Jan. 15 marches defend Black rights

Demand nat'l holiday to honor Dr. King

By Osborne Hart

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By answering the Polish workers’ just demands with threats of military force, the Brezhnev regime hands Washington an ideal pretext to move towards greater militarization of society.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The way the U.S. government and media

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

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Milwaukee rally

It's Not Right-'n-Left
It's Military-v People

Stop U.S. aid to El Salvador!
'Sedition' frame-up

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

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

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

Spectacular bombings attributed to the FALN have been used to launch a broad witch-hunt against activists in the independence movement. The FBI and the Justice Department have thrown their dragnet far and wide. They have made it plain that anyone who participates in the growing movement for Puerto Rican independence or in the fight to free political prisoners like the five Puerto Rican nationalists (released in 1979 after international protests) is fair game for police searches, grand jury interrogation, arrest, and imprisonment.

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

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

None of the eleven Puerto Rican prisoners admit any connection with the FALN. Lacking evidence, the government has tried to portray their refusal to testify as tantamount to admitting any connection with the FALN. Lack­rally of harassment and disruption by the FBI and other agencies.

That trial will be a real battle against the government in its effort to discredit—and grab the big business interests they represent—not a sham like the Felt/Miller show.

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

Conversely, we will demonstrate—by the big business interests they represent—not a sham like the Felt/Miller show.

Court winks at FBI

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

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

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

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

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

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

That's a tip off of what the Felt/Miller trial was really all about. Discovery in the 1970s of FBI spying, burglaries, and wiretaps outraged foreign policy is matched by an offensive against working people at home. They need to use the FBI—and all its dirty tricks—again.

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El Salvador crisis deepens

Stop U.S. backing to rightist terror!

By Stu Singer

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

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

The FBI has long experience in participating indirectly in international terrorism by Kian and Nazi groups in the United States. They will fit in well, with the government-backed death squads in El Salvador, which have killed 10,000 people this year alone.

Bipartisan committee

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

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

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

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

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

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

A "real democrat"

But U.S. officials greeted it as a big step forward. In fact, Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White, a self-described "human rights activist," and Reagan war hawk Jeane Kirkpatrick used the same words to describe President Duarte. "He is a true democrat," they both explained in separate interviews.

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

It is not surprising that UPI notes that Duarte's opponents call him "Napoleon Bonaparte."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Continued on next page

Solidarity actions gain momentum across country

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

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

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

Lazette Graves pointed out that workers here are used by the U.S. government since the war in Iran and Salvadorans peasants as well as the hostages are used.

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

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

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

In Texas, demonstrations took place in Houston, Dallas, and San Antonio. Electrical Workers Union International Representative Jaime Martinez, who is an official of the Labor Council for Latin American Advance- ment, was a speaker at a December 13 rally of 130 in San Antonio.

In Denver, 300 people participated in a candlelight march December 14. Later, at a prayer meeting, it was explained that the U.S. is involved in the backing of the rightist government.

El Salvador because of the drive for profits.

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

On the Mesabi Iron Range a meeting was held at Mesihi Community College December 11, sponsored by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft and the National Organiza- tion of Women.

Two forums on El Salvador were held December 13 in Newark at the Rutgers University campus and at the Democratic City Hall. The former was sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, they had been inadverently scheduled at the same time.

After the forum, activists from both meetings met together to plan further solidarity activities.

Sister Barbara Aires of the Sisters of Charity, speaking at the Militant Labor Forum, explained that the U.S. wants to establish stable dictatorships that can assure 25 to 30 percent returns.

We urge our readers to continue sending reports of protest activities around the country.
**U.S.-based plot to kill Castro exposed**

By Stu Singer

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But the paper says the FBI "refused to acknowledge its involvement," and the ATF "declined comment."

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

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

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

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

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

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

Recruit commandos

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

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

Orleans reporters it was just "barroom talk."

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

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

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

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

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

'Dissent paper' in Spanish, English

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

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

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

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As dissent in CP mounts
Polish bishops line up against workers

By Gerry Foley

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

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

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

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

**Attack on KOR**

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

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

The KPN leader, Lezsek Moczulski, was arrested following the publication of an interview with him in the Sep­tem­ber 15 issue of the West German magazine Der Spiegel. The KPN and independent union leaders have called for Moczulski's release on the basis of its stance in favor of freedom of speech and consist­ant opposition to the bureaucracy's political repression.

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

**Kuron singled out**

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

A dispatch in the December 13 New York Times noted: "Asked to cite specific examples, Father Orszulik mentioned a state­ment attributed to the spokesman for KOR, Jacek Kuron, that said opposi­tion elements would try to gain power gradually, not immediately, out of fear of provoking Soviet intervention. Father Orszulik said the statement had "irritated the whole bloc."

"The same day that the bishops lev­eled their blast at Kuron, he came under attack from the most treacherous of the Polish Stalinist bureau­cracy, the military paper Zesnierski Wiadomoci, which said: "The [Kuron's] directions, aimed at sabotaging the authority and crushing state structures, are particularly dan­gerous."

**Antisocialist forces?**

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

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

The statement of the Polish bishops gave the Kremlin another opportunity to quote a source in Poland as saying that the KOR represents a danger to the peace and security of the country. This opportunity is all the more valuable to the bureaucracy because the Stalinist church is seen as a force independent of the government and Communist Party. It is also respected by the Polish bureaucracy as a result of its identification with Polish nationalism, its persecution by the Stalinist authori­ties, and to the extent that it has spoken out in the past against some aspects of the totalitarian regime.

In the early November, which were attended by members of the KPN, "From that time on violent attacks began to be launched at the lack of democracy in the party and the isola­tion of the CP that resulted from this."

The press gave only a toned down version of this statement. The first coordinating committees arose in several cities that linked party members horizontally across party bodies outside the hierarchical chan­nels. These were formed spontaneously by rebellion and developed into such strong nuclei that the interme­diary leadership was forced to accept them or was ousting its members.

"A new spectacular step was taken in Lodz last Friday [November 28] with the publication of a letter for, the Polish paper, Głos Robotniczy, of factory cell motions that went far beyond what is permissible."

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

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

Protests for H-Block prisoners sweep Ireland

By Suzanne Haig

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

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

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

Another hunger striker has been removed to the hospital. Orders have to rub their bodies with cream every three hours to keep protruding bones from breaking the skin.

In response, the campaign in support of the prisoners was growing into the most powerful mass movement in Ireland since the war of independ­ence, 1919-21.

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

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

In towns along the border of the British enclave of Northern Ireland, 140,000 workers have been made aware that the fate of these prisoners is an issue that will lead to a major rally in the downtown area.

For three days beginning December 12, prisoners were flushed with police in Donderry, sixty-five miles from Belfast.

U.S. protests are also growing in support of the prisoners. On December 6, 500 people rallied outside the British Consulate in New York.

The California AFL-CIO sent a tele­gram to the Irish authorities demanding they use their influence to promote the restoration of political status for the prisoners.

Even right-wing Sen. Alfonso d'A­mato from New York has had to iden­tify himself with the prisoners.

D'Amato went to Northern Ireland immediately following his election. On his return, he announced that a program along with members of the New York Socialists H-Block Committee, protests, meetings, and telegrams are essential. The British rulers must be made aware that the fate of these freedom fighters is an issue that will not go away.
...march demands King national holiday

Continued from front page

Steve Wonder, who just completed a twenty-five city concert tour, took time out to come to Newport News to urge everyone to participate in the action. Wonder and his campaign to build the action were featured on the covers of two prominent Black magazines, Jet and Ebony.

The Jet article mentions that Wonder’s current album, ‘Hotter Than July,’ features some songs, one of which is titled “Happy Birthday,” which is a tribute to Dr. King. When disc jockeys on WBLA radio in New York play the song, they also announce the January 15 protest. In an editorial, Segis publisher Beatrice Pringle issued “An Open Challenge to Black Business” to close in recognition of King’s birthday and to join her in Washington January 15.

Pringle stated that the rally offers an opportunity to “recall and confront the shortcomings, abuses, ambitions and dreams of the late Dr. King.”

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

Since the founding of the newly established National Black Independent Political Party are supporting the demonstration.

Like the formation of the NBIPP, the momentum behind the January 15 march has attracted thousands of Black people to press forward the struggle for justice in the face of stepped-up attacks from the KKK and other racist terrorists, big business, and the government.

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

The action is certain to be popular in the plants. Socialist workers at the Ford assembly plant at Metuchen, New Jersey, report that several car-loads of workers there are already planning to go to Washington. At Metuchen, like at many other workplaces, quite a few Black workers traditionally take that day off with or without official sanction. And the union has held commemorative meetings in the past to call for the King holiday.

The January 15 march was endorsed by an anti-Klan conference of 300 people in Greensboro, North Carolina, December 5. (Organizers of that conference are also calling for protests in Washington January 20 against Reagan’s inauguration.)

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

“Black people must once again be come very highly visible,” said Frank Watkins of the SWP PUSH. “We must go out and be aggressive relative to the rights that have been gained over the last twenty years.”

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

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

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

The final demand refers to the murders and disappearances of fifteen Black civil rights workers.

The King Day March in Washington will start at 10 a.m. at First and Louisiana Streets and proceed down Constitution Avenue to the Washington Monument. The rally will be held at the same police barricades.

For more information call (202) 638-2299.

Young Socialists boost action

The Young Socialist Alliance is calling for widespread participation in the January 15 Black demonstration in Washington, D.C., and other cities.

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

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

“This will be the forty-second day before Ronald Reagan’s inauguration, January 15 offers an opportunity to send a message of protest loud and clear to the Reagan administration.

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

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

“On January 15 let the voices of those who will have lifted the sound of marches feel heard, in a powerful affirmation of our determination to fight on for equality, justice, dignity and a decent life for all.”

