

Workers World

Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite

Vol. 16, No. 1

January 11, 1974

25 cents

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January 11, 1974
Vol. 16, No. 1

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Workers, poor fight Con Ed's \$422 million robbery

By DAVE AXEL
NEW YORK, Jan. 7—Outraged consumers spoke out and a dramatic candlelit demonstration was held early this workday morning high up in Tower 2 of the World Trade Center.

Taking place was a Public Service Commission hearing on an extortionate \$422.6 million rate increase asked by Consolidated Edison, the huge power and gas monopoly. This demand for even more money by Con Ed, coming on the heels of a record \$164 million increase granted just three months ago, stirred up such anger that even local politicians were on hand to speak out against it. Speakers called for hearings in the evening when more working people could attend.

Even a representative of the city administration was present to oppose the increase and call on Con Ed to absorb part of its claimed increased fuel costs instead of passing them all on to the customer. (The city is Con Ed's biggest customer, buying power for everything from subways to city housing projects.)

However, other groups at the hearing did not take Con Ed's claims of increased cost at face value.

A spokeswoman for the Center for United Labor Action (CULA) charged that Con Ed was "utilizing the panic and hysteria associated with the contrived fuel shortage" to further cheat the people, and demanded that "the books of Con Ed and the major oil companies be opened up to the public." She reminded hearing examiner Block that just a short while ago Con Ed had been granted a "variance" to burn high sulphur fuel and coal and had promised to pass the savings from that lower cost fuel on to their customers. "Therefore, utility rates should be going down, not up."

Spokespeople from groups such as the Harlem Consumers Education Council, Get Consumer Protection, American Telephone Consumers Council, the Sierra Club, and Women United for Action made statements against the increase which, if approved, would raise the average monthly utility bill from the present \$15 to \$20.

The consumer groups were also outraged at the so-called "conservation adjustment" asked for by Con Ed. This incredible bit of thievery would require people to pay more for complying with the

government's entreaty to use less power. Con Ed would add an additional amount to our bill to make up for the revenue they are supposedly losing because people are using less electricity!

The customers' plight was dramatized while the speaker from CULA was testifying. As she spoke of what would occur if the rate increase went through, people from the audience stood up holding lighted candles and started marching slowly towards the front of the room, carrying signs reading "Con Ed steals workers' lives & workers' money," and chanting "No rate increase for Con Ed."

While the demonstrators surrounded the startled Con Ed representatives, the CULA spokeswoman explained this was being done in angry response to murders of poor people by utility companies across the country. She cited recent cases where people have been forced to use candles after their power was turned off without even the opportunity for a fair hearing. Aside from being inadequate, she said, the candles were a severe fire hazard and have already led to deaths.

Hearing examiner Block nervously tried to interrupt the speaker and asked her to sit down, but others in the audience shouted out that he was supposed to be impartial. The CULA speaker concluded by giving examples of injuries and deaths to Con Ed workers and even passersby caused by unsafe and malfunctioning equipment. She demanded improved safety conditions for Con Ed workers and called for no rate increase while unsafe conditions prevailed.

After the hearing, a Con Ed worker told Workers World that the company had sent letters to its employees a few days earlier stating it would not go ahead with its "construction program" unless it got a favorable decision. This implied threat to eliminate jobs was followed up by another to the people of New York through the mass media when a Con Ed spokesman told reporters after the hearing that, if the increase was not granted, there would be a lack of facilities and an electric power shortage.

Rather than being intimidated by Con Ed's threats, however, the poor and working people of this city will see more clearly than ever before the need to take over the utility monopolies and run them in the interests of all the people instead of for the profits of a few.



Past protests against proposed rate increases. Con Ed wants more money for providing less service to the people. WW photo: Mary

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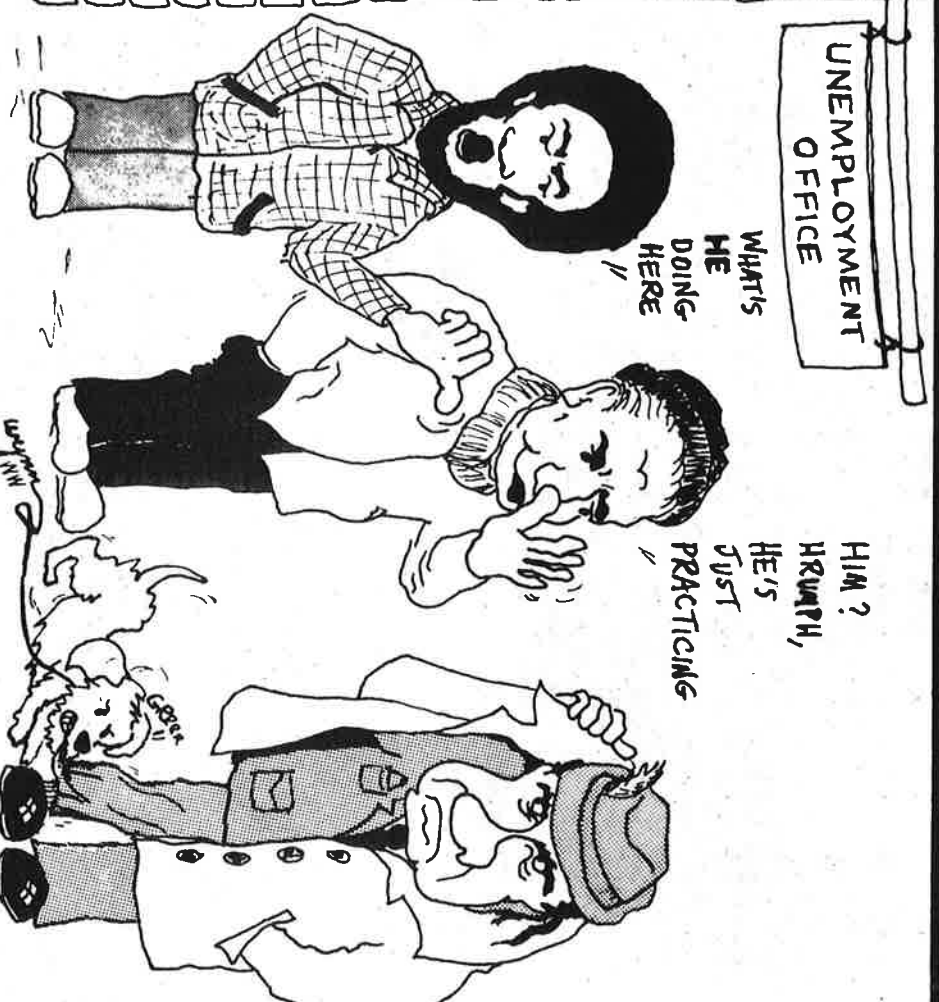
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Workers pay for bosses' fuel crisis with layoffs

By JOSEPH WEXLER

On Friday, December 28, General Motors announced a layoff of 86,000 workers in plants throughout the country. About half of these workers will be laid off for several weeks; the other half will be laid off "indefinitely." Ford, Chrysler, and American Motors are also laying off thousands of workers and layoffs are taking place in the airlines, steel, chemical, and other industries tied to oil or the automobile. The excuse for these layoffs is, of course, the gasoline shortage which has hit the U.S. and all the industrialized capitalist countries.

Workers World has received reports from around the country on how the fuel crisis and its resultant layoffs are affecting the workers. In addition to the rise in unemployment generally, the hardest hit are the Black, Latin, and women workers who, because of discrimination, have always been the last hired and first fired.

In the Buffalo, New York area, American Standard is laying off permanently 280 workers who made radiators. The GM Harrison Radiator plants in Buffalo and Lockport are laying off 1,000 workers indefinitely. Some 400 workers at the Chevy plants in Tonawanda and Buffalo will also permanently lose their jobs. The Ford stamping plant at Woodlawn is expecting large temporary layoffs as well.

MANY LAYOFFS ARE PERMANENT

The GM Assembly Division plant in Wilmington was recently closed down for two weeks and the entire second shift, or 2,200 workers, will be losing their jobs. The second shift has not been completely closed down since 1957, when it was eliminated for five years. The Wilmington GMAD layoffs will affect all workers with up to ten years' seniority. This means that all Black and women workers will lose their jobs. In Wilmington there is also talk of possible layoffs in the petrochemical plants.

On December 28, the U.S. airlines announced that they will lay off 9,000 workers and another round of layoffs is scheduled for this week. The Airline Pilots' Association and other unions accused the airlines of "using the fuel crisis as an excuse for laying off thousands of employees whom they wanted to get rid of to shore up their profitability." It is known that the airlines have wanted to consolidate certain routes and close down other unprofitable routes for years, and with the energy crisis they have an excuse to do it.

In the Milwaukee area layoffs of

thousands of workers at the A.O. Smith plants in Granite City, Ill., and Milwaukee and at a Delco shipping plant in Jamestown have been reported.

In December, 3,300 out of 4,000 workers were laid off for a week from the General Motors plant at Framingham, Mass. In addition, Tufts University, also in Massachusetts, closed down at Christmas time and will not reopen until March 11, leaving hundreds of workers at the university jobless throughout the winter. In the December 4 Boston Globe, Professor David Pinsky, a Connecticut "labor expert," predicted 500,000 workers will lose their jobs in New England unless there is "a drastic change in the energy picture."

At the GM plant in Linden, New Jersey, 4,500 workers will be laid off this month—2,000 of them permanently. The entire second shift at the plant will be closed down for the first time in over 20 years. Because the layoffs are going to be according to seniority, and because it is only relatively recently that large numbers of Black and Puerto Rican workers have been hired, the majority of workers who will lose their jobs will be Black and Puerto Rican. All 350 women workers at the plant will be forced out.

WORKERS PAYING FOR CRISIS

These layoffs are another example of

Detroit hit by layoffs; worker anger mounts

DETROIT, Jan. 5—"It is distressing to us to find it necessary to lay off any employee for any reason, but we must regrettably respond to the market by taking this action."

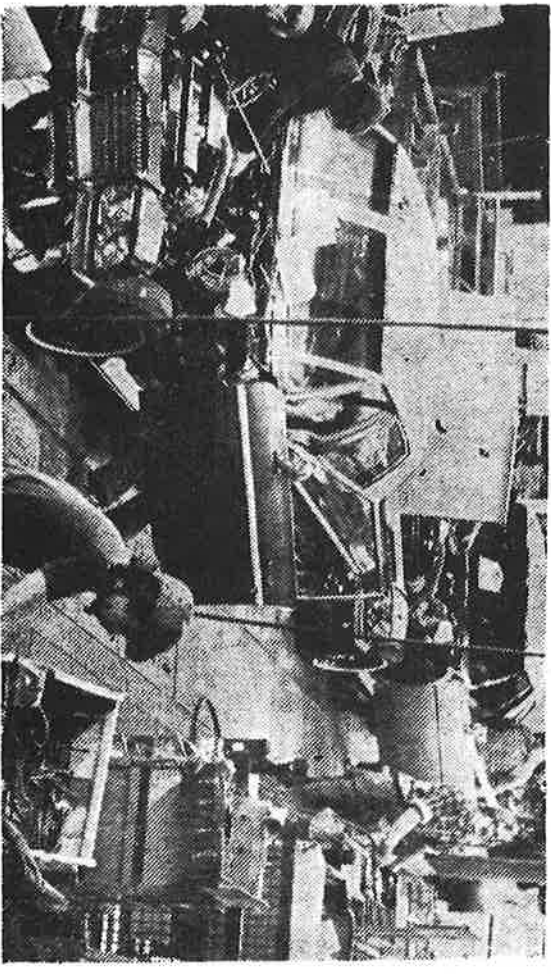
With these sanctimonious words, GM President Gerstenberg announced the mass layoffs that have put tens of thousands of GM and other auto workers on the unemployment lines around the country.

Here in Motor City, the situation is of course most acute. As of this writing, over 22,000 auto workers have been laid off in Michigan, which is close to half the national total. These are indefinite layoffs; there is no promise of being rehired at any future date.

