generations are likely to employ Chinua Achebe's Things Fall Apart, along with similar works of fiction, in a parallel kind of inquiry. Achebe's novel, first published in England in 1958, takes as its subject the social transformations wrought by British imperialism and the Christian religion on African society during the last century.

The analogy with Greek drama is not far-fetched, for Things Fall Apart is already renowned throughout Black Africa as a work of superior aesthetic merit as well as acute psycho-sociological insight. It has become the model for a whole school of African novels.

Things Fall Apart takes its title from a line in W.B. Yeats ' poem "The Second Coming." The actual reference is to the destruction of the Ibo people's clan form of social organization, ideologically cemented by a religion based on animism and ancestor worship. The setting of this novel is the village of Umofia in eastern Nigeria around the turn of the century. The dramatic focus is on the struggle of Okonkwo, a middle-aged Ibo man, to establish himself as a leader of his people.

In the first part of the book Okonkwo's life is shaped by a pattern of unlucky events within a social order he understands. In the second part, the appearance of white missionaries, backed up by military force, undermines the system of values within which he has grown up, and drives him to suicide to avoid humiliation. According to the code of the Ibo, taking one's own life is a shameful act. So Okonkwo, a man who sought honor all his life, dies in disgrace.

Achebe is astute in showing the inadvisable role played by the Christian religion in weddling the Ibo to the social system of their oppressors. But he also acknowledges the ultimately decisive role of state power, when the whites consolidate their victory by instituting their own courts and police system. The ending is a startling and effective way of reminding us that Achebe is writing a "counter-history" of sorts. Sudden switches in perspective, an accepted device in modern literature, have also occurred earlier.

Objections to the powerful closing scene may also be related to the viewpoint that authentic art must somehow be impartial. Achebe inexcusably defends himself against this type of argument in the New Statesman (January 29, 1965), when he wrote that "the writer cannot be expected to be excused from the task of reeducation and regeneration that must be done. In fact he should march right in front."

—Alan Wald

Books

'The Militant'/JANUARY 25, 1980

'Broca's Brain'


Carl Sagan is a professor of astronomy who has taken a leading part in the planning of planetary expeditions. In seeking to communicate with possible intelligent life on other planets, he is also a rationary, a distinguished scientist who can write lucidly on science for the general reader.

His present book derives its title from his meditations on the scientific enterprise as he held the jar containing the brain of Paul Broca, the neurologist who pioneered in the study of the human brain.

At present, says Sagan, although science may be on the verge of discoveries that will transform humanity's whole way of life and thinking, it is frustrated in many ways. In the mass media and the schools it is presented in a fashion that is "often dreary, inaccurate, ponderous, grossly caricatured." Indeed, many people are excited about science, teaching stirs their interest.

The opposition to the true spirit of science, observes Sagan, would seem to be not fortuitous.

"An openness to new possibilities and a willingness to ask hard questions are both required to advance knowledge. . . . This may be why government and churches and school systems do not exhibit unusually zeal in encouraging critical thought? They know they themselves are vulnerable."

The inequities of the social system also militate against the nurturing of scientific talent. Sagan cites a numbers runner described by Malcolm X "who never wrote down a bet but carried a lifetime of transactions perfectly in his head. What contributions to society, Malcolm asked, would such a person have made with adequate education and encouragement?"

Some of the consequences of technology have led to a distrust of science. But science is a tool, not a panacea. Whatever problems are produced by science cannot be solved without the aid of science. Yet there is the matter of priorities. "Space cities" in orbit around the earth, "used in converting sunlight into microwave energy and beaming power down to Earth," would not enhance the survival potential of the human species. But the project is extremely expensive, costing at minimum about $10 billion a year. Science cannot be solved without the aid of science. Yet the project is extremely expensive, costing at minimum about the same as one Vietnam war (in resources, not in lives).

A confused awareness of the revelations furnished by modern science, combined with a distrust of it, a lack of knowledge of scientific method, and a desire to find certainties in the midst of new uncertainties has resulted in a flourishing of pseudo-sciences. Some of Sagan's most interesting essays are devoted to the study of this pseudo-science.