Martin Luther King, Jr., is greeted by supporters during 1965 visit to Baltimore. Civil rights advances he fought for are under attack from Democrats and Republicans.

Virginia Black party leaders begin to organize

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

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

The meeting began with a moment of silence in honor of the Salvadoran revolutionaries murdered by the U.S. government in just that country.

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

Brown explained that the new Black party was the “crest of 150 years of struggle” and the “start of a new movement to gain their self-determination and political power.”

“The rulers of this country,” she said, “are not moved by prayers but power. The NBIPP is about building a power base not tied to the Democratic and Republican parties or to narrow electoral politics, but will concentrate on building a power base in the communities.”

Brown said the NBIPP would concentrate on dealing with the immediate problems of Black Americans and orga­nizing to eliminate those problems. “The aim of NBIPP in the long run is the total recons­truction of society,” she added. “That means we will have to deal with capitalism and imperialism.”

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

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

“The American system,” Cox said, “is a system that will work for the majority of people.”

She said the party would be built from the bottom up and that “we are trying to create an organization that will be able to say why the brutal killing of El Salvador revolutionaries. We are building an organization that can counter the centuries of brainwashing and will struggle for the self-determination of our people, not just here in the U.S., but for all African people.”

During the discussion period Reve­lde Johnson responded to a question about the leaders of SCLC, the NAACP, PUSH, and the Urban League. He pointed out that they were not a true representation of the African American community, but we will continue trying to work with both the leaders and members of these or­ganizations.”

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

“Blacks want to fight and want something to fight back with,” John­son said. “Blacks have been wanting leaders for so many years. People are beginning to think this party is the kind we want.”

Maravita Reid, editor of the Black weekly Journal and Guide, and Omari Musa were appointed acting coordina­tors of the new NBIPP organizing com­mittee at a meeting held earlier the same day.

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

The committee is scheduled to partic­ipate in the January 15 march in Washington, D.C., and is asking Martin Luther King to demand that Martin Luther King’s birthday be declared a national holiday.

From both the organizing meeting and the forum, more than thirty Blacks signed up to work with the NBIPP, the majority of them women. They included shipyard workers from United Steelworkers Local 988, and members of the United Auto Workers Union and the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks.

For more information on the activities of the NBIPP in the Tidewater area, contact Omasi Muuss at (804) 625-3866, or Reid at c/o the “Journal and Guide”, 1016 Prince George Street, Norfolk, VA 23504.
Step toward independent political action

New Black party: example for all workers

By Nan Bailey

The National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), initiated at the November 21-23 Black political convention in Philadelphia, reflected much more than the militant political views of Black people. It was the product of the same sentiments that led millions of workers to complain that the 1980 presidential campaigns of Reagan, Carter, and Anderson offered them no real choice.

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

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

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

“While our campaign will focus on the ‘whole’ of the people,” the charter states, “it will emphasize the improve­ment of the condition of the most dis­tressed section among us—the unem­ployed and underemployed workers, the poor, the institutionalized, and those without adequate housing or social services…”

Blacks not alone

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

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

But Blacks are not alone.

Many other working people are mov­ing toward similar discussions expressed in Philadelphia that:

• The government and the bosses are behind all the attacks on Blacks and other workers.

• The Democratic and Republican parties represent the interests of big business and the bosses.

• The political strategy of relying on the Democratic and Republican politicians has failed.

• The victims of racist oppression and exploitation face the same enemy and have a common need to fight back.

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

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

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

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

The overwhelming majority of the NBIPP’s founders have set out to organize Black people to challenge the racist, sectarian, and econom­ic exploitation of American capitalism.

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

Inspiring example

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

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

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

At the District 38 conference of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) last spring, and the interna­tional convention of the International Association of Machinists this fall, unionists voted that their unions should join this discussion.

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

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

• The United Mine Workers’ (UMWA) backing of the fight against the dangers of nuclear power.

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

• The United Steelworkers’ support that helped defeat Brian Weber’s at­ttempt to gut affirmative-action gains.

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

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

‘Why can’t we?’

It’s a concrete example that other workers can point to and explain.

‘Haven’t we learned the same lessons?’

It asks the question, ‘why can’t we?’

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

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

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

Puerto Rican, Chicano, and other nationally oppressed workers will be attracted to a party that takes the lead in the fight against racism.

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

But this will be the case only if the NBIPP is a party that takes the lead in the fight against racism.

A big challenge facing the NBIPP will be the extent to which it can forge new alliances and build opportunities to carry out anti-capitalist forces. A priority among these forces will be the labor move­ment.

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

Unions an ally

A solid alliance with those unions that work for the interests of the oppressed is a key to winning Black liberation and to meeting the anti­capitalist goals that the NBIPP has set for itself.

Just as championing the fight for Black rights is fundamental to removing progress for the union movement.

There is only one place where Black people can look for a force powerful enough to defeat the anti-Black and anti-labor policies of U.S. capitalism. And that is the Black party.

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

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

Part of the vanguard

The inspired example of an inde­pendent Black political party fighting uncompromisingly for the rights and needs of Blacks is a call to move­ment for a labor party.

And the formation of a labor party based on the NBIPP’s model in which Black unionists will play a leading and initiating role significantly strengthens the NBIPP’s political fight.

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

Come to the YSA national convention!

December 27-30, Indianapolis

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

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

CHICAGO—"It will be one of the first challenges to Ronald Reagan's plans to beef up the CIA and FBI," Socialist Workers Party national leader Walter Rea told a charging crowd of more than 190 people who gathered here December 14.

The Committee Against Registration and the Draft held a mass rally for the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance in Chicago State Park. Seigle told the crowd: "We are gathering here December 14 to present the incoming administration with a huge outcry against the U.S. government's secret police. The lawsuit, which goes to trial on March 16, will be a focusing point for all supporters of democratic rights." Seigle told the crowd.

Amid continued protest and under a clear weaponry and the initiation of activists voiced the need for improved N.E., SWP Strikes Against Registration and the Draft, to you there!

NOW AVAILABLE!

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

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

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Socialists National Network Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

For further information on January 17 and 18 contact the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, 1536 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, (202) 385-7194.

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

By Suzanne Haig

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

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

The January 18 meeting is particularly urgent since the incoming Rea- gan administration has already made clear plans to move full speed ahead on nuclear power.

The agenda includes a morning panel discussion on "CIA, and nuclear—what are the relationships?" followed by economist Charles Cough and Tom Tomway, COMPAC director for the United Mine Workers.

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

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

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

For further information contact: January 17 and 18 contact the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, 1536 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, (202) 385-7194.

For more information contact: CARD, 201 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., #111, Washington, D.C. 20002 or call (202) 385-7194.

Protests & conference to hit next draft sign-up

The Committee Against Registration and the Draft in 1980-81 formed the other anti-draft groups have called protest ac- tions for the week of January 5-10, whose details are scheduled to register for the draft at post offices across the country.

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

Birmingham, Alabama, CARD has called for a noon rally at the main post office: a vigil on Sunday, January 4, and a noon protest rally January 5. On January 5, a noon rally will take place at the University of Alabama in Birmingham on United States inter- vernition to El Salvador, also sponsored by CARd.

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

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

On November 24 a federal district court issued an order that it is no longer legal for the government to require Social Security numbers on draft registration forms. If the government now registers new draftees, the ruling would make it difficult for Washington to locate or prosecute those who refuse to register.

Next year the Supreme Court will decide on another legal controversy—whether it is constitutional to register all male citizens. The result could be to extend registration to women, which the Car- tees told the court, had previously excluded only men. The ruling could extend registration to the whole current regis- tration scheme could be declared un- constitutional.

The next major activity for the anti- draft movement will be January 14-16 at Wayne State University in Detroit. Reprinted below is the conference call issued by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, to be held January 14-16 at Wayne State University in Detroit.

Reprinted below is the conference call issued by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, to be held January 14-16 at Wayne State University in Detroit.

A renewed and dangerous spirit of militiamen is sweeping Washington. The U.S. government's war-like rhe- toric—joined by the Carter adminis- tration's record of massive military aid and the initiation of military draft registration.

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

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

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

More than 30,000 people marched against the draft in Washington on March 22, 1980. Hundreds of thou- sands of young men refilled registra- tion this summer by not signing up or by registering in protest.

Two large regional anti-draft confer- ences were held in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco, where anti-draft activists voiced the need for improved coordination on the national level in order to build upon our past successes.

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

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

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

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

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

RICHMOND, Calif.—Black families in western Contra Costa County, twenty miles outside San Francisco, have been terrorized by a rash of racist violence and vandalism.

In the predominantly white communities of Titusville, El Sobrante, San Pablo, and Pinole, Black homes have been defaced with racist graffiti, blasted with shotgun fire, and torched.

Sobrante, communities of Tara Hills, El Sobrante, and a new development, have been targeted by arsonists.

"Nigger sticks, bats and clubs" shouted to Vema Barrett December 8 in the living room wall.

A December 11 news conference attended by Mary Handy and black leader Howard Fuller, told the meeting, "Racial violence is a federal crime." The meeting was called by Concerned Citizens for Justice in Greensboro, an ad hoc coalition initiated by leaders of several Milwaukee organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party, NAACP, Milwaukee Women's Conference on Religion and Urban Affairs, and National Organization for Women.

Pro-choice rally in Canada

By Jacelyn Robey

International Women's Day.

Nearly 600 supporters of women's right to abortion rallied at Kitimat Secondary School here November 30.

The gathering was sponsored by Concerned Citizens for Choice and supported by more than sixty organizations.

The meeting had been called by Concerned Citizens with endorsements from the British Columbia New Democratic Party, the Canadian abortion rights organizations, and the NDP Women's Rights Committee.