Of the 95,000 more workers to be laid off for 7 to 10 days around the country, half

how the capitalist class intends to make the workers—especially the Black, Latin, and women workers—pay for the crisis that they and their system bring about.

The U.S. capitalist class has made billions of dollars in profits from the auto industry, from highway construction, and billions more in super-profits from the oil fields of Iran, the Arab countries, and South America, based on the slave wages the workers in these countries make. In ad-



Workers, like these at GM's Linden, New Jersey plant, are being forced to bear the brunt of the bosses' energy crisis.

again will be from plants in Michigan. The largest number of layoffs will be at GM: 38,000 out of work indefinitely, and 48,000 on a temporary basis. Ford is dumping 7,900 workers indefinitely and 8,300 temporarily. The figures for Chrysler are 10,700 and 39,200.

While the auto company bosses speak of being "distressed" over the layoffs, for public consumption, they are pursuing policies in the plants that only increase the misery of the workers. Compulsory overtime is being kept up at all the plants. With the work divided among fewer workers, the companies figure to save on fringe benefits. A GM worker reported to Workers World that he put in ten hours the last night before he was laid off.

Some plants are working just two 10-

mayor realize what he is doing? Or does he deliberately intend to insult us? The sanitation workers are a symbol of oppression and degradation. Doesn't he remember that Martin Luther King was murdered leading a garbage workers' strike in Memphis?"

The response from the union and the Black community was swift and predictable. They vigorously protested the cuts. And on December 5, the sanitation union, the Wilmington NAACP, Local 1694 of the International Longshoremen's Association, and the Center for United Labor Action picketed the mayor's office. Two hundred picketers protested in the pouring rain. But the "economizing" mayor was nowhere to be seen. He was off on a junket sunning himself at a so-called mayors' conference in Puerto Rico!

To justify the cutbacks and to counter the growing criticism, the city administration, faithfully echoed by the DuPont house organs, unleashed a campaign designed to convince the public that the garbage workers were malingerers.

PENPUSHERS FIND WORKERS 'LAZY'

Scarcely a day went by that the Morning News and the Evening Journal (both owned by the DuPont family) didn't attack the sanitation workers with scurrilous editorials replete with charges of "featherbedding" and "cushy" jobs. Imagine, this from an editorial staff whose only qualification is an unbounded desire to serve the interests of

dition, the oil depletion tax allowance, which amounted to hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes that the oil companies did not have to pay, was supposedly granted them to help pay for more research, development, and exploration of United States oil resources. The oil companies have pocketed all this money and now want workers in this country to pay for their crisis. The oil barons

(Continued on page 6)

hour shifts. In others, the speed of the assembly lines is cut 15 to 20 percent, but workers are expected to double up and do two jobs.

While the auto layoffs are supposed to coincide with the "energy crisis" and indicate that there will be a shift to smaller cars, the workers are very aware of the fact that the real luxury cars bought by the rich are being turned out as fast as ever. The wealthy won't be affected, it seems.

UAW officials, who have been challenged by the rising militancy in the auto plants this year, have seized on the layoffs as another excuse for not aggressively fighting the companies. When presented with grievances, the common response now is: We can't do anything now because of the layoffs—it's not a good time to put up a struggle.

But as the companies seize on this attitude to sharpen exploitation under the threat of further layoffs, they are likely to run head on into a rebellious and furious rank and file.

the rapacious DuPont company!—and whose president, Richard (Dixie) Sanger, achieved his position after he married the boss's daughter, a DuPont.

Of course, it is ridiculous to charge sanitation workers with "featherbedding" for performing one of the hardest, dirtiest, and most hazardous jobs for the miserly wage of \$133 per week before taxes.

So, when the mayor's plan was put into effect December 10, the sanitation union responded with a strike. But the city asked for and received an injunction that forced the workers back to work the next day.

Denied their right to strike, the workers fought back by refusing to be sped up and by refusing all overtime. When the season's first snow hit, the union leadership informed the rank and file that they had the right to refuse overtime. The city administration behaved in true police-state fashion. Local 320 president, Tom Ervin, a committeeman, and a shop steward were arrested for, among other things, trespassing!

Since that time, the city administration has received an extension of the injunction, but with additional restrictions. The workers are forbidden to engage in any slowdown—and the courts will determine if such a slowdown takes place! The union and the rank and file perceive the injunction and the arrests as a gun pointed at their backs.

Despite the injunction, garbage workers have been piling up as the garbage workers

(Continued on page 6)

Wilm. mayor 'cuts fat' by slashing sanitation jobs

By RAY CECI

WILMINGTON, Del., Jan. 2—Wilmington is not unlike many cities in the northeast. Narrow, crowded streets, row houses with small alleyways, a freeway running through the center of the city are some of its dominant physical characteristics.

As you approach the city, billboards greet the unsuspecting traveler with a promising message: "Wilmington—A Place to Be Somebody." In 1972, Wilmington was named an "All-American City." It is also known as the "chemical capital" of the world—a distinction earned because Wilmington is the heart of the huge DuPont empire.

Recently, the city and its young, ambitious mayor, Tom Maloney, have received national attention because of the mayor's "homesteading plan," a utopian scheme whereby the city "gives" prospective citizens abandoned houses in return for payment of delinquent taxes.

But behind the self-congratulatory facade and posturing, Wilmington is a city in trouble. It shares the crises common to all cities: financial chaos, declining social services, deteriorating mass transportation

systems, pollution, unemployment, high taxes, slum housing, etc.

NO "ECONOMY" IN CITY HALL

After ten months of grandstanding for the national media, the new mayor, known as Tom Terrific in some circles, decided to initiate an "economizing" drive designed to cut the fat from the budget. Did he take a cut in salary? No. Did any of his staff take a reduction in salary? No. Did the mayor order the elimination of superfluous personnel from his staff such as the Public Information Officer, an ex-newspaper reporter who receives a sinecure of \$14,000 for writing press releases? No.

But the mayor did order reductions of 40 percent in the garbage collection crews from five men to three, thereby eliminating 39 jobs. Actually, he reduced the efficiency of the crews 50 percent, since the chuckers (those who pick up the garbage) have been pared from four to two.

This extreme measure was viewed by many as a racist attack since the union, Local 320 of the AFSCME, is 99 percent Black. And there were no cuts ordered in any other departments. As one young Black woman so eloquently put it, "Doesn't the

Oil monopolies still raking it in

Shortage of oil, but not profits

By RAY CECI

Have you had to wait in line a half hour to get gas for your car and, when you finally pull up to the pump, found out that you must pay anywhere from 50 to 75 cents per gallon? What was once considered a bizarre exception is now a commonplace occurrence.

High prices, shortages, and long waits have aroused in the American people a deep hostility toward the major U.S. oil monopolies. They suspect that the oil companies' close relations with the Nixon administration are more responsible for the energy crisis than any boycott by the Arab countries. (Oil interests contributed more than \$4.9 million to Nixon's reelection campaign.)

MONOPOLIES CONCEAL DATA

Who is responsible for the energy crisis? The facts have been very difficult to ascertain. The oil industry seems to be expert at concealing oil reserve and cost data from the American people. Recently, the press ran accounts of how a government official destroyed data (obviously at the behest of some oil lobbyist) about thousands of acres of oil reserves in Louisiana that had been subpoenaed by a Senate subcommittee.

But, because of the pressures of the crisis, some information has leaked out. First, domestic U.S. consumption of Arab oil amounted to only 6 percent. But estimates of current domestic energy shortages range anywhere from 14 to 20 percent. So, no matter what the Arab oil-producing countries did, we would still be faced with shortages.

CRUDE OIL EVERYWHERE...

Secondly, on a worldwide basis, 1973 was a banner year for oil production. According to Christopher T. Rand, a Middle East specialist who worked for two oil companies, "The glut swelled in April, when President Nixon ended America's 14-year-old crude-oil-imports program. Within two months the steadily mounting output of Saudi Arabia's great producer, the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), shot up further to eight and a half million barrels a day."

Rand continues, "As the summer wore on, Europe certainly could not absorb the excess, and it had to be poured into the United States, which is the home of Aramco's parents (Exxon, Standard Oil of California, Texaco, and Mobil)."

In addition, there have been numerous reports of oil tankers jammed outside of ports waiting to berth and be unloaded, and oil barges backed up along the Ohio River. The question is then raised, if there is so much oil, why is there a gas shortage?

BUT NOT A DROP OF GAS

The answer is quite elementary. There aren't the oil refineries to refine the crude

oil. For years, world demand for oil has been growing at about 5 percent, yet refinery capacity has not been appreciably increased. The oil monopolies have found it more profitable to sell crude oil abroad than to build expensive new refineries or to expand existing facilities.

It is clear that these monopolies are not primarily in the business of producing oil, but in the business of making money. Leonard Silk, writing in The New York Times, January 8, reports, "The oil crisis appears to be bad news for everybody—except the oil industry itself. Exxon profits were up 59 percent over the first 9 months of 1972; Shell, up 41 percent; Gulf, up 60 percent; Standard of California, up 40 percent; and Occidental Petroleum, up a tidy 417 percent." (See accompanying chart.)

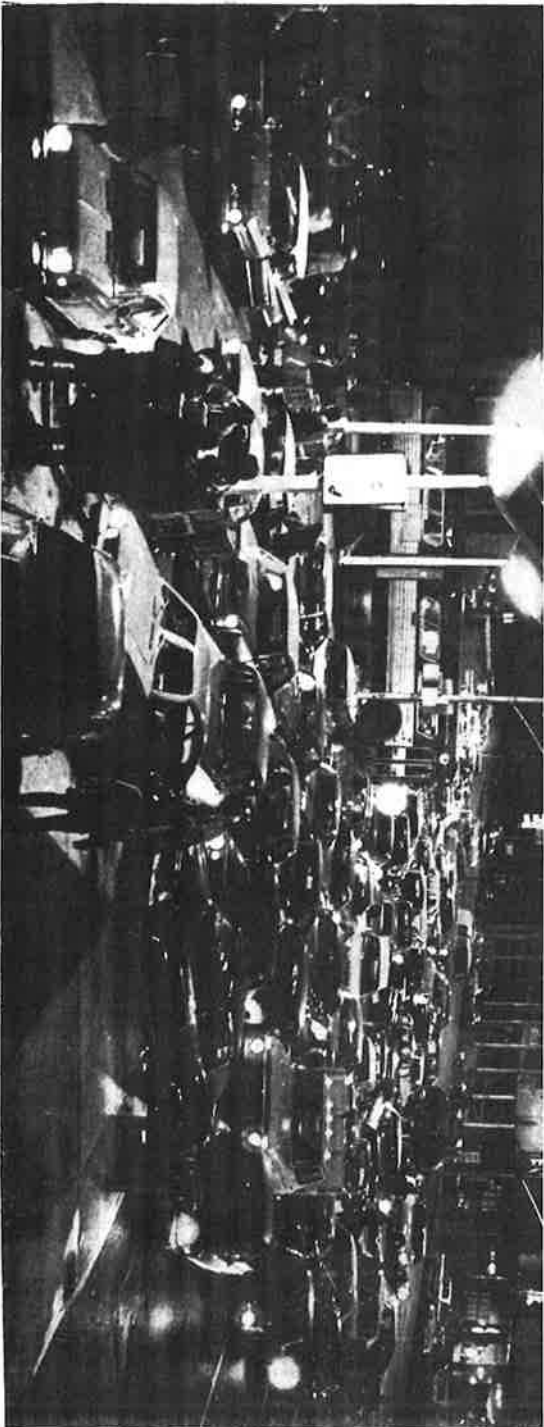
PENTAGON UPS DEMANDS

Another factor in the gas shortage is the role of the military. Not content with consuming 40 percent of all jet fuel produced by U.S. refiners, the parasitic Pentagon is

asking for a 10 to 15 percent oil supply increase for the present quarter on the grounds of "combat readiness." For the next fiscal year, the military fuel bill is projected at \$3.2 billion.