He analyses in detail the theory that ancient astronauts from other planets influenced ancient civilizations on earth and discusses the belief in flying objects from outer space and astrology, showing the lack of evidence for each. He points out, moreover, that beneath the pseudoscientific overlay there are often heavy religious myths. Astrology, he points out, by regarding people as character types dependent on the months of their birth, engages in a typing similar to that of sexism and racism.

While condemning these doctrines as false and pernicious, Sagan also condemns the scientific establishment for its disdainful refusal to study them scientifically.

While science offers immense possibilities, it is threatened on all sides. Sagan makes us vividly aware that the progress of science cannot be separated from the evolution of society. "Never before," he writes, "has there been a moment so simultaneously perilous and promising. . . . For the first time we possess the means for intentional or inadvertent self-destruction. We also have, I believe, the means for passing through this stage of technological adolescence into a long-lived, rich and fulfilling maturity for all members of our species."

—Paul Siegel

23
Portland activist fights frame-up

By Joel Shapiro

Portland — On December 6, 1979, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal of Frank Giese, convicted of the conspiracy to frame-up. He had been an active member of the United Front Bookstores, a radical bookshop in Portland.

The government's case against him was based on information they got from Fr. John Busse, a priest in Eugene. The evidence against Giese, he said, was false and libelous. The priest later admitted that he had lied in his testimony.

The main evidence in the conspiracy trial was books found at the homes of those convicted. One book, "From Mao to Moscow," was never published. The second book, "Black movement writings," was an anthology of antisemitism. During the trial, the prosecutor made Giese read passages from the book, even though he said he had disagreed with these passages. The government based its case on the presumption that if his fingerprints were on the book, he had read it. If he had agreed with it, the government had entered into a conspiracy.

Giese was found guilty of conspiracy, and a $10,000 fine. With the refusal of the Supreme Court to hear his case, Giese has now filed a motion with U.S. District Court Judge James Burns for a new trial based on the facts that the prosecutor misused sole evidence against Giese, he was convicted on $100 bond. The other key witness, Lynn Meyer, later admitted that he was in league with the government.

In Brief

FRANK GIESE

found at the homes of those convicted. One book, from "Mao to Moscow," was never published. The second book, "Black movement writings," was an anthology of antisemitism. During the trial, the prosecutor made Giese read passages from the book, even though he said he had disagreed with these passages. The government based its case on the presumption that if his fingerprints were on the book, he had read it. If he had agreed with it, the government had entered into a conspiracy.

DEPRESSION: CAN IT HAPPEN AGAIN?


LABOR & ERA FORUM HELD IN PORTLAND

A forum on "Labor and the Equal Rights Amendment" was held at the Portland Militant Bookstore on January 13, the same day that 5,000 women, labor and civil rights activists marched in Richmond, Virginia. The speakers at the forum included Judy Knowlton from the Coalition of Labor Union Women; Peggy Norman from Portland National Organization for Women and the National Women's Political Caucus.

ANTINUKE WORKER DEFENDS RIGHTS

Richard Ostrowski, a welder at Consolidated Edison's nuclear plant at Indian Point in New York, has sued his union for unfair discipline.

FRANCIS PACORELLI

speaks at this forum for the Coalition of Labor Union Workers for Equal Rights. For more information call (212) 533-2902.
Militant reader Tim Swank's photo from the Sacramento Bee. This anti-Iran billboard, paid for by the Sound Against Nuclear Development, targets the Great Bridge Rindge and Latin students.

Several days after the attack, word spread that the killer was a white youth, Joseph Nardone. While Nardone was arrested shortly afterwards, the problem of racist violence in the schools remained.

By Don Gurewitz

Southern Pacific's opposition to school desegregation and violence against Black students continues.

The lack of support and enforcement of the federal desegregation order by city officials fuels a wave of racist violence. The attacks against students reflect the ongoing struggle for equal education and civil rights.

White racists in other sections of this city reacted by provoking Black students at Hyde Park High School. Cambridge residents, white as well as Black, want to see an end to the racist violence.

On January 7 a new incident occurred, with the stabbing death of a white youth during a fight between white and Black students at Cambridge Rindge and Latin High School.

The incident began after school when Anthony Coli- simano confronted a Black student. A fight erupted and two white and two Black students joined in. Colisimo was fatally stabbed.

The incident occurred in East Cambridge, where whites and minorities live side by side.

The case of Black student Kevin White was a classic example of how the system fails to protect Black students.