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

In Canada abortion is against the law unless it is performed at an accredited hospital with an abortion committee to determine whether or not a pregnancy is harmful to the health and well-being of the mother.

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

In Britain, Canada's Federation of Labor set the tone for the new politicians' battle for the socialization of abortion. Of those 20 percent, 15 percent have never performed an abortion. As a result, abortions are not equally available to all Canadian women.
For Indiana strikers, holiday spells solidarity

By Jon Hillson
GARY, Ind.—It was a Christmas party at the local union hall, with a roomful of ice cream and cookies, presents, sitting on Santa's knee while Andy Williams crooned carols over the PA system. Like most other parties this time of year.

Only they weren't like most other kids who were children of steelworkers—local union newspaper editors who were demanding pay raises for their workers.

It began when steelworker contrato expired on May 31. The energy workers' strike against Johns Hopkins NIPSCo expired on May 31. The energy producers, including the giant Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore, were fired up and involved in this bitter fight to save their union.

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

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

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

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

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

Yet, there were other faces, the kind you see at a reunion. Strikers with side jobs and local union locals who are the most dedicated picketers and activists, all of them back together, all of them realizing that they are workers, not men or women.

There was hope that a settlement might be reached when negotiations reopen in Washington. But there was also the hope at this holiday gathering—at this union-style Christmas. It was something as perversely comforting as the faces of the kids when they opened their presents.

It was the one thing the employers—however much their stock prices bungle with profits—will never buy. It was dignity.

Contributions can be sent to: USWA Local 1199ES, 4000 A warranted at, Weehawken, NJ 07086, 207 East 83rd Avenue, Merrillville, Ind. 46410.

USWA locals back Balto. hospital workers

By Geoff Mirelowitz
BALTIMORE—Solidarity. That's the word of the Local 1199ES hospital workers' strike against Johns Hopkins and Sinai hospitals.

Hollii wanted to go back to the days when they had a "union-free environment." 1199ES President Ron Hollie told the last meeting of Steelworkers Local 2609 at Sparrows Point.

"We are really concerned about 'What's wrong with this picture?'" he said. "And where are we going to go from here?"

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

"The newsletter of United Transportation Union Local 111, which organizes engineers and firemen on the Coast Division of the Southern Pacific Railroad, carried this comment on the November elections: "Then in '47 came the Taft-Hartley Law and, later, the Landrum Griffin Law. With them 'Managerial Rights' clauses, 'No Strike-No Lockout' clauses and other small provisions, a new political situation and the Corporations then began to control the politicians."

"We in the USWA Local 2610, the Baltimore Steelworkers Local 2609 at Sparrows Point, told a December 13 strike support rally at Johns Hopkins, "If there's one thing steelworkers have learned, it's don't give back anything you get from the company.""

"But the hospitals have stuck to their takeback proposals of slashing 1199ES's cost-of-living clause. Most workers will not accept anything less than 8 percent."

"And the state of the union is rich, so its striking members couldn't be needy. The good
town fathers agreed.

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

"What an employment policy have we upon our membership, as well as society as a whole, when it is clear that many of the Governments we support with our tax dollars are violating of basic human rights?"

"Clinch talks about the problems of inflation, unemployment, corporate profiteering, and the insecurity facing all workers today."
The following resolution was adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party on November 15, 1980.

It explains why working people need to give top priority to fighting the efforts by Washington to use the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as a pretext for stepping up the arms race and moving toward new Vietnams in Central America and the Middle East.

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

I. Revolution in Afghanistan

A revolutionary upheaval began in Afghanistan following the April 27, 1978, overthrow of the regime of President Mohammad Daud by the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). In one of the most impoverished and economically backward countries in the world, the hopes of millions of toilers were awakened. In neighboring Iran, Pakistan, and the USSR millions more were inspired by this development.

Western and Central Asia, embracing more than 130 million people in Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, has been the scene of general upheaval for more than a decade. The recent developments in all three countries are very much interconnected.

In the late 1960s workers’ protests and strikes, large student demonstrations, and actions demanding women’s rights, occurred in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. The students were affected by the international student radicalization, particularly the worldwide opposition to the Vietnam War.

In Pakistan, the protests led to the downfall of the Ayub Khan dictatorship in 1969. In Afghanistan they were part of a process that led to the overthrow of the monarchy in 1973 and the establishment of a republic headed by Mohammad Daud.

The boundary lines that define Pakistan were drawn by imperialism in 1947 when the Indian toilers forced the British rulers to withdraw their colonial overlordship from the subcontinent and recognize the independence of India. The former colony was partitioned to weaken independent India and to institutionalize religious and national divisions as a buffer against revolution. At that time, Pakistan’s borders were drawn to include the majority of Muslim peoples from former British-ruled India—millions of Bengalis, Baluchis, Sindhis, and Pushtuns, as well as the dominant Punjabis. Ever since, the struggles of the urban masses and the oppressed nationalities have been threatening to tear apart imperialism’s artificial creation.

In 1971 the oppressed Bengalis of East Pakistan, responding to a ferocious military crackdown, deepened their struggle for national independence from Islamabad. In December of that year, they established the independent state of Bangladesh.

Fearing the possibility of a similar development in Baluchistan in West Pakistan, in early 1973 the central government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto organized a coup that ousted the provincial Baluchistan government headed by the opposition National Awami Party. The Baluchis fought back in a war that lasted four years. More than eighty thousand Punjabi troops were moved into Baluchistan, killing thousands of Baluchis and driving thousands more across the border into Afghanistan, where they received sanctuary among the large Baluchi population there.

In 1977 widespread discontent with the Bhutto regime erupted into massive demonstrations, general strikes, and revolts in Lahore, Karachi, and other major cities. To head off an even bigger upheaval, the military, in July 1977, deposed Bhutto and declared martial law. General Mohammed Zia ul-Haq became the new ruler.

Another explosive issue in the region has been the Pushtunistan question. The Pushtuns are divided by the boundary line between Afghanistan and what is today Pakistan’s Northwest Frontier Province. This arbitrary boundary was drawn when the area now called the Northwest Frontier Province was taken away from Afghanistan by British imperialism at the end of the last century.

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

Continued on page ISR/3
The following statement was adopted November 26 by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

The quenchless profit drive of imperialism, "detente" or SALT I, "in the context of the change in the world relationship of class forces to the detriment of imperialism, the Kremlin in 1979 was more easily able to get away with the use of troops to attempt to stabilize a regime Washington sought to undermine, without any real fear of a direct military response by imperialism, but the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary policy in Afghanistan, including its use of troops, has had an adverse impact on this relationship of forces from the point of view of the oppressed and exploited of the world.

As part of the SWP's educational campaign around Afghanistan conducted by the party, a pamphlet was published called "The Truth About Afghanistan" by Doug Jenness. It was based on the December adopted at the January meeting. The explanation for the Soviet intervention presented in this pamphlet is incorrect. "When the Kremlin inserted Soviet troops into Afghanistan," the pamphlet argued, "it did not do so out of revolutionary motives, but as a defensive measure. It saw the Soviet-backed guerrillas as a threat to the Soviet workers' state, which is based on proletarian privilege."

The Soviet troops were sent to crush the Afghan revolution in the interests of detente or SALT II. The January report stated: "As much as the Soviet bureaucracy wants and presses for agreements like SALT II, it has interests that are more important: one of these is self-defense. The direct imperialist moves to tighten the military encirclement of the Soviet Union.

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

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

The central axis of this position was condemnation of the U.S. government's interven­tion in Afghanistan on the side of the land­lord-backed guerrillas and the Carter administra­tion's attempt to use the Afghan­istan situation as an excuse to step up its militarization drive. The SWP launched a campaign to tell the truth about the scope and nature of Washington's involvement and its anti-work­class foreign policy. Along these lines, the SWP opposed the boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow and economic and political sanctions against the Soviet Union.

The SWP denounced greater military spending and more bases in the Indian Ocean. And, the SWP actively participated in the struggle against reintroducing draft registration.

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

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

In the eleven months since Moscow sent its troops into Afghanistan, the imperialists have not let up in their reactive campaign. This was demonstrated most recently at the Con­ference on Afghanistan in Europe held in Madrid and in the United Nations General Assembly. At the Madrid conference in November, the U.S. representatives hypocritically decreed

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SOVIET TROOPS
IN AFGHANISTAN

A REASSESSMENT

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Editor: Fred Feldman
Contributing Editor: George Novack
Design: Diane Jacobs

The International Socialist Review appears in the Militant monthly except January.

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more, in the wake of this devastating dry spell, Mohammad Zahir Shah's government signed an unpopular agreement to divert water to Iran from Afghanistan's Helmand River water system. The social tensions boiled up as Afghani factions divided the government and under­

[-] onlined support for the monarchy. Seeking to head off a mass upheaveis in Afghanistan, Mohammad Daud seized power in July 1973, while Zahir Shah was abroad. He abolished the monarchy and declared Afghanistan a republic. Daud, the prime minister under the monarchy between 1950 and 1963 and the king's cousin, came to power with the aid of

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

The Project for the Defense of the People (PDPA) was the spark that ignited the tinderbox. The funeral procession in Kabul for this radical leader turned into a dem­

nistration of more than fifteen thousand people, very large for Afghanistan. They marched to the U.S. embassy to protest CIA and SAVAK com­

The Role of the Shah

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

The Iranian bourgeoisie's military threats par­alleled the establishment of closer relations with the Pakistani regime, its fellow member in the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), an impe­rialist­created military alliance. Tehran assisted Islamabad in countering insurgent activity by the working­class and oppressed nationalities. Prodding from the shah's government was partly responsible for Bhutto's decision to take harsh action against the Baluchis. The Iranian ruling class totally backed the drive to crush the Balu­chi freedom fighters, and the shah issued a series of orders that prohibited the Balucis from the Persian Gulf is­lands, as well as over the eastern half and shore of the Gulf.