But, though the shortages in some ways are contrived, the crisis is, nonetheless, very real. Oil stock experts and insiders admit that for years the prices of Mideast crude oil were set, not in some Arab capital, but at Rockefeller Center in New York. The oil moguls thought in terms of an indefinite supply of crude oil and cheap labor. In the "good old days" circa 1970, Mideast oil cost 15 cents a barrel to produce, while in the U.S. the same barrel would cost \$1.50!

But the legacy of imperialism, and particularly the oil monopolies, in the Mideast is one of decades of perpetuating ignorance, poverty, disease, oppression, and national degradation and humiliation. The Arabs do not want to see their countries left some day like another Appalachia, with the land laid waste and the resources



A half-hour wait for a half a tank of gas is no longer uncommon. Do you think Rockefeller is in line?

Workers angry: 'We're paying through the nose!'

By JIM KOWALSKI

NEWARK, N.J., Jan. 5—Drivers in New Jersey are boiling mad about the energy crisis, and their anger is directed at Nixon and the big oil companies.

This is what a sampling of opinion of drivers waiting today at gas stations in the Newark area shows.

As their cars crept toward the gas pumps, Workers World asked the drivers: What do you think is the cause of this gas shortage? Who do you think is behind it?

At an Amoco station at Central Avenue and High Street in Newark, we got these responses.

R.S., social worker: "I've got the same opinion as everybody else got. That there ain't no gas shortage. It's just the major oil companies, you know, trying to raise the prices, and trying to squeeze out the smaller companies. I don't think it's no gas shortage when only 10 percent of our oil is imported. They can't put off on the Arabs."

A.J., a Ford Motors checker: "It's unreal. Because if it was for real we would have known ten years ago. Because I think we've got some of the best scientists and geologists in the world. They should know this. All of a sudden it just comes overnight. That's why I don't think it's really for real. I think this is just a little trick of our friend Nixon and the rest of the higher officials."

M.E., a secretary: "I think there's gas, you know, in the oil companies. And I think that they're just doing this so that they can raise the prices."

L.F., hospital worker: "I bought gas yesterday at Mobil oil and it has water in the gas. My car was blup-blup-blupping and I had to put Dry Gas in it to get started again. So, it's a whole lot of everything. And I think it's terrible. I think the President is behind it

and they should impeach him. He's got everything tied up. We can't get no gas, no food, no anything."

(Second woman): "That's right. He can afford to ride his dog from Maryland to his other hideaway. Just the dog in the car with the chauffeur, you know. And he got the gas. We don't have any. He can afford that stuff."

L.F.: "And it's killing the poor working class. Minority groups it's killing. And something should be done about it. It really should. You work hard and your dollar is taxed before you get it and it's taxed after you get it, and you can't even live now. And then he wonders why is crime going up. It can't help but be going up. And it's a shame for all those hundreds of thousands of people to be laid off who work in the airports and what-not behind this malarkey. With all those tankers waiting in the harbor with all that oil to come in, just waiting for the price to rise. And if he had been honest and hadn't promised these oil companies, who backed him up for the election, then the poor people wouldn't have to be paying for his dirty work. And we're paying through the nose."

At a Patmark station on Route 22 in Springfield, N.J., the sentiment was the same.

M.S., carpenter: "I don't believe we have a gasoline crisis. I think it's all a payoff for the campaign funds contributed to our friend Mr. Nixon. The consumer is the loser. The man working for a living. The man that supports the country. Who else? What's another dollar to the man who's rich?"

A.P., housewife: "I don't know if there really is a gas shortage. You wait on line a lot. Maybe they could be fooling and trying to get more money out of us."

J.W., construction worker: "I

depleted, with a mass of suffering people—hollow shells of human beings—all that remain.

Faced with the growing anger of the Arab masses, even the most reactionary Arab governments have been forced to act to gain some measure of control of their own lands and resources. The oil monopolies, through their agent the U.S. government, have been quick to react. They constantly raise the spectre of unleashing another imperialist war against the Arab people. Secretary of Defense (War), James Schlesinger, has been outspokenly aggressive in this regard.

But in the post-Vietnam-war era, the world correlation of forces has drastically changed. The imperialists are not likely to get their way. Nor should they. There is plenty of oil and other energy supplies to meet the needs of all humanity. The technology is there; the know-how is there. What is lacking is the organization.

The motor force of capitalist society is profit—not human need. The quick buck is the modus operandi. Consequently, long-term rational planning is impossible and crises, like the present one, are inevitable. Only with the overthrow of such an antiquated and outmoded system will these crises be avoided. Human culture demands it. History impatiently awaits it.

definitely think there's a deception. I read that a tank overflowed with heating oil because it was packed to capacity. I feel that there's a conspiracy among the major oil companies themselves, and we're paying through the nose."

H.J., salesman: "I think it's all created by the oil companies here, between them and the automobile companies, who want to retool for small cars. This is nothing new. You can't blame this on the Arab-Israeli war. I was paying 46 cents for gas in September, which was 6 weeks prior to the war. And I was down in Myrtle Beach in July and I was limited to eight gallons of gas then. It's entirely a deception here of the public by the big oil companies, the administration, and the automobile industry in general. They've realized finally that the Europeans and the Japanese bring small cars into this country, and they have to retool. And they need this retooling time here."

Finally, at a Getty station at Central Avenue and 14th Street in Newark, we got into this discussion with I.L., a chemical operator, and B.C., unemployed.

I.L.: "I think it's a lot of baloney."

B.C.: "What's a working man supposed to do?"

I.L.: "We can send gas over to Vietnam, right? I think it's a lot of baloney."

B.C.: "There's service stations you can go in and a man like me or him can't get gas." (Both men are Black—ed.)

I.L.: "It goes to effect on the poor man. The rich, they can get anything they want. They can go anywhere they want. If you don't know nobody, you can't get nothing. If you haven't got nothing, you can't get nothing. Why do the poor man got to suffer so much? Why do the rich man have everything he want in life? We all pay our taxes, and we should live together. It's not the point how much money you make out of life. The point is we can work together, why can't we live together? That's the principle of the thing."

Farah boycott

Charges dropped against CULA

ROCHESTER, N.Y., Jan. 9—Charges against the Center for United Labor Action (CULA) for boycott activities in support of the Farah strike were dismissed today by the National Labor Relations Board Administrative Law Judge Silberman, after the CULA had successfully mobilized trade union, civil rights, and popular support for its case.

The case has received nationwide attention and concern. Today's victory is especially important because at issue was the right of independent organizations to support strikers by organizing boycotts that are not subject to government interference and suppression.

Yesterday, the CULA case was presented by Alan Levine of the New York Civil Liberties Union. He gave an account of the wide range of labor struggles that CULA has initiated and worked on in the course of its history.

For his part, Bruce Rosenstein of the NLRB was unable to present a case for the government against CULA. His only "proof" of the NLRB charge that the CULA is an agent of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA), the union chosen by the Farah workers to represent

them, consisted of showing pictures of CULA members on picket lines called by the ACWA.

Rosenstein was unable to name any laws that had been violated and could not produce any written statement of a case against CULA, even when the judge gave him two days to do it. Judicial patience included six recesses in today's hearing, as well as frequent consultation with the lawyer for Sibley's, the department store that CULA has picketed in Rochester.

Sibley's and the NLRB had hoped to repeat the miscarriage of justice perpetrated when they earlier obtained an injunction against CULA picketing during the Christmas shopping season. The injunction had been granted without allowing the CULA and ACWA to present their cases.

But since the injunction the CULA has succeeded in bringing public attention and labor support to the case. Yesterday, Gavrielle Gemma of the national office of CULA was invited to address a full meeting of the Rochester Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO. This morning's edition of the Democrat & Chronicle carried a front-page photograph of CULA picketing Sibley's above a story on the case. A demonstration

of 35 supporters, most of whom were not CULA members, preceded today's hearing.

The injunction against CULA picketing is still in effect, and the NLRB may yet try to restrain CULA support for the Farah strike with other charges. But today's hearing convinced more people that the NLRB itself should be charged with a conspiracy to outlaw the Farah boycott and break the strike.

NLRB pro-Farah

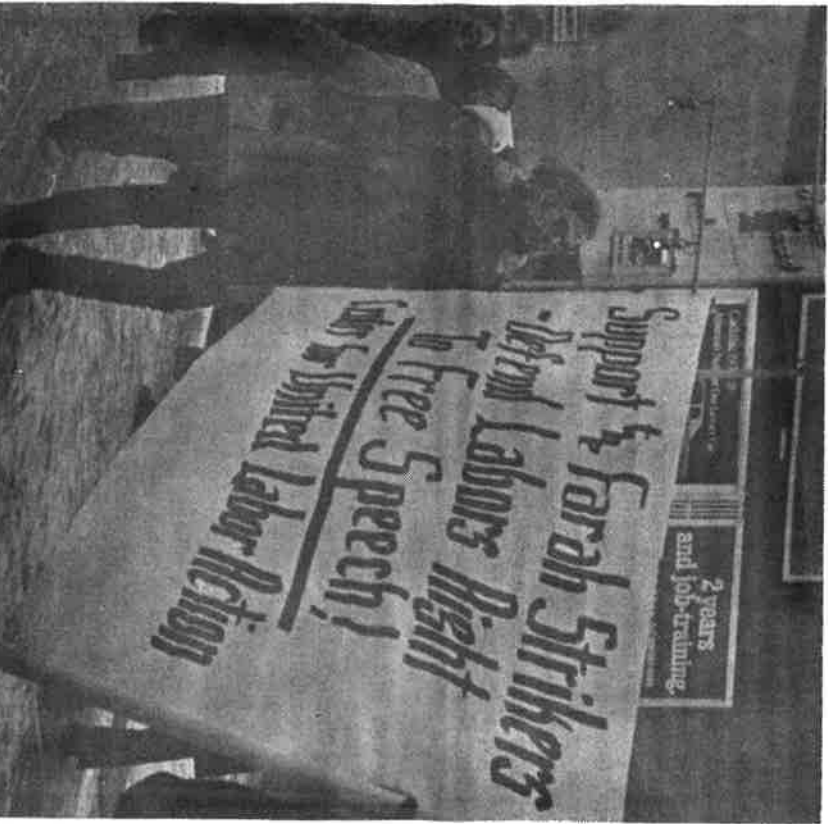
Following is a press release issued by the Center for United Labor Action:

NEW YORK, Jan. 2—The American Civil Liberties Union will be representing the Center for United Labor Action (CULA) at a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) hearing in Rochester, N.Y., on January 8, at 10 a.m., in the Federal Building, 100 State Street. The Rochester CULA will hold a Press Conference on the 8th at 9:30 a.m. in front of the Federal Building to discuss the case.

The NLRB took the Amalgamated



Successful demonstrations, like the one above, are the main reason Nixon's NLRB attacked CULA.



W W photo

Racist Shanker forces

Plot takeover of AFT

By J. STEVENS, a New York Teacher
Albert Shanker, President of New York's United Federation of Teachers, has launched a major campaign to wrest control of the national American Federation of Teachers from its current president, David Selden.

Through the development of the misnamed "Progressive Caucus" (of Shanker loyalists) on a national scale, and the expansion of his power base through the merger of teachers' organizations in New York State, Shanker now controls the AFT Executive Council. It was the December 7 vote of this Council, in opposition to its Black members, which resulted in a call for Selden's resignation.

From his position on the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, Shanker is working to bring AFT policy in line with the reactionary anti-Communism of George Meany and the racist attacks on Black and Latin communities which have become the

hallmark of Shanker's influence in New York City. Selden has not been willing or able at various times in the past to prevent the AFT from taking a position in opposition to the Vietnam war, from raising bail for AFT member Angela Davis, and from supporting McGovern in 1972.

Selden has finally taken his appeal to the membership, American Teacher, the newspaper of the AFT, features in its current issue a long article by Selden urging "union democracy," and hinting at Shanker's policies of deliberate racism.

William Simmons, leader of the primarily Black Washington D.C. local, has joined Selden in the effort to block Shanker. Black teachers' caucuses point to Shanker's record in New York, where the union followed Shanker's leadership in a vicious anti-community control "strike" in 1968. Also at issue is Shanker's role in the New York District 1 struggle for community control, where the parents have won a new election for District Board when a federal

court determined that Shanker forces there had rigged the earlier election in that oppressed community.