Boston officials fuel anti-Black violence

By Don Gurewitz

The Boston transit police, the first opposition to school desegregation and violence against Black students, continues.

The lack of support and enforcement of the federal desegregation order by city officials fuels a wave of racist violence. The attacks against students reflect the ongoing struggle for equal education and civil rights.

White racists in other sections of the city reacted by provoking Black students at Hyde Park High School. Cambridge residents, white as well as Black, want to see an end to the racist violence.

On January 7 a new incident occurred, with the stabbing death of a white youth during a fight between white and Black students at Cambridge Rindge and Latin High School.

The incident began after school when Anthony Coli- simano confronted a Black student. A fight erupted and two white and two Black students joined in. Colisimo was fatally stabbed.

The incident occurred in East Cambridge, where whites and minorities live side by side.

The case of Black student Kevin White was a classic example of how the system fails to protect Black students.

White racists in other sections of the city reacted by provoking Black students at Hyde Park High School. Cambridge residents, white as well as Black, want to see an end to the racist violence.

One gathering called a "peacekeeping meeting" was attended by 1,800 Black, white, and Hispanic residents.

However, city officials are trying to hide the truth. Claiming the fight was a "non-racial," city authorities are placing all blame on the Black student arrested for the stabbing.

In the meantime, Boston cops have taken almost no action in the many acts of white racist violence since last September. It was recently revealed that one of the white youths charged in the Darryl Williams shooting has been arrested four times and released on minimal bail since the incident.

Even Black Mayor Kevin White was forced to speak out against this double standard of justice. The youth, Joseph Nardone, has been rearrested with a much higher bail imposed.

The Boston transit police, the first opposition to school desegregation and violence against Black students, continues.

The lack of support and enforcement of the federal desegregation order by city officials fuels a wave of racist violence. The attacks against students reflect the ongoing struggle for equal education and civil rights.

White racists in other sections of the city reacted by provoking Black students at Hyde Park High School. Cambridge residents, white as well as Black, want to see an end to the racist violence.

On January 7 a new incident occurred, with the stabbing death of a white youth during a fight between white and Black students at Cambridge Rindge and Latin High School.

The incident began after school when Anthony Coli- simano confronted a Black student. A fight erupted and two white and two Black students joined in. Colisimo was fatally stabbed.

The incident occurred in East Cambridge, where whites and minorities live side by side.

The case of Black student Kevin White was a classic example of how the system fails to protect Black students.

White racists in other sections of the city reacted by provoking Black students at Hyde Park High School. Cambridge residents, white as well as Black, want to see an end to the racist violence.

One gathering called a "peacekeeping meet-
Cuba: 'I liked what I saw'  
In the fall of 1960, the U.S. govern­ment imposed a ban on travel to Cuba. It took more than a decade to win an end to that ban.
At the time, Washington ordered a trade embargo against Cuba, which was in the process of nationalizing U.S. and native capitalist holdings. These hostile actions coincided with austral campaign of slander against Cuba by the media and the politicians of both capitalist parties.
The travel ban made clear, however, that the ruling circles of this country did not want the people to be able to see for themselves what was actually happening in Cuba.
One thing they were particularly concerned about was that the masses of Black people not see what revolution in Cuba was doing to eradicate racism.
The following article by Lillian Kiesel from the 'Militant' of February 8, 1960, offers an example of the Cuban impact on Black consciousness in this country.

"There is no racial discrimination in Cuba. There is no resounding and important declaration," said John H. Sengstakke, publisher-editor of the Chicago Defender, on returning from a visit to the island together with 75 other prominent American Negroes. They went as guests of the Cuban government during the New Year's celebration of the first anniversary of the revolution that ousted the hated Batista dictatorship.
Most of the visitors represented Negro newspapers throughout the U.S., underscoring the purpose of the Cuban government's invitation. Baudilio Castellanos, chief of the Cuban Tourist Commission, greeted them with the words: "We want colored people to know they will be wellreceived in Cuba.
Premier Fidel Castro officially extended the hospitality of the country. He told them, "to see, do and go wherever you wish... we have nothing to hide.... You are our guests not for political or financial reasons. We want you to come so that you could see for yourselves what is being done in our country.
The Cuban government asked only that the reporters tell the truth.
Joel Lomax had this to say about the welcome offered to Negro tourists: "This is really good for Cuba to invite American Negroes to their country. Cuba and the U.S. do not have any place to go in the winter except Cuba. And I think they are going to take advantage of that fact.
The trip opened an eye for Tho­mas J. Davis, editor of the Cleveland Call­Post. He said, "The Cuban people are shaping their democracy."