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II. The Erosion of the Revolution

The urban workers and peasants of Afghan­ia had been promised many things before, including land reform, by newly installed re­
gimes. But they had always been disappointed. So it was with cautious hope that they viewed the program of the PDPA, which was designing a peaceful social revolution in the lives of the majority of Afghanistan's nearly twenty million people. For this reason, it was essential to gain the support and confidence of the peasants by demonstrating in practice that they would have the full support of the government against the attacks by Iran by promoting the organization of the poor peasants to implement the program. But this was not the course the PDPA followed.

The Character of the PDPA

The PDPA is a petty­bourgeois party in origin, social composition, program and perspectives, and mode of organization. Heavily influenced by a mixture of national­socialist and petty­bourgeois notions of "modernization," its base has been in the bloated government bureaucracy, created by thirty years of foreign aid, and among students, teachers, intellectuals, and members of the officer corps. For example, eleven of the twenty­one PDPA members named to the first cabinet held government appointments at the time of the coup, including doctors, professors, engineers, and three military officers. The other ten in­cluded Iranian­trained lawyers and British­stan­dard. Most received academic or military school­

In Afghanistan, the radicalization of students and workers begun in the mid­1960s converged in the early 1970s, with large­scale discontent of the poor peasants who were suffering from a severe three­year drought and famine. Dissatisfaction with the Daud regime was compounded by the public announce­ment that wheat imported by aid agencies was being appropriated by corrupt officials and sold on the black market.
led the Khalq, and Karmal and Mir Akbar Khyber the Parcham faction. In addition to internal power struggles, there were a number of political differences. For example, the Khalq disagreed with the Parcham's decision to support Daud's bid for power in 1973 and to participate in his government.

Relations between the two groups were often vitriolic, and included charges and counter-charges. A civil war was re-established in 1977, but it lasted only three months after the April 1978 coup. Although no official conference between the PDP and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were made public, both factions had ties to Moscow and to pro-Moscow organizations in the region.

No Afghan Marxist party exists, nor is there evidence of a Leninist current inside the PDP. Nevertheless, the party was formed at its first and only conference. The PDPA assumed power as the result of an electoral victory in 1977, and its leaders quickly began to implement a radical land reform program.

The PDPA government, led by the party's secretary-general, was designated president of the council and prime minister of the country.

Immense social and economic backwardness characterized the countryside as a result of decades of imperialist oppression. More than 90 percent of the people are illiterate. Health conditions are appalling and birth and child deaths are high in the countryside before the age of five. Communications with and transportation to the country's nearly twenty thousand villages, where the vast majority of the population live, are very primitive. Traditional patriarchal tribal relations still determine the status of women, the organization of the family, and the manner in which social questions are approached.

Most people in the countryside are landless or own very small plots of land. To rent land, they rely on the government, taking over the post of prime minister without implementation of other reforms.

"Abolition of usury was a very popular measure: Millions of Afghani peasants and city people were indebted to usurers whose properties were mortgaged. When the government issued its proclamation writing off debts and ending usury, this had a liberating effect and was welcomed by the people. But the Party and the government were not able to mobilize the people against the reaction of the vested interests and usurers. People have no reserves on state power rather than on people's power."

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

For example, participation in the literacy campaign—unlike Cuba or Nicaragua—was made compulsory rather than voluntary, and physical violence was sometimes used to ensure its completion.

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

"[Amin] made the same measures crying out:"
minister from Taraki in March 1979. In Sep­
tember 1979 Taraki, still president, was mur­
dered. Thousands more were jailed.
These brutal power struggles further clarified the
real character of the regime. The progressive,
reform-oriented image of the government during
its first months in power was rapidly tarnished,
and more people turned against it.
A telling sign of the government’s unrespons­
eness to the struggles of the oppressed was
shown by its failure to halal and solidarize with
the Iranian revolution that was unfolding in

III. Counterrevolution and Civil War

The government’s course earned the popular
support it gained when it first took power and led
to its growing weakness in the face of the
resistance spearheaded by the landlords, money­
lenders, merchants, opium smugglers, and other
mainstays of the old social order in Afghanistan.
A country-wide anti-Taraki struggle was
organized under the banner of waging a Muslim
“holy war” against “atheistic communism.” This
banked upon the fact that the groups are based on
different tribal linkages and classes.

The Reactionary Resistance

There are many organizations fighting the
PDPA government, including forces that propose
restoring the monarchy. Some estimates put the
number as high as sixty. At least forty
maintain offices in Peshawar, Pakistan. Despite
several attempts, these organizations have been
unable to win a major struggle. This is in part the
fact that the groups are based on different
tribal groupings from different regions of the
country with separate and often conflicting inter­
est. Some have long traditions of feuding with
each other.

For example, in May 1980 more than nine
hundred tribal chiefs, mullahs, and other provin­
cial authorities from every part in Afghanistan
gathered in Peshawar. According to the New
York Times on the scene they estab­
lished a 110-member “revolutionary council” as
the first step toward forming a government-in­
xile.” However, the six principal organization
leading the guerrilla struggle refused even to
accept seats on the council.

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

Economic changes have occurred during this
time so that most production is now for the
market. But the monopolistic form of rule—in
which an amir was chosen by the Pushtun tribal
leaders—and was convened by the monarch
when he so decided. Afghanistan is composed of a number of na­
tionalities with different languages and cultures.
Many of them have closer ties with people living
in Pakistan, Iran, or the USSR than with others living in Afghanistan. The national divisions also
find their reflection in the guerrilla organi­
ations.
The PDPA sought to centralize authority when
it took power. The traditional decentralization is
what each of the guerrilla groups are attempting to maintain, and forced the removal of the
president, or forcing it to establish a
live-and-let-live relationship with local, tribally
organized governments.
The Pakistani government, which fears the
impact of the Afghan revolution in its own
country, has backed the landowners in the
Vietnamese military aid as well as sanctuaries from which to
conduct their operations. Without this assistance, the
rightists, who are divided and poorly armed, would have found it difficult to maintain their
struggle.
The rightists are permitted by the Zia ul-Haq
government to freely move about in Pakistan’s
western provinces and intimidate the local popu­
lation. Whereas democratic rights for Pakistanis are denied by the government, Afghan counterrevo­
olutionaries maintain open headquarters, hold
news conferences, and carry arms. There have been many conflicts between the local people, the
biggest in Baluchistan.
The Zia regime is not at all adverse to the
Afghan opposition some of whom brought a large
of money with them and are buying land and houses, terrorizing the rebellious Baluchi and
Pushtun workers and peasants.

Washington’s Reaction

The Pakistan state has the full backing of imperialism. From the beginning, U.S. imperial­
ism was bitterly hostile to the Afghan revolution and its possible effects throughout the region. It
was one in a series of blows from South­
east Asia to Southern Africa, from Iran to the
Caribbean, that has altered the relationship of
forces in favor of the tens of millions struggling
against imperialist exploitation and oppression.
On May 5, 1978, as the PDPA came to
power, the New York Times ran an editorial headed “The Communist Coup in Afghanistan.” It warned, “A revolutionary Af­
ghanistan will make its neighbors nervous. Its
existence will intensify separatist sentiment among the Baluchi tribesmen in Pakistan and
Iran.” The editorial advised neighboring capital­
ist countries to do what they could to help
Afghanistan fight the revolution. It also advised that this would also put rightist pressure on the
imperialist government.

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

Washington cut off all aid agreements and trade,
move to have loans blocked from the World Bank and the International Monetary
Fund, and began to step up aid to the rightist
leaderships, which it primarily funneled through the Pakistani provost marshal.

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

Imperialism’s goal was to take advantage of
the growing discontent with the PDPA govern­
ment in order to help undermine the revolution.
The Peking bureaucracy, as part of its traitor­
ous obedience to U.S. imperialism, has also
sought to maintain stability in the region, dimin­
ishing influence from Moscow, and ever more opposed all revolutionary developments. It
backed the butcher Bhutto in his wars against
Bengali and Baluchi freedom fighters, and hailed the shah while millions of Iranians were mobiliz­
ing to overthrow him. In concert with imperial­
ism and the Pakistani regime, it has also pro­
vided military aid to reactionary Afghan
guerrilla fighters.

IV. Soviet Bureaucracy Opposes

Revolution

Since the mid-1980s, the bureaucratic caste
that governs the Soviet Union has placed the
achievement of lasting agreements with impe­
rilateral powers as its central foreign policy objec­
tive. This strategic search for stability has led it
to oppose revolutions, especially on its borders.

Having strangled independence and initiative
in the working class and among the poor peas­
ants at home by setting up a totalitarian political
structure, the bureaucracy does not dare stimu­
late critical thought and revolutionary activity
on the world arena. Moreover, as a ruling and
privileged petty-bourgeois stratum, it values in­
finity more the help and friendship of those to
whom it is socially akin—bourgeois nationalist
reformist parliamentarians, trade-union bureau­
crats—than of the rank-and-file workers who are
separated from it by a class line. Like these
types, it seeks to establish a class-collaboration­
ist policy of nonaggression between the op­
posed and exploited masses and the capitalist
rulers. That’s its objective in Central Asia, as
elsewhere. But the massive upheaval in this
country today prevents the realization of this goal.

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

Moscow and Kabul

Moscow has been successful in maintaining friendly relations with the Afghan
regime, it has also
imperialism comparable to what it was giving
Pakistan. Washington refused unless Kabul joins CECA and drops its demand for a union
of the Soviet Union.