Furthermore, Shanker has opposed merger with the National Education Association unless the NEA agrees to remove its bylaws requiring proportional hiring and representation of minority teachers.

Selden's late attempts to resist the

Demonstration in support of the British workers

British government imposes 3-day workweek. Over 1 million workers laid off. By the end of the month, 15 million workers will be on a 3-day workweek (60 percent of the work force) and 6 million will be unemployed (24 percent of the work force).

Are the American workers next?

Friday, Jan. 25 — 5:00 p.m.
at BOAC office 530 Fifth Ave. (at 44th St.)

Sponsored by Youth Against War & Fascism
For further information call, 255-0352 or 989-3932

Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) and the CULA into Federal Court and obtained an injunction on November 21 pending the outcome of the January 8th hearing. The injunction bars any picketing by the CULA against Sibley's, the city's major seller of Farah pants.

The CULA has been supporting the Farah strike by calling for boycotts of stores throughout the country that continue to sell Farah pants. While the ACWA, like all unions, is prohibited by law from using this tactic, the CULA is within its constitutional right to do so.

The NLRB actions come at a time when the Farah Company has had to close 5 of its 7 plants, with the remaining ones operating only part time, and has lost over \$14 million. All this was the result of the strike and the successful boycott campaign. At this same time the Farah Company is seeking a national injunction to ban the entire Farah boycott campaign.

Mike Tlili, National Chairman of the CULA, said about the injunction: "The Farah strike and the right of labor to free speech is being endangered by the current court offensive of the Farah company and the NLRB. It is clear the government is aiding the attempt to stop nation-wide support for the Farah strike by holding the threat of an injunction over the heads of labor support organizations and labor unions."

CULA is being charged by the NLRB with being a labor organization as defined by the Taft-Hartley act—in other words, a collective bargaining union—and with being an agent of the ACWA.

Mike Tlili said of this: "Both of the NLRB allegations are absurd. The Center for United Labor Action is an independent organization of working people of all nationalities which supports the right of workers to unionize and their right to fight for a decent standard of living.

"The Farah company and the NLRB hope, by these charges, to construct a false case where the ACWA would be found liable for CULA actions. This ruling would allow the NLRB to claim that the ACWA violated the rules for conducting a boycott and thus make it possible for the NLRB to ban the boycott of Farah pants altogether. It would also mean a drastic extension of the powers of the NLRB by including labor support groups, such as the CULA, under the NLRB jurisdiction. The result would be that any group involved in support of any labor issue would have to submit to government control and regulation."

Mr. Tlili concluded his statement with: "We are issuing a call to all labor to stand on the side of the Farah workers and CULA in our fight against the company and the government. All forms of support are needed. The government must be shown that labor will fight to defend its rights."

Shanker tide, now that the battle is in the open, have won support from many teachers who understand Shanker's reactionary role.

Selden cannot convince those to whom Shanker has offered vice-presidencies in a projected vast expansion of the AFT bureaucracy, but stopping Shanker is the objective of many progressive teachers who advocate Selden's retention in office until his term expires in August of this year.



EDITORIAL

A second look at that day in October

New information has come to light about the crisis over the firing of Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox that reveals the deeper issues behind the incident.

Last October 20, Nixon ordered the firing of Archibald Cox, ordered his new FBI boss Clarence Kelly to send armed men to surround and shut down the offices of the Special Watergate Prosecutor, and, in effect, ordered a halt into the investigation of the long trail of crimes that lead from Watergate to the White House.

At the time Nixon claimed that Cox was obstructing a "deal" to turn over the tapes to the notoriously racist John Stennis.

But on January 5, The New York Times revealed that the true reason for the purge of Cox was "a White House fear that a grand jury would name President Nixon as a co-conspirator, but not a defendant, for his role in the Watergate cover-up."

Therefore, when Kelly bent to Nixon's will, just as the previous FBI head Grey (now facing indictment) had, he was acting as the agent for a criminal and aiding and abetting a felon in the cover-up of a crime. In fact, the FBI under Nixon's orders carried out a mini-coup in which Nixon measured his strength against his opponents within the ruling class. The ouster of Cox and top members of his staff, virtually at gun point, and the subsequent resignation of the United States Attorney General and Assistant Attorney General, did, of course, cause great consternation among large sections of the bourgeoisie and their spokesmen in Congress and the press. It was correctly pointed out that Nixon

had no real authority to fire Cox, since he had given his pledge to Congress that the special prosecutor's office would be independent from interference by the White House. But although Nixon had no legal jurisdiction to behold the investigation, he did have the state machinery in his hands, i.e., the military, the FBI, and the other instruments of repression.

When push came to shove, Nixon simply had far more gunmen than The New York Times and the U.S. Congress.

The blow struck by Nixon against Cox was not decisive in the sense that it did not end the storm of controversy raging within the ruling class about the Nixon presidency, nor did it absolutely ensure that Nixon would finish out his remaining years in office.

Nevertheless, the use of naked police power to suppress an investigation ordered by Congress and generally approved by the vast majority of the population may be a forerunner of things to come.

Last summer, John Dean handed over to the Senate Watergate committee secret White House papers that revealed a plot hatched on June 5, 1970, by Nixon and various high-ranking military and police officials, a conspiracy to rule the U.S. by extra-legal methods. As far back as three years ago, Nixon was preparing a plan to convert the U.S. into an out-and-out police state.

Who can say now what deeper issues may lie behind the struggle over the 500 tapes that Nixon has refused to turn over to the Ervin committee?

A THIRD WORLD WEEK of unity with the struggle of all oppressed people is being held the week of January 12-21 in Eugene, Oregon. The activities, which include films, speakers, discussions, and a march, are taking place at the University of Oregon and are sponsored by the Third World Students Coalition. Solidarity will be expressed with the struggle of prisoners in the U.S., of the Native American people, of the Palestinian and Arab peoples, and with the revolutions in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

For further information contact: Third World Student Coalition, 161 Madison St., Eugene, Oregon 97402.



Saint Spiro

The New York Times, Dec. 29, 1973:

"Three days ago and without fanfare, a controversial and unsmiling portrait of Spiro T. Agnew was hung in the reception room outside the Governor's office in the Maryland state house at Annapolis. 'There was just myself and two guys with hammer and nails,' said Lieut. Gov. Blair Lee 3d, when asked who attended the picture-hanging. The likeness of the former Vice President and Maryland governor which cost the state \$2,000, was to be hung last February, but Agnew aides whisked it away to Washington for a touch-up job, as there had been complaints about what appeared to be a halo around Mr. Agnew's head in the original version.

"The Agnew portrait now faces, across the reception room, a portrait of King Charles I of England, who issued the charter

—Fuel crisis and layoffs

(Continued from page 3)

want to blame the oil-producing nations for demanding a higher price for their oil.

But workers all over the U.S. are seeing through the lies of the oil companies and their apologists in the Nixon administration. As one angry worker at the A.O. Smith plant in Milwaukee put it: "Nixon puts you on the welfare roll and then he won't even give you welfare." Another worker at the same plant said, "The companies want to see the workers back down at the bottom of the ladder again." There is widespread distrust of the companies and government and many workers are seriously afraid of losing their cars and homes in the economic squeeze.

With a socialist, planned economy, however, where goods and services are produced for use and not for profit, there would be no reason for layoffs, and workers would not have to worry about freezing in the winter or not being able to get to work. This country, with all of its resources, would not only be able to guarantee all of us jobs and a decent standard of living, but would be able to give real substantial help to all the poor and oppressed countries, rather than depending on the super-exploitation of their workers in order to extort super-profits for a small group of billionaires.

—Wilm. cuts sanitation jobs

(Continued from page 3)

refuse to work overtime. On Thursday, December 27, when workers went to pick up their checks, 45 were handed summonses for a contempt of court hearing.

Mayor Maloney is counting on wearing out the public's patience, thus undermining support for the union. In addition, he keeps on holding out the illusion of a reduction in taxes, by claiming he is "saving" the city \$500,000.

MAYOR'S RECORD ON TAXES

Anyone familiar with the mayor's record knows that he doesn't care a whit about taxes on poor and working people. In fact, the money spent on cops following garbage crews to make sure the workers don't "malingering" has probably wiped out most of the alleged savings.

Too many people remember that the mayor spent the first months of his administration intensively lobbying the state legislature to extend the iniquitous city wage tax—a tax on earned income only. Income derived from capital gains, interest, and rents is exempt. Thus a sanitation worker who earns \$7,000 per year and a DuPont executive earning in excess of

believes it is the first to actively recruit and hire women on a large scale.

"We've had a real difficult time recruiting men," said Mr. Henderson. "We're between 50 and 75 guards short now."

"We've got to man the towers, and there's no reason a woman can't do as good a job as a man in a tower. They lock themselves in the towers, and all she's going to do is shoot somebody if they cross the fence."

"Maybe that's putting it a little bluntly but she's in the tower and that's what her job is—to watch people from crossing the outer part of the prison."

Price-gouger cites Nixon

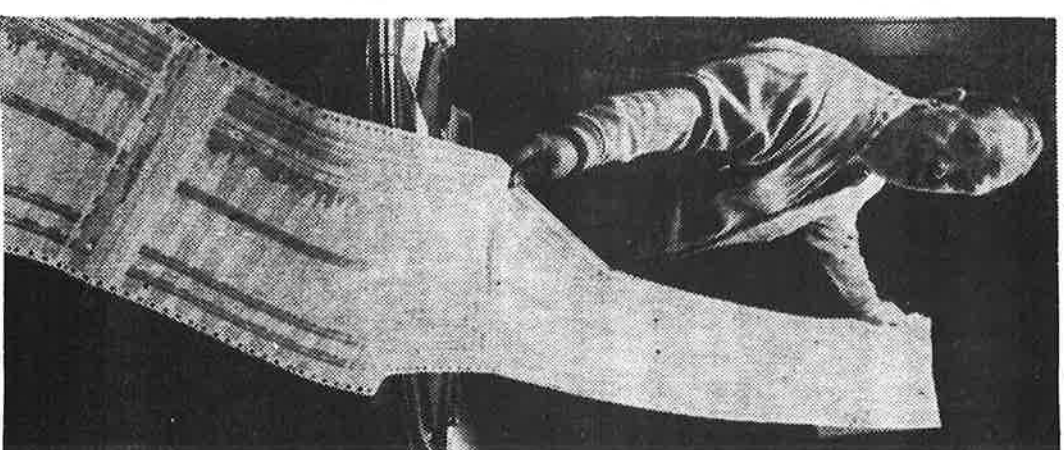
Chicago, Jan. 1 (UPI):

"Sam McBride, who owns the first gasoline station to be closed down for energy-crisis price violations, says he will not abide by court orders because neither does President Nixon."

"Mr. McBride, a 31-year-old policeman in Chicago's Westworth District, feels strongly that he is being victimized."

"He (the President) didn't give up the Watergate tapes," McBride said. "I'm not going to close my station."

"United States District Judge William



Computer printout of auto workers laid off. To the bosses we are just so many numbers.

\$100,000 pay the same percentage of taxes to the city. (In fact, the executive pays relatively less since only his salary is taxed, but his dividends on stocks, etc., go untouched.)

Quite naturally, the whole DuPont crowd, along with their big-business buddy, John Rollins (former national chairman of the Finance Committee of the Republican party), likes the way things are under the Maloney administration. And they won't hesitate to muster the full power of the state. Five years ago this month, the National Guard ended its nine-month occupation of the city of Wilmington, the longest peacetime occupation in U.S. history.

Faced with these formidable odds, the union has been pushing for a compromise. Surprisingly, Maloney has shown signs of cracking a little. He has agreed to put the matter to arbitration. Meanwhile, the union will be working with three-men crews. But only the growing unity of poor, working, and progressive people can ensure a compromise favorable to the workers. It was only that unity that forced the mayor to arbitrate the matter in the first place. Under the circumstances any compromise would be a victory for the workers and their union.