He scored the slander campaign which the U.S. press has been waging against Cuba: "Negroes in America are quite used to the battle cry of the big press calling any movement that demands fairness for all people regardless of race, creed, color or financial position, Communists. To us this is a false bit of propaganda designed to defeat democratic processes.

Why is it that "everybody is against Castro....but the people?" asked William G. Nunn, Sr., of the Pittsburgh Courier.
As his answer he pointed to measures such as the Agrarian Reform Law and the law reducing rents by 50%, plus the policy of integration.
The Cuban people, he observed, have responded by contributing an "all out effort." Tractors are working 22 hours out of 24.
The "tensions" reported daily in the U.S. press were "not observed" by Nunn. "I've experienced the thing which Negro Americans have dreamed about happening in their own country."
He said that Cuban hospitality is warm, stemming from the "desire of a people who practice the democracy Americans give lip service to."

As for the Castro regime, Nunn believes that "American investors don't like what he's doing... but they have huge investments which must be protected... but for Negro Americans, Cuba is a real democracy, as we conceive the word.
One of the chief criticisms of the Castro regime has been that it has not held elections. E. Washington Rhodes, publisher of the Philadelphia Tribune, reports that perhaps this is important, "but I wondered why all the force about elections in Cuba when there has not been an honest election in many of the southern states in the U.S.A. for almost a hundred years.

"But that is a matter which America must settle for herself without any outside interference. And it would seem to me that the questions of elections should be left to the Cuban people."
Most of the visitors expressed a sincere desire to return to Cuba and enjoy its beauty and warm hospitality again. John H. Sengstakke put it: "I liked what I saw."
The Chicago Defender has chosen Castro to head the "Defender 1959 Honor Roll" for his magazine's major contribution to the world struggle for freedom and equality by abolishing segregation and discrimination throughout Cuba."
Learning About Socialism

Afghanistan: a new Czechoslovakia?

The capitalist media—and many on the left as well—portray the invasion by Soviet troops into Afghanistan as a brutal act by a great power aiming to subjugate another people—an act comparable to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 for the similar invasion of Hungary in 1956. This comparison bears no validity at all.

Moscow invaded Czechoslovakia because it could not stand the challenge by the workers of the Stalinist system of dictatorial and bureaucratic rule. In Czechoslovakia, the workers had begun to revolt and nationalize their trade unions, and had made many inroads into the power of the bureaucracy. Moscow feared that if this trend were allowed to continue, the Soviet workers would begin to do the same.

In Afghanistan, the workers had begun to fight for greater freedom of expression, for the right to bear arms, for the franchise, socialism, and internal party democracy. And they had won many gains along those lines.

Moscow had the Duelfck government of Czechoslovakia for making concessions to the workers, worrying that Soviet workers would insist on the same. To the workers of Czechoslovakia, the Stalinist system in the Soviet Union represented the very opposite of their aspirations. Their goal was not a return to capitalism—as the Kremlin charged—but what they called "socialism with a human face."—a system of workers democracy that could appeal to the Soviet workers.

It was in face of these threats to its own internal system of bureaucratic rule that Moscow decided to act. In Czechoslovakia, where its invasion earned Moscow the scorn and hatred of the working people of that country, Moscow sought to isolate and occupy the country from general population, and sent in troops from far away parts of the Soviet Union who were least likely to be familiar with what had been happening in Czechoslovakia.

But the troops that Moscow has sent into Afghanistan include many from nearby parts of Soviet Central Asia, troops that are of the same nationality as many peoples living in Afghanistan, who speak the same languages—a clear sign that the situation in Afghanistan, as even Moscow perceives it, is not comparable to that in Czechoslovakia.

To the workers and peasants of Afghanistan, the gains made by the Russian Revolution still have a powerful appeal. In the areas of the Soviet Union bordering on Afghanistan living conditions were just as backward prior to 1917. The illiteracy rate was 95% or more. Life expectancy was 40.