Moscow gave the Kabul regime $1.3 billion in aid, the largest per capita amount of Soviet aid to
any capitalist country.

When Daud overthrew the monarchy in 1973, Moscow immediately recognized the new government and made clear its support for the Parcham faction’s
legal participation in the government.

Even as the Daud regime moved to establish

‘The imperialist response to tens of thousands of Soviet
troops going into Afghanistan was to
prop up other reactionary
governments in the region and significantly step up aid to the
rightist guerrillas’
Afghan army crossed over to opposition to the PDPA and the regime dwindled and the various oppositionists and right-wing rebels grew bolder, the Soviet government stepped up these efforts. The equivalent of millions of dollars in rubles were sent in to defend military bases. Tass, the official news agency, was flown in as an advisor. A policy of holding back the Afghan revolution and to advocate an "Islamic Republic" for Afghanistan. But the real social goals and composition of these forces is far from evident.

Taraki's Murder and Kremlin Escalation

The Kremlin representatives in Kabul directly intervened in the factional conflicts in the PDPA. Exactly what role they played in the clash between Taraki and Amin in September 1979 is still not clear. However, Taraki was murdered at the instigation of Amin shortly after Taraki returned to Kabul from a high-level reception in Moscow where he met with Brezhnev and other high officials of the Soviet leadership. Russian media claimed he was sent to Kabul to review the functioning of the regime. Vassily Safronchik, a top Soviet functionary, was assigned overall responsibility for coordinating Russian policy. He set up an office next to Taraki's in the People's House in Kabul.

The by the end of the summer up to five thousand Russian "advisers" were moved into the government apparatus to help fill the gap unable to be met by the depleted, state-ravaged, and unreliable ranks of the PDPA or its supporters. The equivalent of millions of dollars in rubles were sent each day to prop up the government apparatus, and Moscow's responsibility for military operations became more direct. Soviet forces took over the principal air fighter base at Bagram, north of Kabul. Helicopter guard units were sent in to defend military bases. Soviet officers were posted down to the company level. Under the Kremlin's guiding hand, the PDPA forged a policy whose consequences would deeply its growth alienation from the masses and further obstruct initiatives by any who sought to drive the class struggle forward. One feature of the revolutionary military policy was the increased use of the air force and Russian pilots to strafe and level rural settlements where there was peasant resistance. With greater and greater rebellions and desertions in the army, indiscriminately air power became the central means of combating any suspected resistance.

In July and August 1979, brigades of the Afghan army crossed over to opposition to the regime, some joining the right-wing rebels. Many soldiers deserted and some even defected to the USSR. The regime seemed to have fared better than previously existed. This has made it impossible for Moscow to accomplish anything in Afghanistan involving a new form of influence on the Afghan borders.

This resistance is broader than the original landlord-usurer-backed opposition to the landed peasantry. The Kremlin backers than previously existed. This has made it impossible for Moscow to accomplish anything in Afghanistan involving a new form of influence on the Afghan borders.

For example, there were significant antigovernment protests of university and high school students in Kabul in April which were said to be a part of a "sinister plot" to overthrow President Amin. Babrak Karmal, who had been living in Czechoslovakia, was flown in and established as the prime minister and president.

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

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

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

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

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

In the ten months that Soviet troops have occupied key points in Afghanistan, wider mass upheaval has developed there. The Kremlin backers than previously existed. This has made it impossible for Moscow to accomplish anything in Afghanistan involving a new form of influence on the Afghan borders.

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nounced reforms, let alone educating and mobilizing the population to drive the revolutionary process forward, has inevitably strengthened the hand of the property owners and weakened the toilers. This has resulted in a situation where the property owners are better able to resist the demands of the toilers. This is a clear indication of the failure of the Afghan masses to organize and mobilize themselves.

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

**Kremlin's Role in Afghanistan**

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

Instead of becoming a revolutionary example for the Iranian masses, the Kremlin-PDPA policies are a threat to the very existence of the Afghan people's revolution. The fundamentally progressive character of the Vietnamese revolution, emerging triumphant against more than a decade of brutal U.S. aggression, resulted in mobilizations in South Vietnam against the expropriation of big exploiters and thus the extension of socialist property forms over the whole of the country, even though this transformation was carried through under the control of a privileged bureaucracy. U.S. imperialism then orchestrated major military aggression against the Vietnamese revolution, utilizing the anti-Vietnam military actions of the reactionary bureaucracy of the Pol Pot regime. Responding to this aggression, Hanoi helped the Kampuchean toilers overthrow the reactionary regime in Kampuchea, and drove forward the social revolution in Laos.

The fundamentally progressive character of Vietnam's intervention in Kampuchea is measured by the fact that the class struggle has been advanced from the point of view of the workers and peasants in Kampuchea and Laos. They have been inspired to push forward the class struggle in their own countries, with the result that the working people, like the 1980 movement of the Polish workers, against bureaucratic rule. Trotsky, in discussing the issue of the defense of the Soviet workers state and the world revolution, put it this way:

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

**Indochina**

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

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

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

The Soviet government in Cairo quickly added its support to this reactivation effort.

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

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

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

In an attempt to justify increasing aid to the rightists, Washington utilized the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan to grind out a massive volume of anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda.

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

According to the New York Times, the State Department officially “relaxed” its “accuracy code” on news reporting from Afghanistan, and the U.S. embassy in Peking cried that its troops were “working for the purpose of undermining America’s goals and hypocratically championing the interests of Muslims.”

Washington’s main goal in using the Afghani war as a means of attacking the USSR was to expose the “Vietnam syndrome,” so that the first steps can be taken to prepare the use of U.S. troops abroad. The form this is taking is to reestablish draft registra-

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

The Soviet Union is not imperialist. Unlike the imperialist countries, the economic foundations of the workers state, which still remain, contain no inherent drive to invest in other countries, to control and warp the economies of the semicolonial countries and dominate their raw materials, or to promote a massive volume of anti-Soviet and anti-

The Kremlin’s foreign policy is essentially defensive, including in Afghanistan. Its need to...
maintain the status quo at home leads it to try to establish stable relations with imperialism and, therefore, oppose the extension of the world revolution.

Carter and the Registration Fiasco

Carter’s biggest defeat came when he tried to reinstitute draft registration. Hundreds of protests, rallies and meetings were organized. The United States expressed the widespread antipathy and antipathy sentiment that exists in the working class and among students. Finally, the issue reached Congress. The President’s proposal was adopted by a three-judge federal court on the eve of the election, reflecting divisions in the ruling class on the question of whether to reinstitute draft registration. Hundreds of thousands of people demonstrated on the steps of the Supreme Court the day after the decision was announced. William Brennan put a stay on the lower court’s decision, explaining that it was an advance for toiling people throughout the world. The January 14, 1979, resolution of the United Nations General Assembly reflected divisions in the ruling class on the question of whether to reinstitute draft registration, with a new revolutionary character ....

VI. Cuba’s Policy on Afghanistan

The Cuban government hailed the revolutionary upheaval in Afghanistan from the outset, explaining that it was an advance for toiling people throughout the world. The January 14, 1979, resolution of the United Nations General Assembly reflected divisions in the ruling class on the question of whether to reinstitute draft registration, with a new revolutionary character ....

The Cuban government’s support for and solidarity with the Afghan people has never been taken from them the right to give a cloak of respectability to imperialist intervention. Afghanistan by the CIA after overthrowing the nationalist government of Mohammad Daud, has been to condemn imperialist aid to the Afghan rightists and the Zia regime in Pakistan...
United States, regular troops from Zaire entered Angola territory in the summer of that same year, while South African military forces occupied territory on the month of August. The first material aid sent from Zaire, the first Cuban instructors reached Angola at the beginning of October, at the request of the MPLA, when Angola was being fought for this time invaded by foreign forces. However, no Cuban military unit had been sent to Angola to participate in the fighting or to be a protector for that country.

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

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

"I do not mean to relate the events of the Angolan war, the later development of which is generally well known. I say, rather point out the occasion, the form and the circumstances in which our aid began. These facts are strictly related to the period of the Angolan war from 1975 to 1989.

"Somalia had hundreds of tanks, several thousand pieces and other modern weapons. We, along with Cuba, China and other states, had already mobilized for this type of war and we were ready to assist the Angolan patriots resist the invasion of the South African fascists had already penetrated into Kunene, and nearly all those Mozambican troops in the north, who had been trained in Angola.

"Fidel explained this in a speech on March 13, 1978. He first indicated that Cuba had in early 1977 sought to negotiate a settlement of the differences between Somalia and Ethiopia. "We organized a meeting in Addis Ababa to discuss the differences between Somalia and Ethiopia. We worked to solve the problems between Somalia and Ethiopia, precisely to avoid a war; to avoid a military aggression, which would constitute a betrayal of the international revolutionary movement; to prevent the leadership of Somalia, with its terri- torial ambitions and aggressive attitude from going over to imperialism. We weren't able to prevent it..."

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

"Ethiopia is a big country, it has a large population, it has soldiers and very good soldiers at that. That's why, in answer to our request, we initially decided to send them a dozen instructors and advisors—the figure might have come to a few hundred—to train units and teach them how to handle modern weapons of a type they had never familiar with.

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

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

"Fidel pointed out that Ethiopia also had a lot of modern military equipment that it had received from Washington before relations were broken in early 1977. But there wasn't sufficient trained personnel to utilize it.

"Ethiopia was faced with a very difficult situation, with no time to spare. If the Ethiopians had had a little more time, they would have learned how to handle all those tanks, artillery pieces and other weapons, and other states, particularly with other socialist countries, would have contributed to training personnel. But the critical situation was that by the end of September the Somali government had already given the order to the Somali People's Revolutionary Army to invade Ethiopia. The Ethiopian government had to send a request for military aid to the Cuban government asking for military equipment.
found conviction that each must be free to build their own destiny; that each people and only the people of each country must and will make their own revolution. The Government of Cuba has never thought of making revolution to any nation of this hemisphere with the arms of its military units. Such an idea would be absurd and ridiculous.