J. Bauer ordered Mr. McBride's Shell Service Station on the south side closed Sunday night after the Internal Revenue Service contended that attendants were selling gasoline for the equivalent of more than \$2 a gallon. Mr. McBride said he had not been charging for the gasoline, but the customers first had to buy a rabbit's foot and a legal will form, usually for \$10.

"Mr. McBride said yesterday, 'Why should I adhere to the court order when Nixon didn't give up the tapes and abide by a court order? If the man in the highest office of the land can ignore a court order, I can too.'"

U.S. Army serves the people (rich people, that is)

Washington, Jan. 3 (Reuters):

"Congressional investigators have found that United States Army troops and equipment were used to clear land for a private golf course in West Germany, Senator William Proxmire said today."

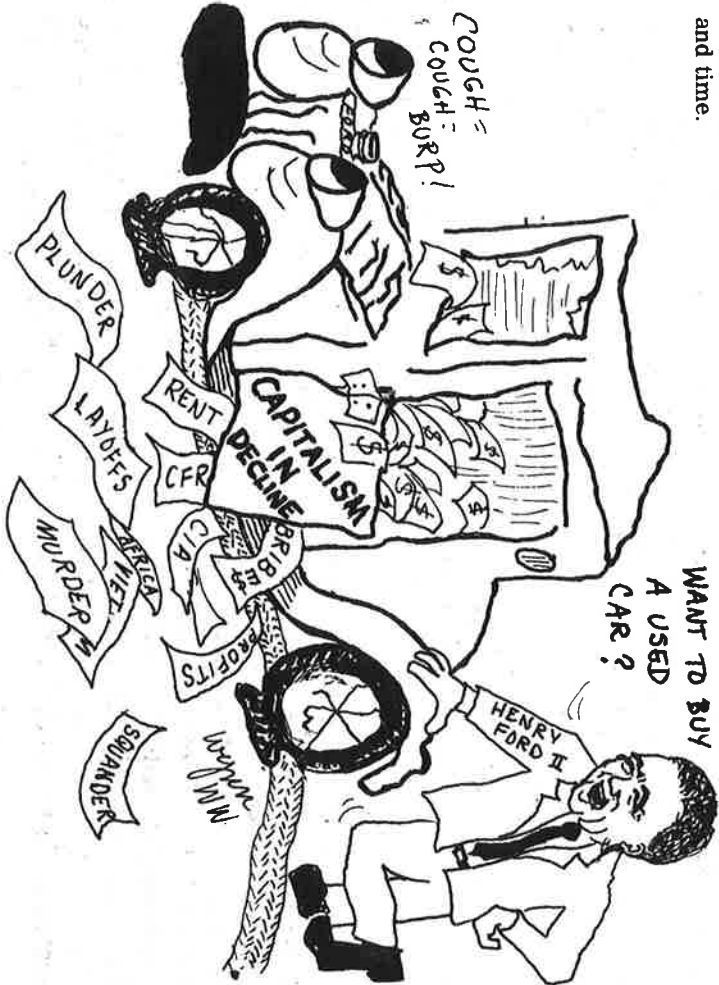
"The Wisconsin Democrat said that the General Accounting Office—the agency set up by Congress to watch Federal Government spending—had reported that about 500 to 600 Army men and 137 vehicles were used in the work."

KNOW YOUR RULING CLASS

Henry Ford drove the Ford Motor Co. workers with the guns and bludgeons of 600 hired gangsters. When the old man died in 1943, Henry III (who couldn't make it out of Yale) was whisked (from his desk) out of the wartime Navy to preside over the elephantine company, which lunders all over the "free" world, i.e. like "Tiger Cage" Thieu's S. Vietnam, where Philco-Ford Division profits off war materiel. The Ford Foundation helps train the CIA, Army War College, and State Department in "international studies," or "how to infiltrate and sabotage other countries."

Henry once had to worry about where to order \$60,000 worth of magnolia leaves for a family debut, but now he worries about Argentinian guerrillas who are busy collecting millions from him as ransom for his kidnapped thugs (he calls them executives).

Ford is running out of "better ideas" ... and time.



'Objective,' 'independent' reporters—for the CIA

By SHARON SHELTON

Newsweek magazine advertises itself as "the news weekly that separates fact from opinion." The New York Times boasts that it publishes "all the news that's fit to print." The Christian Science Monitor editorializes that a newspaper should print what "the public should know but the government would prefer to withhold."

Objective, independent, a watchdog over government on behalf of the public—this is the way that the establishment press in the United States would like to portray itself. And since the publication of the Pentagon Papers and the Watergate exposures, many people might be misled into agreeing.

Yet, in late November, a news item appeared in the Washington Star disclosing that at least 40 overseas reporters are on the payroll of the CIA. Five of these, the article revealed, are full-time correspondents for major publications. And how many more haven't had their covers blown?

For example, in 1967 amidst a massive series of disclosures of groups underwritten by the CIA, it was revealed that the American Newspaper Guild as well as magazines and book publishers were receiving CIA money. In 1970, the privately owned serviceman's newspaper, Overseas Weekly, disclosed that the CIA wanted to add two of its agents to the staff in return for help in distributing the paper to servicemen. The same year, it came out that four government agents were given accreditation as correspondents in Saigon.

The FBI, too, has gotten in on the act—a fact that was dramatically brought home at the trial of the Chicago 8, when a photographer and a television reporter-cameraman testified that they had been on the FBI payroll while simultaneously working as newsmen covering demonstrations across the country.

What all this means, of course, is that much of the reporting of world events as well as demonstrations at home is not done by "watchdogs of government" or even by "independent" observers. Instead, it may be prepared by agents of the government itself.

But, what about the critical articles on Vietnam, and the accounts of criminal activity by the Nixon administration? Aren't these instances where newspapers printed what "the public should know but the government would prefer to withhold"?

THE PRESS AND VIETNAM

The press was not always critical of the war in Vietnam. In 1962, a reporter complained, "Too often correspondents are regarded by the American mission as tools of foreign policy. Those who balk are apt to find it a bit lonely. . . ." During these years, there were actually very few U.S. reporters even covering Vietnam—what war news found its way into print came too often straight from Pentagon news releases.

When it was "just" the radicals opposing the war, press coverage was minimal. In fact, as late as 1969, the press barely covered the November Moratorium—even though it was one of the largest protests held in Washington. Was it just a coincidence that two days before, Agnew had attacked the networks? It wasn't until a sizable sector of the capitalist class decided that the war couldn't be won that the press made an about-face on Vietnam.

AND ON WATERGATE

After the Watergate break-in was disclosed, only 14 of the 2,200 press members in Washington made an effort to investigate. Despite what had happened, 93 percent of the newspapers in the U.S. supported Nixon in the election. It was only later, when the campaign against Nixon began to ac-

Gov't aids sharp rise of segregation in South

By BOB McCUBBIN

For many years before the 1954 Supreme Court ruling, the Black people and progressive whites of the South fought against the dictum of "equal but separate education." In practice this formula meant inadequate education for poor and working class whites and no education for Blacks. In desperation, many Black communities in the South made efforts to set up their own schools, often church schools. But these schools were financially starved by the racist educational structure, and could often provide only the most rudimentary training for each new generation. In the meantime, of course, the Black parents continued to be taxed to pay for, among other things, the white public school system.

The 1954 Supreme Court ruling and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (both resulting from tremendous mass pressures) were supposed to change all this. But according to a recent report issued by the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, it is still difficult, if not impossible, for Black students to get into white schools in some areas of the South. In other areas, strict quotas supposedly set up to facilitate the admission of Blacks are now used to keep the enrollment of Blacks from increasing any further. And finally, an accelerating movement of what are termed "segregation academies" threatens to reverse, at least in certain areas of the South, the educational gains that Blacks have won through so much struggle.

The motive behind the segregation academies is simple—they are a racist response to the desegregation of southern public schools. They operate on the basis of donations, tuition charges, and free use of church facilities (mainly the churches of the Southern Baptist Convention but also Catholic, Methodist, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Seventh Day Adventist facilities). They also got the connivance and illegal aid of various government officials and agencies, including the Federal Internal Revenue Service (IRS).

According to a report by John Edgerton, in South Today at least 1,000 of these private all-white schools have opened in the past decade. He estimates their present combined enrollment at between a quarter of a million and half a million students. In South Carolina alone, 111 private schools were started between 1964 and 1972, the years when public school desegregation was taking place there. Of the 111 new schools,

celerate within the ruling class and its political strategists, that the press began to seize upon Watergate and reveal the many criminal acts carried out by the Nixon group.

A look at who owns the press should dispel any illusions about its "independence." The same New York Times that so eagerly published the Pentagon Papers and came out against the war in Vietnam is controlled by a web of Morgan banking interests and interlocks with ITT, American Can Company, Grumman Aircraft, and other huge concerns. Besides owning or influencing four major newspapers in large cities, the Times also owns 16 smaller dailies, four magazines, a TV station in Memphis, and radio stations in New York City. Its assets approach \$120 million.

The Washington Post of Watergate fame is controlled by the very same group of financiers that runs the Times—the Morgan interests. Interlocked with the Post are Allied Chemical, Ford, IBM, and others. With assets of \$31 million, the Post owns Newsweek, three TV stations, Art News, and a publishing company.

ABC is another of the concerns controlled by the powerful Morgan group. This network owns 434 motion picture theaters, many record and cinema companies, as well as TV interests in 17 countries. Interlocks

are completely segregated. According to NAACP researchers, South Carolina does not regulate these schools in any way and it sets no minimum standards for their educational programs.

The NAACP researchers have evidence that equipment, buildings, and land belonging to the state's public school systems have been transferred to these private schools, that the private schools have been allowed the use of public school facilities, and that many public school board members, administrators, teachers, and superintendents are involved in the administration and financing of the segregation academies. Despite the fact that these schools bar Black children from admission, the IRS has classified 30 of them as tax-exempt institutions. There is evidence, too, that individuals donating to these schools have had no trouble claiming tax deductions for their contributions, even for donations to schools not enjoying the tax-exempt status.

The situation in Memphis, Tennessee, where the schools were completely segregated until last January, has quickly become critical. Nearly half of the white students there have left the public school system, so despite an annexation that added 4,500 white students to the city system, white student enrollment has declined from 69,809 in 1970 to 35,799 this fall. Forty-two new segregation academies, most sponsored by churches, have opened their doors to the white exodus from the public schools. This doesn't mean that the Black people of Memphis are being left to control the schools and give their children the kind of education they want. But it does mean that financially the situation for public education in Memphis is growing critical. The white exodus has cost the public schools \$4 million in state and local aid so far.

Racism has always been a tool of the ruling class and, by super-oppressing Black people, makes it easier for the bosses to exploit white workers, too. It can only be conquered by developing concrete white support of Black peoples' rights. In terms of education, this means both the right of Blacks and other oppressed peoples to complete control of their own schools and the right of Blacks and other oppressed people to attend schools outside their own communities when they so choose.

include Allied Stores, Chrysler Corporation, American Airlines, the Western Pacific Railroad, and others. Its assets are \$295 million.

Morgan and Rockefeller interests share CBS. Among its interlocks are Union Pacific Railroad, Atlantic Richfield, Eastern Airlines, Borden's, Fairchild Camera, and International Paper. With assets of \$857 million, CBS owns publishing companies, Columbia Records, the New York Yankees, and several magazines.

Another network shared by Rockefeller and the Morgan group is NBC. This network also interlocks with many banks and insurance companies as well as with ITT, Macey's, Atlas Chemical, Continental Can Company, Ralston Purina, Texas Gulf Sulfur, and Hess Oil. NBC directly owns several publishing companies, Hertz Car Rentals, RCA, Banquet Foods, among others. Its assets tower at \$3 billion.

No, the press is not independent from either the police agencies of the U.S. government or the huge and powerful financial interests that are behind them. When it appears to be progressively anti-Nixon and against the war in Vietnam, it is merely reflecting differences within the capitalist class about how best to maintain its rule. But ultimately, the real concern of the press—from The New York Times to NBC—lies with all the news that Morgan and Rockefeller see fit to print.