The poverty was just as wretched. The workers no longer exist as in the Soviet republics bordering on Afghanistan. Life expectancy is 70. The people live in an advanced, industrialized society.

The people of monarchist-monarchial and imperialist-dominated Afghanistan, however, had made no progress whatever since 1917—not until the reforms that were recently introduced.

Moscow is threatened by a socialist revolution in its backyard. The workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. are ready to act in their own interests, once they come out in open struggle against the bureaucrats. Moscow's decisive move against the rightist counterrevolution cannot help but strengthen and give a major impetus to the independent mobilization of the workers and peasants of Afghanistan.

That is the essential difference with Czechoslovakia. -Gus Horowitz
Support grows for Feb. 2 anti-KKK march

Organizers vow: 'We will not be stopped'

By Kate Daher
GREENSBORO, N.C.—“We will launch here a new movement for justice and peace,” declared that from here the spirit initiated on February 2 will spread across the country,” said Dr. Lucius Walker, executive director of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), at a January 11 press conference held here.

Walker said the news conference was called “to describe the growing support, both locally and nationally, for the peaceful nonviolent mobilization” against Klan terror to be held in Greensboro February 2.

The February 2 Mobilization was called to protest the Greensboro massacre, the brutal murder of five members of the Communist Workers Party by Ku Klux Klanners and Nazis here on November 3.

Also present at the news conference were Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, a founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Dr. Kenneth Burke, National Council of Churches; Rev. Berus Hacker, Urban Appalachian Council; Anne Braden, Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Racial Justice; and Donna Sutherland, War Resisters League. Representing Dr. Ralph Abernathy, Urban League. Representing Dr. Ralph Abernathy, founding president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Council of Churches.

the news conference were Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, a founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Dr. Kenneth Burke, National Council of Churches; Rev. Berus Hacker, Urban Appalachian Council; Anne Braden, Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Racial Justice; and Donna Sutherland, War Resisters League. Representing Dr. Ralph Abernathy, founding president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Council of Churches.

Continued on page 17

Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, veteran civil rights leader, addressing news conference.

United action and a common approach of intransigent opposition to the government will be an important boost to the struggles of the Salvadoran workers and peasants. Recognition of this fact had been growing among all the revolutionary organizations here as the crisis of the regime deepened over the past month and a half. This was the theme, for example, of a speech by Ana Guadalupe Martinez, a commander of the People’s Revolutionary Army (ERP), at a mid-December rally of 4,000 workers, farm laborers, students, market vendors, and domestic workers, organized by the LP-28 in Santa Ana, El Salvador’s second-largest city.

“The unity of the people and of their organizations is indispensable,” Martinez declared, “and we can already see and feel that this deeply desired unity of the people’s forces is close at hand. This alliance and unity will be the key to the definitive victory.”

The capitalist forces in El Salvador are using every available means to avoid “the definitive victory” of the oppressed and exploited. Repression against working people and their organizations has not ceased for a single day since the new military junta took power. During the past months of rule, the junta has mass-executed close to 600 people; Romero had killed 1,000 during the previous ten months.

The ongoing repression has been a desperate attempt by the ruling class to stop the mounting antigovernment mobilizations and increasingly bold actions of armed revolutionary groups. On November 28 the FPL kidnapped the South African ambassador to El Salvador. The FPL demanded that in exchange for his release two proclamations be printed in newspapers in 102 countries, with the apartheid regime footing the bill. According to press dispatches, one of the proclamations describes the wretched conditions in El Salvador and calls for a popular insurrection, and the other calls for solidarity “against imperialism and South African racism.” The FPL has also demanded that El Salvador recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization and that the government break all diplomatic relations with Pinochet’s Chile.

To date neither the Salvadoran junta nor the South African government has responded to the FPL’s demands. On December 14, thirty television workers, supported by the LP-28, occupied the Communications Center in San Salvador to demand wage increases. That same day, 2,000 workers marched in the capital against unemployment, a protest called by the Construction Workers Union and others. Important mass mobilizations also took place in the countryside in December. Rural workers organized by the BPR and the LP-28 occupied fourteen sugar haciendas throughout the country. Other workers took over a cotton gin in Entre Rios and six other mills east of San Salvador.

Continued on page 22