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

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

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

In a letter to Karl Kautsky in 1882, Engels wrote, "... the victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing. This does not of course exclude defensive wars of various kinds...." (Selected Correspondence, Marx-Engels, Progress Publishers, 1970, p. 431.)

At the eighth congress of the Bolshevik party in 1919, Lenin presented his views on this question in a debate with Bukharin. Bukharin's position was that the Soviet government should not honor the right of nations to self-determination because that was a concession to the capitalists in those countries. Instead, under the slogan of "the self-determination of the working people," the Bolsheviks should use their military forces to overthrow bourgeois regimes. Lenin's view, which was the majority opinion in the party, was that this was ultraleftist nonsense with reactionary implications. He argued:

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

He added, "As long as the bourgeoisie, or the petty bourgeoisie, or even part of the German workers, are under the influence of this bugbear—the Bolsheviks want to establish their system by force—so long will the formula 'the self-determination of the working people' not help matters. We must arrange things so that German traitor-socialists will not be able to say that the Bolsheviks are trying to impose their universal system, which, as it were, can be brought into Berlin on Red Army bayonets. And this is what may happen if the principle of the self-determination of nations is denied." (Collected Works, Lenin, volume 29, Progress Publishers, 1965, pp. 172-74; also Speeches to Party Congresses, Progress Publishers, 1971, pp. 88-91.)

Trotsky, on the same subject, wrote in 1938: "Robespierre once said that people do not like missionaries with bayonets. By this he wished to say that it is impossible to impose revolutionary ideas and institutions on other people through military violence. This correct thought does not signify of course the insuperability of defensive intervention in other countries in order to cooperate in a revolution. But such an intervention, as part of a revolutionary intervention, must correspond to the desires of the toiling masses of the country on whose territory the revolutionary troops enter. The theory of socialism in one country is not capable, naturally, of creating this active international solidarity which alone can prepare and justify armed intervention. The Kremlin poses and resolves the question of military intervention, like all other questions of its policy, absolutely independently of the ideas and feelings of the international working class." (In Defense of Marxism, p. 28.)

Like these Marxist predecessors, the Cuban leadership weighs very carefully the question of national sovereignty in relation to sending...
It is our most profound conviction that each people must be free to build their own destiny; that each people and only the people of each country must and will make their own revolution.

—Fidel Castro

The key task of class-conscious workers must be to combat this reactionary campaign. We must oppose all imperialist intervention in Afghanistan. For one penny should go to maintaining the CIA and military advisors, not to reinducing draft registration and get agreement for a draft when they want it.

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

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

—Leon Trotsky

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

No Draft, No War!
Under cover of phony ‘amnesty’
Gov’t panel urges new war on undocumented

By Nelson Gonzalez

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

The Carter-appointed panel was headed by the late Father Theodore Hesburgh and was composed of eight members of Congress, four Cabinet members, and four others. After two years of study behind closed doors, this commission came up with essentially the same Carter administration proposals that Congress shelved in 1977. These had provoked an outcry from Latino, labor, and civil liberties organizations.

The plan purported to include an “amnesty” for undocumented persons currently residing in the United States. It sounds fine, until you look at the fine print. This so-called amnesty covers only one million of the up to six million undocumented that the commission itself now estimates reside inside the U.S.

Many of those not given full “amnesty” could be given conditional entry status for a five-year probationary period, putting them at the mercy of employers and cops. Up to five million others could be subject to being deported and upended.

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

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

The real effect would be to intensify the conditions that undocumented workers as hunted people with no rights on the job.

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

A staff report for the Hesburgh panel issued December 4 recommended that every citizen and legal alien be issued counterfeit-proof cards by a government agency. The cards would include name, date of birth, sex, a photo, and an identifying number. Job applicants would be required to show the card to prospective employers, who would report their names and numbers to Washington.

This proposal was backed by panel chief Hesburgh.

GM: the monster that devours Detroit

By Elizabeth Ziers

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

The city found the perfect location. This is a large area of 465 acres—known as Pole-town. It has been the home of an established, tight-knit Polish working-class community since 1900.

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

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

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**Most successful drive in years**

**Socialist press wins thousands of new readers**

By Nancy Rosenstock

A highlight of the 1980 Socialist Workers election campaign of Andrew Cleary, for president, and Melville Zinn, for vice-president was the week-long fall drive to win 8,000 new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The results are 6,160 new readers for the *Militant* and 240 to *PM*, bringing the total of new subscribers over the fall period to 7,394, 90 percent of our goal.

Thousands more bought a single copy of the *Militant* or *PM*. In addition to thousands of campaign brochures were distributed during the course of the drive.

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party adopted goals totaling 6,885. One thousand subscriptions were slated to come from national teams traveling outside branch areas and the remainder from miscellaneous sources.

How did we do?

The branches’ efforts were an outstanding success as thirty-six branches made or surpassed their goals. Of these, thirty-two over 100 percent. Those eleven branches fell short of their goals, and only three made less than 60 percent.

Fifteen branches raised their goals during the drive.

The final total sold by branches was 7,022, which is 137 subscriptions over our goal.

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**Political gatherings**

The *Militant* and *PM* made an impact at important political gatherings.

In September, thirty-six *Militant* subscriptions were sold; thirty-two at the National Black Political Convention; twenty-two at the National Organization for Women Convention; and nineteen at the Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment.

At two El Salvador solidarity conferences, in Los Angeles and in Washington, D.C., twenty-four *PM* subscriptions were sold. Thirty-three more *PM* subscriptions were sold at a Latin American Studies Association conference in Chicago.

The *Militant* was also well-received at picket lines. In Gary, more than 100 percent of the new subscriptions sold were by picketers on picket lines. The *Militant* was sold at the major shopping plaza, Dallas socialists sold $105 subscriptions at the center of working class communities.

**National sales teams**

Two hundred national teams hit the road to areas where there are no branches of the *SWP* or chapters of the YSA.

The team members sold 493 subscriptions, including thirteen to PM. This was about one-half the projected figure of 1,000.

The team also sold 1,000 single copies of the *Militant* and 100 of PM, distributed more than 12,000 pieces of campaign literature, and recruited thirteen to the Young Socialist Alliance.

**Future plans**

In the weeks and months ahead we can follow up the fall’s success in several ways.

Discussions with thousands of workers on the job and in their homes put us in close touch with the real political thinking of our class. The disaffection we found with the Democrats and Republicans, and the openness to the ideas put forth in the *SWP* and *PM* believe the coming national elections American workers are becoming more conservative.

In addition, branches will want to get in touch with the subscribers they met last fall to talk with them about the *SWP* and *YSA* lawsuit, invite them to the local socialist bookstores and urge them to renew their subscriptions.

By Eduardo Quintana

Milwaukee’s Fiesta Mexicana celebration provided a good opportunity for sales of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Some areas made gains by fielding their own teams to nearby areas. The Piedmont, North Carolina, and Tide water, Virginia, branches were quick to respond to the union victory at J.P. Stevens. They sent a team to Roanoke Rapids, site of the key organizing drive, and sold thirteen subscriptions.

The fact that the teams fell short of their goal clearly did not reflect a lack of interest in the *Militant* or *PM* but rather an overabundance of what each team could accomplish. Many went to areas which, although politically important, lack big population centers. In addition, fewer teams were fielded than originally planned.

Looking back over the fall, it becomes clear that this circulation campaign is one of the most successful the *SWP* and *YSA* have carried out in some time.

The upcoming trial in the *SWP* and *YSA* cases is not last fall to talk with them about the *SWP* and *YSA* lawsuit, invite them to the local socialist bookstores and urge them to renew their subscriptions.

Sales team in Colorado went to campuses and many other sales to win new readers to the *Militant* and *PM*.
"Tis the season to be jolly—Three years ago, a Georgia dam broke, flooding Tocoa Falls Bible College. Thirty-nine people were killed. But donations and federal grants poured in to the stricken little college, now significantly better off. We've had a debt structure of $1,000,000. In four months we were debt-free. All the good things that have happened to us, the Lord has blessed us.

Shopping tip—Our favorite department store, Niseman-Marcus, is offering, for one week only, "the silver-plated roast meat trolley." We don't even know what a non-plated roast meat trolley is, but if they include a prime roast beef, it might be worth the money.

By Any Means Necessary

The stricken little college, now significantly better off, had a debt structure of $1,000,000. In four months we were debt-free. All the good things that have happened to us, the Lord has blessed us.

Tamayo: first Black person in space

HAVANA, Cuba—He's known as Tamayo here. Arnaldo Tamayo Méndez, an Afro-Cuban pilot, is the first Black person to travel in outer space. Tamayo was launched into space—or as the Cubans say, el cosmos—along with Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Romanenko last September for the first joint Soviet-Cuban spaceflight.

During my visit to the island, I saw that the Cubans took special note of this accomplishment and demonstrated great pride. One of their own had ventured into el cosmos. Throughout the streets of this city, posters with Tamayo and Romanenko adorned buildings, front doors, and offices. Buttons and T-shirts with the Intercosmos emblem are worn by children and adults alike. The Cuban postal service has printed a stamp commemorating Tamayo's flight. Newspapers and periodicals such as Granma, Bohemia, Prisma, Juventud Rebelde, and Cuba Internacional all feature articles on the flight. Tamayo made a special tour of Cuba's cities. As our group traveled the length of the island, stopping in Santiago de Cuba, Holguín, Camagüey, and Cienfuegos, posters and other momentos of Tamayo were evident everywhere. Tacked on the sides of bohios—small rural dwellings—were Cuban and Soviet flags or Intercosmos emblems.