Some of the Bolshevik prisoners on the 'train of death,' 2,000 of whom were shot, starved, or frozen to death.

Civil war death train for Red prisoners

Following are excerpts from the diary of Rudolph Bukely, a Red Cross worker who was at the front in the Soviet Union during the civil war. He describes the treatment of Soviet soldiers at the hands of the imperialist-backed White Guard army after the Allies intervened in Siberia:

"It is the eighteenth day of November, 1918! I am at Nikolsk-Ussurisk in Siberia. In the past two days I have seen enough misery to fill a lifetime. I have seen, through the windows of box-cars forty animals who once were human men, women, and children; faces glared at me which I could not recognize as human beings.

"This 'train of death,' for by that name all Eastern Siberia now knows it, left Samara about six weeks ago in

the charge of Russian (White Guard—ed.) officers. It had on board at that time 2,100 prisoners of all sorts. "Since that day 800 of these wretches have died from starvation, filth, and disease.

"The Russian officer in charge of the train has made inconsistent statements about the reasons why these people have been subjected to such awful deprivation and abuse. Often for days at a time there has been no one to give them bread. Were it not for the kindness of the poor villagers who, with tears running down their cheeks, give them what little they can afford, they would be absolutely without nourishment."

(Many such death trains were run back and forth across Siberia by the counterrevolutionary armies in an attempt to intimidate the rest of the population into submission.)

Who is Solzhenitsyn?

By TOM MITCHELL
Of the grouping of intellectuals in the Soviet Union described in this country as "dissidents," Alexander Solzhenitsyn has been the center of publicity in the capitalist press.

Solzhenitsyn was born in 1918 into a rich landlord family. His father, a former czarist officer, committed suicide when the Red Army took control of the huge family feudal estate. Brought up by his aunt, Solzhenitsyn completed advanced schooling, was drafted into the Red Army, and then was promoted during WWII to the rank of captain.

Solzhenitsyn began writing letters to a friend on another front complaining about "Big Shot," Stalin. In the arrest that followed, it was charged that he was actively trying to develop a grouping opposed to the power in Stalin's hands. Solzhenitsyn spent 8 years in a prison camp, from his wartime arrest in 1945 as an officer until Stalin's death in 1953.

His fortunes changed with the accession of Khrushchev, and his literary work was promoted by the Soviet leadership. In November 1962, Solzhenitsyn appeared in print for the first time when *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* was published with the approval of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Telling of the hardship and suffering of

prisoners in a Stalinist work camp, this short story coincided with Khrushchev's 1956 denunciation of Stalin's excesses at the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

In January and July 1963, two more short works by Solzhenitsyn were published. Then in August 1963, the short story *For the Good of the Cause* was printed. It was reprinted in the U.S. by Praeger paperbacks, which has since been exposed as receiving CIA funds. There followed an exchange of criticism and support that resulted in the censorship of any further publication by Solzhenitsyn in the USSR, except for one story in 1966.

For the *Good of the Cause* is the fictional account of an incredible injustice perpetrated by Communist Party bureaucrats on the students and teachers of a technical high school. It portrays the officials as both physically and morally repulsive, with no motivation except their personal gain.

Since that time Solzhenitsyn has been published only outside the USSR, including the novels *The First Circle*, *Cancer Ward*, and *August 1914*. In 1969, he was expelled from the Writer's Union of the USSR for his refusal to write anything but negative impressions of Soviet life, but has been living off royalties from abroad, which amount to

(Continued on page 11)

What's behind the campaign

By SAM MARCY

What accounts for the massive and utterly unprecedented publicity campaign for Solzhenitsyn's book which has occasioned banner headlines in the American press from Bangor, Maine, to Los Angeles, and in parts of Europe as well?

Certainly it cannot be the whim of one publisher. The Sulzberger family, which controls *The New York Times*, is a billionaire dynasty. But it is only one of many dynastic financial and industrial monopolist groups which dominate and control the lifeblood of this country. It alone could not possibly be responsible for launching such a violent and ugly tirade against the Soviet Union unless it represents a more or less formidable trend in the summits of the U.S. ruling class.

ANTI-REVOLUTIONARY LIES

The highlights published in the *Times* are sufficient to show that Solzhenitsyn's book is rotten trash. He has warmed over

"The Solzhenitsyn offensive is a way of (the U.S.) telling the Soviet leaders that Washington was keenly disappointed at not getting the kind of aid and cooperation which Washington had expected to come swiftly from Moscow in the wake of the October Arab-Israeli struggle."

and put in literary form all the lies and slanders about the Bolshevik Revolution, the Civil War, and the early efforts of the Soviet Union, under Lenin and his collaborators, to build a new life for the workers and peasants of the USSR.

Solzhenitsyn deliberately confuses the wholly legitimate and entirely justifiable revolutionary measures taken by the Soviet government during Lenin's time to defend the precious gains of the Revolution, with the well-known excesses of the Stalin era.

There was less violence engendered by the world historic victory of the monumental October uprising which established the Soviet Republic than there is in any one year of "normal," "routine" violence practiced by the police against the poor and oppressed in the United States! The October Revolution was practically a "bloodless" insurrection.

The violence that took place after the October uprising was initiated by the stubborn resistance of the former possessing classes, which refused to abide by the legal norms set up by the new revolutionary government of workers and peasants. It was the former landlords and capitalists who started the Civil War, aided and abetted by the worldwide imperialist bourgeoisie, which openly intervened with 14 separate military expeditions, and tried to set up military puppets such as Deniken, Kolchek, and Wrangel—the forerunners of Chiang Kai-shek, Diem, and Thieu.

The miracle of the 20th century is that the combined efforts of the worldwide bourgeoisie to isolate, blockade, starve, and crush the young socialist republic failed. Fifty-seven years and 13 socialist transformations thereafter find the bourgeoisie still desperately trying, and badly in need of a Solzhenitsyn to bolster its waning fortunes.

CONFUSES REVOLUTION WITH THERMIDOREAN REACTION

The mass suppression of civil liberties in the Soviet Union during the Stalin era, the severe repressions meted out to hundreds of thousands of innocent victims on the basis of false and fraudulent accusations, and the responsibility for this on the part of Stalin

are exploited, manipulated, and distorted by Solzhenitsyn, and in many cases, such as during the heroic struggle of the Soviet people against the Nazi invasion, completely falsified.

His is by no means an honest, or even original, attempt to put the terrible events of the Stalin era in their true historical setting. He deliberately jumps the incidental and purely defensive violence of the Soviet government during Lenin's time with the Thermidorean reaction and violence engendered by the Stalin period. The latter represented a swing of the historical pendulum to the right, which resulted in a deformation of the proletarian character of the first workers' state in history through the medium of a monstrous, absolutist bureaucracy resting on the shoulders of the workers and peasants.

However, this bureaucracy was forced to continue, albeit at great human cost wholly unnecessary, the socialist construction which has made the USSR the mighty fortress of the working class which it still is—in spite of all bureaucratic deformations, and not because of them.

Indeed, the Soviet Union is regarded today by a variety of its opponents as a superpower. But it has become one only because it rests on a mighty social foundation: the collective ownership of all means of production, and the centralized planning of the economy which alone has enabled it to rise from a semi-feudal, semi-colonial basis. It has done this in an age when imperialism would otherwise have strangled its development and drained it of its resources.

It is this stupendous development of the socialist planned economy which frustrates the imperialists and forces them to dredge up a Solzhenitsyn.

WHY THE TIMES?

ANTI-COMMUNIST CRUSADE NOW?

It is inconceivable that the Sulzberger dynasty could have unloaded Solzhenitsyn's giant vial of poison on an unsuspecting public without prearrangement and consultation with its allies in the ruling establishment.

But why now? What do they hope to accomplish with it? Does it herald a new anti-communist crusade? Is Solzhenitsyn's book calculated to be a space-age version of

Radio "Free" CIA

The Gulag Archipelago will be broadcast over Radio "Liberty" to the Soviet Union in Russian and 17 other languages. The 600-page book will be read in installments and broadcast over Radio "Liberty's" short-wave transmitters in fascist Spain.

Summaries and analyses of Solzhenitsyn's book are also being beamed to Eastern Europe by Radio "Free" Europe and the Voice of America.

In 1967, it was revealed that Radio "Free" Europe, which purported to be a privately financed station, was actually financed by the Central Intelligence Agency through a conduit known as the Hobby Foundation.

Radio "Liberty" began western hemisphere broadcasts in 1963 with propaganda beamed at Cuba.

Whittaker Chamber's infamous "The Witness"?

Certainly a good part of the answer to the question lies in the need to divert the attention of the masses at home from the severe economic situation resulting from galloping inflation and the growing energy crisis—which of course also applies to a good deal of Europe and even more so to Japan. But that is only part of the answer. The reasons for launching the anti-

Sign for Solzhenitsyn?

Soviet offensive go much deeper and are much more profound. They lie in the character of the recent evolution of the reciprocal relations between the U.S. and the USSR, the growing concern and disappointment in the ruling class with the so-called detente, and the ever more precarious situation of the U.S. world

“The so-called Jackson amendment giving force and effect to the anti-Soviet outcry reached such proportions as to make it pretty self-evident that a large section of the ruling class was deliberately putting obstacles in the way of U.S.-Soviet economic relations.”
.....

position as challenges to the Nixon administration from abroad mount daily.

U.S. WANTS MORE OUT OF DETENTE
The Solzhenitsyn offensive is a way of telling the Soviet leaders that Washington was keenly disappointed at not getting the kind of aid and cooperation which Washington had expected to come swiftly from Moscow in the wake of the October Arab-Israeli struggle. No matter what the course of Soviet participation with the U.S. will be in the Geneva conference, the ruling class here tends more and more to blame Moscow for the Arab oil cutoff, for the new statute that the Arab states have achieved following the October war, and for the general decline of U.S. fortunes in Europe as well as elsewhere.

No matter how limited the military support, nor how negligible the political and diplomatic support of the Soviet Union may seem to the militant and revolutionary Arabs, in the eyes of Washington it is the Soviet Union which is responsible for the debacle the U.S. is suffering in the Mideast. But long before the October war, the U.S. detente with the USSR was coming under increasing attack.

The economic rationale on the Soviet side for the diplomatic rapprochement between the U.S. and the USSR (which is what the detente or accommodation amounts to) was based on the hopes that it would be able to consummate long-term trade agreements with the U.S. These would be of such vast size and over such a long period as to make U.S. economic interest in the Soviet Union a major factor in obstructing the warlike and aggressive tendency inherent in U.S. monopoly capitalism. According to this view, trade and commerce would link the economies of the two countries together, make them mutually dependent upon each other, and then strengthen the basis for so-called peaceful coexistence.

On the U.S. side, the rationale was, and of course still remains, that the detente would influence the Soviet leadership to act not only as a restraining force over the developing and dependent countries, but to be virtually co-police with the U.S.—a role not altogether displeasing to the Soviet leaders.

As has usually happened with previous grand designs in diplomatic rap-prochements, the leaders suffer from extravagant and baseless self-confidence that they can manipulate the living class struggle and squelch the irresistible tide of the national liberation movements and the revolutionary struggle in general.

It was inevitable that the results of the October Arab-Israeli war would disappoint Washington and demonstrate the severe limitations of the Soviet leadership in exercising the kind of restraint Washington expected them to urge upon the Arab people. Nor could the Soviet leaders afford to forget that an Israeli victory would strengthen the

hand of U.S. imperialism against the USSR and, moreover, in an area not too far from the Soviet border.

THE TRADE DEALS
But as we said above, long before the outbreak of the October Arab-Israeli war the U.S. ruling circles began to attack the detente. They didn't attack it in general, for by this time it had become a synonym for peace and peaceful accommodation, but they went after the specific commercial deals which were in the making, which, after all, were considered the very basis for the agreements.

First there was the wheat deal, from which the grain and wheat millionaires raked in fabulous and extortionate profits. When this was exposed, it was used not to indict the grain trust, but to create anti-Soviet hysteria. The press and the media did their best to steer it in that direction. Not a very good beginning for detente.