In addition to their enthusiasm for Tamayo, the Cuban people displayed a keen interest in science and scientific achievements. Near the Habana Libre Hotel, a scientific and space exhibit entitled "El Cosmos al Servicio de la Paz y del Progreso"—Space at the service of peace and progress—occupies an entire block. The exhibit included: a display on Valentina Tereshkova, the first woman in space, films and animated booths of space travel and research, as well as a section devoted to Tamayo. The night I walked through the exhibit, it was crowded with Cubans of all ages viewing and attentively listening to the recorded descriptions at each booth.

Tamayo has become a national hero of the Cuban people. But there's not the least bit of cultism involved. During a ceremony honoring Tamayo, Cuban President Fidel Castro aptly described what Tamayo symbolizes:

"He symbolizes our people's heroic internationalist fighters, our heroic internationalist workers. . . . The Revolution opened the doors for him, as it did for our youth and as it did for all our people: providing the opportunity to study, to improve his education and to serve his people. . . . It is indeed symbolic that our first cosmonaut, Latin America's first cosmonaut and Africa's first cosmonaut—it is not a whim on our part to say that Africa's first cosmonaut, because Tamayo, who is eminently Black, also has Indian and Spanish blood running through his veins and he symbolizes Africa, Indian and Spanish blood that merged in the crucible of our history and gave rise to our people. . . . This is why we say that he also symbolizes Africa, since he's the first descendant of Africans to travel to space.

"It is indeed symbolic that a man of such a poor family should have accomplished such an extraordinary feat, because only through the Revolution, through the Revolution alone could a young man like him have such an opportunity. . . . This is why we are proud of this feat as revolutionaries, as socialists, as Communists, as internationalists. Ours is not a nationalist but rather an internationalist kind of pride."

The enthusiasm with which Cubans hail Tamayo represents the internationalist spirit of their revolution.

While we were in the city of Santiago de Cuba, actors and musicians from the Cuban Teatrova group performed for us. Afterwards, Teatrova members exchanged gifts and signed autographs. The inscription given to me by the main actor was illustrative of the pride in Tamayo felt by all Cubans. "Although your skin is not yet walking among the 'Great Halls' of the White House, it has already been in space—in a brother of yours and mine."

Merry Xmas from General Motors

February 1979. How could we complain when so many people are out in the street? Second, we had the speedup because again, if the company couldn't speed up production in order to increase its profits, then it would have to shut down and there we'd be—unemployed.

We're also reminded that if it weren't for all those Japanese cars, things would be better for everybody. Japanese cars are laying people off, not Chrysler, Ford, or GM.

About one month ago, shortly after GM announced its third quarter "loss" of $500 million, plant management announced they would be eliminating some jobs. In my department they hoped to cut ten out of fifty-two jobs.

Each of us was called into the foreman's office without our union representative (since this wasn't supposed to be disciplinary) and given a little speech that went something like this: "Look, the company's in trouble. We have to save money. We don't want to wind up like Chrysler. We'll be eliminating some jobs, which means we'll be adding more work to yours. Do you have any suggestions that will make it easier?"

On Monday, the company continues to eliminate jobs and add to others, many of us could not keep up with the line. Management responded by stepping up harassment and threats that people would lose their jobs. Yet, personal suspension and threats were ignored, even ignoring requests for "emergency relief" (to use the toilet) or requests to go to the plant's medical department, thus forcing workers to walk off the line.

The intimidation by the company failed to achieve its purpose, however. Although personnel cuts in our department and plantwide are supposedly incomplete, because of workers' spontaneous and unauthorized resistance, management was not able to cut all the jobs it wanted. In fact, it had to create one or two new jobs on our line.

In about a week or so, management will give us a chance to forget all our grievances for 1980. On this occasion, just before our Christmas break, the foremen, general foremen, and supervisors make the rounds to shake our hands and wish each of us and our families, "Happy holidays."
A diary of the 1909 garment workers' strike in New York City recorded: “December 3rd initiated the month’s activities with a monster indignation parade to City Hall—ten thousand striking waistmakers, marching four abreast, in orderly fashion, to call upon the Mayor, their Mayor, to present to him their petition and their protest against the abuse and mistreatment received at the hands of their police force.

Inspiring host of class-conscious workers, bent on maintaining their rights, headed by three noble women of the [Women’s] Trade Union League and three noble victims of brutality, they reached City Hall Park.

Nine days before, on November 24, 20,000 waistmakers had walked out of 500 shops in New York City. This was the first of the massive strikes that erupted among garment workers desperate to end sweatshop conditions. Trouble had been brewing for some time. Throughout the fall, waistmaker makers had walked out at several shops. Strikers at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company, as at other shops, had faced thugs and police. A huge rally was called at Cooper Union Hall on November 22, with overflow crowds filling other halls as well. Samuel Gompers and other trade union leaders spoke. The Call, a socialist newspaper of the time, described the climax: “I just called to a girl and said that I wanted to talk to her. She then turned on me and smashed me in the face, breaking my glasses and cutting my eye. I began to scream and called the policeman to protect me. Instead of that he arrested me and dragged me to the station house where I had to spend the entire night.”

Unionists, socialists, and women organized solidarity. Philadelphia waistmakers went on strike and shut down companies scabbing on the New York union. The Call printed a special strike edition and donated it to the union. The women’s suffrage movement held weekly motorcades through New York’s Lower East Side and organized a rally that overflowed the Hippodrome.

The Women’s Trade Union League, which included both unionists and women’s leaders, played the major support role. The WTUL walked the picket lines, set up the strike headquarters, sent speakers to women’s groups and campuses, and raised money.

In February the strike was settled, with 354 companies signing the union contract.

Today there are about 170,000 garment workers in New York City’s Manhattan garment district alone. Sweatshops have sprung up throughout the city. The big majority of the workers are women; most are immigrants whose first language is Spanish or Chinese. Some estimate that one-third are undocumented immigrants. Women, immigrants, struck the first blow for the union in 1909. Women, immigrants, should not be written off today. An echo of “The Uprising of the Twenty Thousand,” the song dedicated to the strike, may be heard again: “I want to tell her. She then turned on me and smashed me in the face, breaking my glasses and cutting my eye. I began to scream and called the policeman to protect me. Instead of that he arrested me and dragged me to the station house where I had to spend the entire night.”

Surprising me most was her interest in the Socialist Workers Party and her openness to socialist ideas. She bought George Novack’s Humanism and Socialism and several other pieces of literature. I had heard about the savage slaying of the three nuns and the lay worker that shot in El Salvador, but I did not make the association until the New York Daily News ran a photo of Sister Clarke. It was a shock to realize that such a dedicated person was no longer alive.

Sister Clarke, true to her vocation of aiding the poor, held her ground despite all threats—married Camilo Torres, the guerrilla priest. Her efforts in El Salvador may be heard again on the side of the revolution and in the direct firing line of the murder judge.

Sister Clarke and the other three victims will be remembered as martyrs of the revolution by the workers and peasants that they aided. These women will finally liberate El Salvador and bring to justice the criminals responsible for her death and the death of many more.

Nelson Gonzales
New York, New York

Letters on gay rights

The united Democratic-Republican assault on Blacks, women, and gays extends to gays as well, and is growing stronger.

The new appropriations bill passed by Congress for the Legal Services Corporation, federal legal-aid agency, specifically denies lesbians and gay men the right to defending their rights in court.

The anti-gay measure, originating in the House, is being led by Representative Larry McDonald, is the first of what he says will be a whole series of similar bills. Congress is organizing to defeat civil rights legislation for homosexuals in every pending in the House and Senate.

Lew Berman, S.F. socialist

We would like readers of the Militant to know that Lew Berman, socialist and well-known labor leader, died in San Francisco on Nov. 2. He was eighty-four years old. All who knew Lew will not be surprised to hear that he was active in the labor movement until the very end.

Although he had long since retired as an official of the Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union, Local 362, he was called in by union officials to maintain discipline in the union and invited as speakers two Maryknoll nuns who had been working in Nicaragua for many years. Lew attended the council meeting held just before he died.

In the council he had played a special role. He was always in the forefront, defending Cuban rebels during the Vietnam War, supporting equal rights for minorities and women, for aid to Nica- ragua. He came up on the right side in every class struggle issue.

Lew had been a member of the Communist Party. But he was reeducated by the leadership of the 1950s and 1960s. He became a close sympathizer of the SWP and the YSA, and a staunch supporter of their activities and public meetings. And after meetings, he was always ready to find time to discuss the issues—especially with young people anxious to learn. He had much to teach. He was the survivor of a thousand battles, as he said, “Some won, some lost, but all were worthwhile.”

Thus far the official memorial meetings have been held in San Francisco—one by his union and the other by his close friends and comrades.

Lew Berman is, foremost, a dedicated man, quite small in physical stature but big in courage and strong in his faith. He had much to teach. He was the survivor of a thousand battles, as he said, “Some won, some lost, but all were worthwhile.”

Astor Hare
San Francisco, California

Our Revolutionary Heritage

‘Uprising of 20,000’

Maura Clarke, martyr of the revolution

During the months just prior to the fall of Somozia in July 1979, when the Sandinistas were waging a massive uprising against the dictatorship, the Boston Socialist Workers Party organized a solidarity meeting and invited as speakers two Maryknoll nuns who had been working in Nicaragua for many years.

I was asked to represent the party at that forum. I had had a Catholic education, but these nuns were a lot different from the nuns who had taught me in grade school.

Sister Maura Clarke did not speak at this forum, but she accompanied the other Maryknoll nun who did. This sister told of the misery and degradation of the workers and peasants under the Sandinistas. She spoke of the brutal repression by the dictatorship to maintain these conditions. And then she spoke of the Sandinistas and the united front that had been created to fight this oligarchy.

It was crystal clear from her talk that her sentiments were on the side of the revolutionary forces—similar to those priests now serving in the Sandinista government of national reconstruction.

The forum elicited such interest and enthusiasm that participants stayed for several hours afterward asking our two guest many questions. This is how we got to know Sister Clarke. She was an uncompromising opponent of the Somozoa regime and a supporter of the Sandinista freedom fighters.

What surprised me most was her interest in the Socialist Workers Party and her openness to socialist ideas. She bought George Novack’s Humanism and Socialism and several other pieces of literature.

I had heard about the savage slaying of the three nuns and the lay worker that shot in El Salvador, but I did not make the association until the New York Daily News ran a photo of Sister Clarke. It was a shock to realize that such a dedicated person was no longer alive.

Sister Clarke, true to her vocation of aiding the poor, held her ground despite all threats—married Camilo Torres, the guerrilla priest. Her efforts in El Salvador may be heard again on the side of the revolution and in the direct firing line of the murder judge.

Sister Clarke and the other three victims will be remembered as martyrs of the revolution by the workers and peasants that they aided. These women will finally liberate El Salvador and bring to justice the criminals responsible for her death and the death of many more.

Nelson Gonzales
New York, New York

Assault on gay rights

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Astor Hare
San Francisco, California
Irish freedom fighters

The news media has done a pretty good job of keeping most of this from the eye of the public in both the U.S. and Great Britain. The news media only gives us small glimpses of a problem that seems "insoluble."

They have yet to mention that in Northern Ireland there is no citizen government, but rather that it is under the control of the British military because Northern Ireland is a "British province."

Because of this the people, whether Catholic, Protestant Christian, or Jew, have no real rights which can be arrested on mere suspicion of belonging to or aiding an organization that undermines "British authority" (notably the Irish Republican Army, or IRA).

The majority of those arrested have never been tried for any offense, and those that have been tried were in British military courts. A lot of prisoners live outside of their country on prison bashes (many of them interned since the early 1970's) or other prisons in Great Britain.

The news media did not bother to tell any of their readers this. The point, after all, is to give very good and accurate information on events not really covered in the news media. I give them special thanks for revealing a good deal about the true tragedy of Northern Ireland.

William Gottlieb replies:

The letter sent by Brian Jenkins offers an opportunity to elaborate on basic points of Marx's critique of capitalism, a critique that Jenkins has completely missed.

First, Marx never said that "a system consisting of clashing forces needed planning." He pointed out that under capitalism the clash between the production forces that made an overall economic plan impossible. However, he held that modern industry also made such a plan necessary---both on a national and eventually an international scale. Failure to achieve such planning would inevitably lead---through a chain of convulsions and crises, including wars---to the destruction of modern industrial society.

Marx said that the only way such a general economic plan could be achieved was through a social revolution. The workers of each country would have to take control of production in order to abolish private ownership of industry and end capitalist anarchy.

Jenkins's misunderstanding does not end here. He writes that capitalism works "through the basic economic demand of consumers to better their needs. . ." He forgets one little thing. The economic demands of class-divided capitalist society are determined not by what is needed but only by that which is backed by the ability to pay.

It is a well-known fact that the ability to pay of the great corporation managers and even of an unemployed steelworker, or an employed one for that matter, even though the needs and wants of the steelworker are so basic, is as good as if the social structure of the world at large had no existence.

Jenkins claims that Marx was completely wrong about business cycles. Cycles occur, Jenkins tells us, because business investment is unevenly distributed through time. Therefore there are periods of high investment and periods of low investment.

This explanation is absolutely nothing. Why should business investment be so uneven through time? Is it because the needs of society are periodically fully met, as Jenkins claims? If so, in fact the real needs of most members of capitalist society are never met.

Besides, changes in business investment merely reflect changes in the busine cycle and belatedly at that. This is so well known to students of business cycles that the U.S. government, in compiling its index of economic indicators, considers business investment an index of the "business phase.

Jenkins says that I was wrong to write that every attempt to solve the problem of periodic business crises has failed. Why not keep trying? That the Great Depression finally did end and that a rise in government spending played a key role in ending it. (Jenkins doesn't mention that this was in the Great Depression of the 1980's, not the 1930's.)

But I did not say that any given depression would be permanent. I simply pointed out that crises break out periodically and that all attempts to keep them from entering the framework of capitalism have failed.

Events during the past year give a clear illustration of that fact.

The capitalist government can increase demand by spending more than it takes in taxes. The results of such an operation, however, will differ radically depending on the overall economic situation. If such deficit spending occurs after a major economic depression has liquidated "overproduction," it can accelerate recovery. If such deficit spending occurs amidst continuing overproduction it will lead to a monetary and credit crisis that will end, or another, in a new contraction of demand and renewed depression.

That is what we are seeing right now. Economic policies directed by the Carter administration to keep their economy recovery from the 1980 recession have apparently backfired. Interest rates have soared back to the astronomical levels of last spring. The goal of increased investment has been smashed up in 1981. The alternative is greatly increased inflation, leading to a collapse of demand and employment a little later.

Far from being overcome, the problem of periodic business crises remains intractable, just as Marx predicted it would as long as capitalism exists.
Socialists protest Lockheed witch-hunt

AM backs eight fired workers

By Tom Fiske
MARIETTA, Ga.—The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are challenging the firing by Lockheed-Georgia Company of eight socialists who work in the huge aircraft plant here.

The plant, which employs 10,000 workers, is a division of Lockheed Corporation, one of the major suppliers of military aircraft.

Lockheed claims it fired the eight workers because of discrepancies on their job applications.

But an official of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709, which represents the workers at the plant, called that issue “completely ridiculous. They could look on anyone’s application and find some mistake,” he said.

Officials of the Machinists have held lengthy meetings with the eight. They are filing grievances against all the terminations.

The workers who were fired have asked lawyers for the SWP and YSA’s lawsuit against government harassment to help them uncover the facts behind Lockheed’s action. They are planning a December 19 news conference in Atlanta to publicize this discriminatory and anti-union move.

Ex G-man

Lockheed launched its witch-hunt December 9 by firing Thorsen, Jeff Martin, Andree Kahlmorgan, Greg Zensen, and Garrett Brown, all aircraft assemblers, who were called down one by one by security officer Robert Lang.

They were interviewed and interrogated by security officer Robert Lang. Lang is an ex-FBI agent who keeps an entrapment frame-up engineered by an FBI provocateur.

By Bobbie Bagel
SAN DIEGO—Three union activists here face up to forty years in prison in an entrapment frame-up engineered by an FBI provocateur.

David Boyd, Rodney Johnson, and Mark Loo are charged with plotting to blow up the main power transformer at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (Nassco), the largest shipyard on the West Coast.

The three defendants are among seventeen union officials, who were fired last August for leading a walkout and protests against unsafe conditions in the yard.

The September 16 arrests came just two weeks after the deaths of two workers in the hold of the destroyer Mariana, which was assigned to end his wild talk, that this was a tawdry piece of business is completely ridiculous.

Thorsen pointed out to him that there is no question concerning the birthplace of children on Lockheed’s application form.

The SWP wants to know how and why Lockheed is prying into the private lives of its employees.

During Lang’s questioning of Kahlmorgan, he tried to convince her that the special attention being given to her application had nothing to do with her “political affiliation with any group.”

Harassed for marching

Kahlmorgan had been harassed by the company after her picture appeared on the front page of the Atlanta Journal. It was one of hundreds of Atlantans who participated in a rally called by the NAACP and various Atlanta chapters to protest the murders of Black children.

Kahlmorgan had also been active in a union effort to end a production speed-up and harassment campaign against workers modifying C-141 cargo planes. As a result of her activity, Kahlmorgan was slapped with a disciplinary "employee performance notice."

On December 12 the five workers were terminated and walked out of the plant.

On the same day three other socialists—Jean Savage, Jude Coren, and Chris Hoepner—were taken before the Nassco Three this way: They were interviewed and grilled, saw the letters "SWP" written in red on her personnel folder, which was on Lang’s desk.

DIEGO—Three union activists—Andree Kahlmorgan, left, at anti-Klan rally resulted in harassment at work by Lockheed officials.

Defendant Rodney Johnson told the Militant, “It is clear that these deaths were the result of criminal neglect on the part of the company.” Johnson and Loo are members of the Communist Workers Party, Boyd is a CWP supporter. They charge they have been singled out for prosecution because of their political views.

The case against the three is based on the testimony of FBI provocateur Ramon Barton.

During the August safety protests, Barton repeatedly urged union members to blow up the homes and cars of Nassco officials, according to a fact sheet from the defense committee for the Nassco Three.

The fact sheet states that at a legal application and find some mistake,” he said.

Defendant Miguel Salas, who was elected business agent, was among those fired in August.

A former organizer for the United Farm Workers, Salas says plans to organize demonstrations on behalf of the three victimized workers.

Military among workers in the yard clearly has Nassco worried. According to the December 22 Business Week, Nassco “appears headed for stormy labor clashes in 1981.”

Nassco, which the article describes as “a bright spot in the otherwise problem-plagued shipbuilding industry,” pays its workers $8.71 an hour while its large West Coast yards are paying $11.50.

On November 25 a federal judge refused to drop the charges against the three. Their trial is expected to begin on February 10.

Protest letters and statements of support demanding that the charges against the Nassco Three be dropped and that all the fired workers be rehired should be sent to the Nassco Three Defense Committee, P.O. Box 8863, San Diego, California 92101.