But much more significantly, the huge commercial deals by which the USSR expected to sell natural gas, minerals, and oil in exchange for certain types of U.S. technology also came under severe attack.

The New York Times led the parade, and soon there was one of the most vicious campaigns to enlist the U.S. Congress to bar the Soviet Union from receiving “most favored” (nondiscriminatory) treatment by the U.S. government in matters of trade and commerce. The so-called Jackson amendment giving force and effect to this anti-Soviet outcry reached such proportions as to make it pretty self-evident that a large section of the ruling class was deliberately putting obstacles in the way of U.S.-Soviet economic relations.

This explodes one of the cherished revisionist dogmas that flowered during the Khrushchev period—that peaceful economic competition was the way out of the Cold War tensions. But imperialism has never been able to have that abstract free trade they boast about—not even centuries ago.

What they really meant by trade was the right to raid the resources of underdeveloped countries, the right to plunder and pillage them. And they did it with the old “3M” formula—missionaries, merchants, and marines.

When the imperialists say now that in order for there to be “free” trade with the Soviet Union, there first has to be more political “freedom,” they really are pushing for a space-age version of the 3M’s, and they see the Soviet “dissidents”—those who are clearly counterrevolutionary, as is Solzhenitsyn—as the modern missionaries of capitalist ideology.

Of course, there have been significant agreements between the U.S. and the USSR whose execution will not necessarily be contingent on the Jackson amendment. And these agreements may add up to billions of dollars. But they are agreements that amount to executory contracts, contracts on which performance may be in the distant future. Some may have been partly executed already or will be carried out in the near future, but there are devices built-in by both sides which make it possible for either party to break them off without doing grave damage to either the U.S. or the USSR. Furthermore, the sum total of U.S.-USSR trade, even if a good deal of the contracts are carried out, will still be a small part of U.S. foreign trade.

TRADE DEALS AND ENERGY CRISIS

The energy crisis has given new impetus to a drive for so-called self-sufficiency in the U.S., particularly in matters of oil and natural gas. Even though the drive is 90 percent unalloyed phony propaganda, at least at the present time, the cutting edge of this propaganda is being directed against the USSR. Any long-term agreement to develop the USSR’s natural gas resources in

(Continued on page 10)



A soldier of the Red Army captured by the Whites. He confesses he is a Communist and is bound to a stake to be shot.

White Guards execute Red Army regiment

Following is an excerpt from a description of the extermination of a Red Army regiment at the hands of the counterrevolution. It was published in the German anti-Bolshevik daily Der Tag on September 7, 1919:

“As you know the Bolsheviks changed the names of the old regiments. The Moscow troops have ‘K.L.’ on their shoulder straps—the initials of Karl Liebknecht. We captured one of these regiments and they were tried. The trial at the White front is brief. Every soldier

is examined, and if he admits that he is a Communist he is immediately sentenced to death by hanging or shooting. The Reds are well aware of this.

“Lieutenant K. approached the captured regiment and said: ‘Those of you who are true Communists show yourselves courageously and step forward.’ A painfully oppressive interval.... Slowly in closed ranks over half of the regiment steps forward. They are sentenced to be shot. But before being shot they must dig their own graves.”

Solzhenitsyn distorts history

By NAOMI COHEN

After every revolution, the defeated ruling class spreads stories of the horrors committed by the new order. Almost 200 years after the French Revolution, reactionaries still talk about the period of the Jacobin “terror” with all the horror of the old feudal classes.

The violence of the poor and downtrodden against their oppressors is rarely comparable to the violence of the rich against the poor, however. Far more people (almost all workers) were killed in the two weeks of bloody suppression of the Paris Commune in 1871 than in the whole period of the Jacobin reign.

More recently, the horror stories told by the pro-Batista fascists about the Cuban Revolution show how far a defeated reactionary class can go in slandering the workers’ victory. They never say a word about the tortures and killings of the Batista regime, nor of the free medical care, education, housing, and guaranteed work won by the people of Cuba as a result of the revolution.

Solzhenitsyn’s book, *The Gulag Archipelago*, 1918-1956 as excepted by *The New York Times* and other capitalist newspapers all over the U.S. recently, reads like just such a counterrevolutionary tract.

SYMPATHIZES WITH THE OPPRESSORS

Solzhenitsyn’s method is to try to obliterate the true history of the Russian Revolution and create sympathy for the counterrevolutionaries—the church leaders, princes and princesses, Czarist officers, capitalists, and rich kulaks—who fell at the

hands of the revolution. He uses the excesses of the Stalin period to weave a tale of half-truths and outright lies, and comes to the conclusion that socialism itself is at fault.

The entire “evidence” for all this is woven into the text with such phrases as “rumors fresh at the time” or “it was believed that.” This is reprinted in the capitalist press here as if it were the gospel truth.

Harrison Salisbury of *The New York Times* praises the book for presenting “a torrent of evidence” about what he says was the fundamentally repressive character of the Soviet regime from the beginning.

Let’s hear some of this “torrent of evidence”:

“Then the Kirov wave from Leningrad began,” writes Solzhenitsyn. “It is estimated (who estimated?—ed.) that one-quarter of Leningrad was purged . . . in 1934-35.” Further on he writes that “according to Moscow rumors” Stalin was planning a pogrom of Jews in 1953 and had barracks all prepared in Siberia to house the survivors.

The fact that this never took place is unimportant to Solzhenitsyn (and to Harrison Salisbury, who bases a whole article in the *Times* on this rumor). But the writer never mentions the fact that the Czar, whom he finds so benign compared to the socialist regime, constantly organized pogroms against Russian Jews.

ANTI-LENINIST

The evil and injustice, according to Solzhenitsyn, began with Lenin, the founder

(Continued on page 12)

Soviet leaders answered on Solzhenitsyn

This is the first of a series of articles in which *Workers World* will summarize the positions of other tendencies in the world Marxist movement on the bourgeois opposition in the Soviet Union, labeled "dissident" by the West.

In our analysis accompanying each position, we will attempt to show how, in different ways, each fails to answer the question: What is the class character of the opposition as a social phenomenon within Soviet society, and how did it arise? We will also point out how these other analyses either fall into the category of blind acceptance of the line of the Soviet leaders, or chime in with the anti-Soviet campaign launched by the imperialist bourgeoisie.

.....

The Soviet leaders are on relatively firm ground when they denounce the publication of Solzhenitsyn's book *Gulag Archipelago* in the West as part of an anti-Soviet campaign by the "opponents of detente." But they deliberately conceal the truth when it comes to explaining why, after 56 years of tremendous socialist construction, there should exist a bourgeois opposition within the Soviet Union.

Their characterizations of Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov, and others are petty and personal, devoid of any objective analysis. Thus, in a Tass statement of January 2, which was the Soviet leaders' first reaction to the massive bourgeois campaign over *Gulag Archipelago*, the only explanation of a possible motive for Solzhenitsyn's behavior is given in the statement that he is inspired by "impotent rage."

The CPUSA, long adept at restating the Soviet position, has presented us with an elaboration of their argument, however. In a recent pamphlet on Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov, CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall wrote: "Only a swindler or one who lives totally in a make-believe world could conjure up such fantasies." Elsewhere, he states, "One is reluctant to believe that anyone in his right mind could write such utter political garbage."

Hall puts the finishing touch on this "psychological misfit" theory by painting a picture of the opposition as just a handful of bad "weeds."

Is that all there is to it? Could a group of frustrated misfits have the cohesiveness to constitute a significant challenge to the Soviet leadership? On the one hand, the party spokesmen belittle the opposition, claiming it amounts to only a few "individuals." Then why the heavy repression against them?

Why not publish some of their works in order to expose them? If Gus Hall can see that it is "utter garbage," certainly any Soviet worker could do as well or better.

Obviously, the police-state treatment of the opposition has not gone to its roots, but rather feeds the opposition and has even helped it to win sympathizers.

WHERE'S THEIR MARXISM?

Marxism teaches that ideological groupings arise out of material and economic relations. What do these oppositionists have in common? This is Gus Hall's very interesting explanation:

"Those who have no experience with the class struggle, and who also have no direct experience with the process of production under socialism and no personal experience of physical labor, seem to be more vulnerable to imperialist propaganda. Most of them seem to have been so totally engrossed in some narrow or specific field of study, or human endeavor, that they have not kept up with, or studied, the sciences that give an understanding of the overall developments in the struggle for human progress. They seem to have very little understanding of or grounding in the science of Marxism-Leninism."

Let us look more closely at what he is saying. Many of the opposition are intellectuals of one kind or another, who have been highly educated and released from

manual labor by the fact that the Soviet workers have sacrificed millions of rubles to build universities, set up research institutes, etc. Would this ipso facto make the intellectuals turn against the Soviet system and embrace bourgeois ideology? Of course not!

Does the nature of their work—intellectual work—make them reactionary? Haven't some of the greatest intellectuals, like Marx and Engels themselves, turned their talents to the service of the oppressed masses?

But then Hall argues the opposite point. This grouping, some of whom come from the summits of the Soviet intelligentsia, are vulnerable to imperialist propaganda, he says, because they are not educated, because they haven't "kept up with Marxist studies." They are "totally engrossed" in a "narrow field of human endeavor."

Should this make them become enemies of the Vietnamese revolution, bitterly hostile to the Palestinians, and prey to the vilest racism—as are Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn?

Why should this group, above all, be charged with a lack of understanding? If anyone should have had a chance to study and think about human history, it is this group of intellectuals. The average Soviet worker would no doubt envy them the opportunity.

No, it is not their understanding that is at fault. To pose the question this way is to fall back on idealist thinking and the concept that reason is supreme, rather than to exercise a Marxist analysis of the materialist and class forces underlying their consciousness or understanding.

MATERIAL PRIVILEGE

The truth is that a bourgeois political opposition exists in the Soviet Union today as an outgrowth of an enormously enriched stratum of Soviet society who are separated from the broad laboring masses. What really sets them apart is that they enjoy tremendous material privileges as a part of their social position—it is not the occupation itself that is the decisive factor.

Take Andrei Sakharov, for instance. As a member of the Academy of Sciences, he received a princely salary when engaged in research, and he still has the use of a private car with chauffeur. (His friend Solzhenitsyn sees nothing wrong with that, nor does Sakharov.)

Does a fancy car with chauffeur have to go with being a physicist? Is there anything

in the nature of scientific research that demands it?

But the Soviet party leaders are unable to point this out because they have condoned it and been a part of it since privilege and the trend to greater and greater inequality were introduced by Stalin (and accelerated under Khrushchev and Brezhnev)!

Can Brezhnev launch an attack on privilege, the essential feature of the bourgeois "dissidents"? No, when he and the group in power are compromised with a personal collection of foreign limousines, dachas in the country, and a million and one goods and services unavailable to the average worker.

For them to raise these questions would be to invite a storm of protest from the Soviet workers aimed at the privileges of the bureaucracy itself.

What a far cry from the days of Lenin, who, as head of the new Soviet state, moved into the former servants' quarters of the Kremlin, and was never known to buy even a new suit!

HOW ARE THEY DIFFERENT?

What is the difference between the official ruling bureaucracy and their opposition? Precisely this—that the latter have become a thorough-going bourgeois political current in the Soviet Union that looks to the capitalist West as a model. The fact that many of the representatives of this group present their political viewpoint in the most subtle phrases should not deceive genuine revolutionary Marxists.

The official bureaucracy, on the other hand, is a contradictory social phenomenon which, although evidencing many bourgeois tendencies, is still rooted in the socialist foundations of the USSR. Its dual character results from the fact that, on the one hand, it is entrenched in the political and economic apparatus of what is basically a workers' state, where production is planned and the means of production are socially owned; while, on the other hand, it is a parasitic formation that extracts privileges on the basis of its social and political position.

HOW TO COMBAT THE BOURGEOIS OPPOSITION?

The Soviet Union today is a mighty economic and military force. Socialist consciousness is deeply embedded in the working masses. There need be no fear that this bourgeois political grouping is in danger of overthrowing the Soviet state.

Under these conditions, there is no valid argument for denying any Soviet citizen, even including the "dissidents," basic

democratic rights. Instead of weakening them, the types of repressive measures that have been used against them only serve to drive them underground, where the masses cannot examine and challenge their reactionary positions.

They should be drawn out into the light of day, where the initiative of the masses would be brought to bear to convince them that it is hopeless to dream of bringing bourgeois relations to the USSR.

We are not advocating that socialist countries like Cuba, Vietnam, or Korea permit the functioning of a bourgeois opposition. Their problems are quite different: imperialist encirclement, economic underdevelopment, and so on. But the situation is much, much different in the Soviet Union.

In the long run, it will be the workers of the Soviet Union who will deal decisively with the bourgeois opposition—and with the bureaucracy that fails to do so—by stripping them both of their enormous privileges.

— Behind campaign

(Continued from page 9)

return for U.S. high technology has come under attack because presumably it would make the U.S. dependent on the "whims of the Russians" for a vital resource.

The view may be advanced that the impasse in the relations between the U.S. and the USSR is of a purely temporary character, that the struggle against MFN "most-favored nation" status for the USSR in Congress can be circumvented by other stratagems, and that the economic relations between the U.S. and the USSR which are the basis for the approach to detente are bound to firm up. According to this now the daily goings on between U.S. big businessmen and Soviet commercial representatives will accelerate and deepen with an agreement, even if temporary, on the Arab-Israeli situation.

In that case the launching of an anti-Soviet offensive, such as through the medium of the Solzhenitsyn book, would prove to be a mere episode in the ideological struggle between the U.S. and the USSR.

U.S. JOURNAL REAPPRAISES

DETENTE

However, a recent authoritative survey of U.S.-Soviet economic relations, which appeared in the January 1974 *Foreign Affairs* quarterly review, is highly significant and forms the basis for an entirely different view as to how the U.S. ruling class is orienting on the question of U.S.-USSR economic relations and on the detente in general.

Foreign Affairs is the most authoritative American journal in the field of U.S. foreign policy. More often than not it has presented or forecast the official view of the U.S.-government. The fact that it is intimately connected with, if not dominated by, the Rockefeller's should add weight to this. The Council on Foreign Relations, which publishes *Foreign Affairs*, boasted Henry Kissinger as one of its leading lights.

The article is written by Raymond Vernon, the director for the Center for International Affairs at Harvard and the author of several books which deal with U.S. foreign policy and the role of U.S. multinational corporations abroad. It is a carefully written article, couched in the most diplomatic language and calculated to bring across what apparently is the view of a large section of the ruling class regarding long-term U.S.-Soviet economic relations.

'DIVIDENDS' NOT SO GREAT

In it he affirms the need for a policy of detente and its advantages. This has become ceremonial with almost all the authoritative exponents of U.S. foreign policy. Then, of course, come the qualifications, which are the heart of the matter. The policy of detente, he says, "is extremely vulnerable. It is exposed to the possibility that differences such as (in) the Middle East—may prove too large to be contained." And it is exposed to another source of peril, he says, "less obvious but not less powerful, namely, that the dividends from detente including the economic dividends, will be distributed between the parties," meanings the U.S.



Soviet workers, like these enthusiastically applauding Fidel Castro on his visit to USSR, don't share Solzhenitsyn's contempt for socialist revolution.

For the liberation of prisoners

By DEIDRE GRISWOLD

Just humanitarian considerations, that's all, explains The New York Times. The major capitalist media are interested in promoting freedom and justice in the Soviet Union because they hate to see suffering; they can't stand man's inhumanity to man.

Their keen eyes can pick out a suffering intellectual 6,000 miles away, and their intrepid reporters will brave the secret police to get an interview. Sometimes they'll talk on the telephone for hours on a trans-oceanic call (with the Times kindly picking up the tab, of course) to find out what the latest thoughts of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Andrei Sakharov, and the other Soviet "dissidents" who have become world-renowned—largely due to the efforts of capitalist institutions like the Times.

It must seem strange to some in this country how the Times can be so perceptive about suffering in the Soviet Union, but appears so blind to what is much closer to home. Take the prisons, for instance.

Solzhenitsyn has written much about the Soviet prison camp system where he spent eight years under Stalin. The Times is duly horrified. But, strange to tell, it does not register the same horror about the U.S. prison system.

Here at *Workers World* we get many letters every day from prisoners. Most are closely written, the words squeezed in so that as much as possible can be told within the limitation of the one allowed sheet of paper. Often the letter is amazingly beautiful—the result of months in solitary confinement spent perfecting whatever skills can be practiced in a cramped cell.

We get too many to answer, sad to tell. But they all deserve answers. Some are poetic; often the language used reflects the ardent desire of the prisoners to find words powerful enough, magical enough to give voice to their frustration and anger.

But most of the letters are not just about their feeling, their thoughts, their hopes.

and the USSR, "in a grossly lopsided way."

Just what does that mean?

He explains: "The distribution of the economic benefits from detente (to the U.S.) may be so unbalanced as to threaten the process of detente itself." Further on he says, "In simple economic terms, the U.S. is likely to get less out of the relationship than it now expects."

The author is not speaking here of any specific deal made between the U.S. and the USSR or even the series of agreements begun by the Nixon-Kissinger strategy which culminated in a variety of commercial agreements following the Nixon visit to Moscow. What Vernon is talking about is the long-term economic relationship between the USSR and the U.S. He has come to the conclusion, undoubtedly shared by powerful groupings in the ruling class, that "the distribution of the economic benefits from [detente] will be [unbalanced]" because they will favor the USSR.

So there you have it. They are having second thoughts—not just the wheat deal, over which such a hue and cry was raised; not even just about the oil and gas deals. They suspect that the whole range of economic and trade relations will not bring the "dividends" that the U.S. expected, because the benefits would be distributed between the U.S. and the USSR "in a grossly lopsided way" favorable to the Soviet Union.

Why should this be so? Again, Vernon explains. "The USSR, in short, is a command economy in which the managers of productive facilities are normally charged to responding to national requirements framed at the center. Those commands as a rule, are couched in physical terms, to produce so many units of steel or shoes using the ore or coal or leather that is being provided, to earn so much foreign exchange by reporting so much of the planned production."

They are about events. Cruel events. Beatings, gasings, deprivation of clothing and food. Murders. And endless humiliation, degrading strip searches, racist jabs and boasts by the guards and the prison administrations.

Look in this issue of *Workers World* on pages 14 and 15. Some of the letters at the bottom of the page are signed jointly by many men. They are a small sample of the mail we receive every day.

Does The New York Times receive such letters? It must. It is a much bigger newspaper than *Workers World*, even though it may not be as popular with American prisoners as it is with the Soviet "dissidents."

We wonder what the Times does with those letters. Does someone read them and file them? Do they just say, "Another prison letter," and throw it away? They must do something like that, because we never see them in the letters column of the Times.

The Times is never too busy to take a call from one of its contacts in the Soviet Union—at \$15 for the first three minutes. But suppose a prisoner calls collect from Dannemora, or Clinton, or Auburn in up-state New York. Will the Times accept the charges?

The Times had an opportunity to launch a crusade for the rights of the downtrodden, those subject to the lash of the police state—two years ago at the time of the Attica rebellion. Wast! on the side of the prisoners, starved and ill-clothed, clustered in the courtyard of that dungeon, inspiring in their unity and their ability to overcome racism? Or was it on the side of Rockefeller and Oswald, the prison guards and state police swaddled in bulletproof jackets and pun-ping lead into whomever moved?

This is from the Times' editorial of Sept. 14, 1971, the day after Rockefeller's massacre of 28 prisoners and 9 guards:

"The deaths of these persons by knives and gunfire reflect a barbarism wholly alien

What Vernon is saying here is that the USSR is a planned economy (he uses the word command, an inhibitive term). He is saying that because of socialized production and a planned economy, the advantage of long-term trading would eventually redound more to the benefit of the socialist country than to the imperialist US.

The conclusion from his thesis is inescapable: that long-term trade is not really desirable and that the capitalists had better be on guard. He warns that "in the 1920s and early 1930s, the Russians used firms like Ford, DuPont, and General Electric to catch up on the technology of the production of heavy trucks and tractors, chemicals and radios." He also cites a vast absorption of Western technology in the 1950s when, he claims, the USSR made a great surge in the acquisition of plants and processes to produce fertilizers and synthetic fibers. Vernon observes that the Soviet Union is again on the march to obtain wholesale absorption of the technology of automobile production, as well as certain branches of the electronics industry.

All of this has been heard before from sources admittedly far more hostile to the USSR than Vernon permits himself to sound. But what gives his views such significance is that they certainly reflect the position of important ruling circles in the imperialist establishment.

What all this finally signifies, as we indicated in a previous issue (WW, November 28, 1973), is that "the entire relationship between the U.S. and the USSR, as envisioned by Washington, is now in doubt."

NEW, DESPERATE APPROACHES

Indeed, Washington is casting about for new and desperate approaches as it faces cumulative challenges from all over the world, and finds itself incapable of adjusting to the new world relationships. Pentagon



Attica, September 1971. Why wasn't The New York Times for the freedom of these prisoners?

to civilized society. Prisoners slashed the throats of utterly helpless, unarmed guards whom they had held captive through the around-the-clock negotiations, in which the inmates held out for an increasingly revolutionary set of demands. Police officers storming into the prison to rescue the hostages and restore order were stirred to savage retaliation by the horror within. . . .

"The state had responded positively to every reasonable demand put forward by the rebels."

Has the Times apologized to the prisoners for the lies it was so eager to repeat? The trials are going on right now of the Attica Brothers, and the state is condemning them to more years of prison—which often means death—to try and divert the blame for the massacre order by

spokesmen become more bellicose and more threatening as the military and diplomatic position of the U.S. deteriorates. "Defense" Secretary Schlesinger's statement that he will ask congressional approval for renewed bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam "if the Vietnamese start a new offensive" bears this out.

In a blind fury to retrieve its former preeminent position, the U.S. ruling class resorts to the most desperate methods. And where force and violence are inappropriate or premature, a wild, unrestrained, vituperative propaganda campaign will do. Hence the need for Solzhenitsyn.

January 7, 1974

—Who is Solzhenitsyn?

(Continued from page 8)

a considerable fortune, and gifts from his circle of supporters.

In 1970, Solzhenitsyn was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in a gesture of support from the procapitalist intelligentsia in Western Europe. Now, with his audience and appreciation primarily based in the capitalist world, Solzhenitsyn has taken to stating his political views more clearly.

In a letter to the Nobel Prize Committee titled "Peace and Violence" that appeared in The New York Times on August 15, 1973, Solzhenitsyn referred to the October Revolution as the "collapse" of Russian life and to the strength of the socialist system as a "foreboding of the future of man."

The main theme of Solzhenitsyn's letter was an attack on capitalist liberals for supposedly protesting against imperialist oppression without raising a great cry against repression by the Soviet state.

He described supporters of the Vietnamese liberation struggle as "the passionate defenders of that other social

system" (emphasis added), and complains that "the bestial mass killings in Hue, though reliably proved, were only lightly noticed and almost immediately forgiven." Proved? On the contrary, Solzhenitsyn puts his faith in discredited Pentagon press releases that invented "Vietcong atrocities" to cover their monstrous crimes.

Making clear his racism, Solzhenitsyn also complained, "Could, say, the Republic of South Africa, without being penalized, ever be expected to detain and torture a Black leader for four years as General Grigorenko (one of the so-called Soviet dissidents—ed.) has been?"

Lloyd Brown, the well-known Black writer, contested Solzhenitsyn's assumption that liberals are overly concerned with the fate of oppressed Africans in a letter to The New York Times on September 19: "The liberal outcry has made Solzhenitsyn's name a household word in our country where the name and plight of Alex Laguma, the repressed Black South African writer, are quite unknown."

Solzhenitsyn has criticized the U.S.-Soviet detente on the grounds that large-scale technological aid will strengthen the USSR. His grouping, however, has taken advantage of the detente to link greater freedom for their views to increased trade with the U.S.

Solzhenitsyn has attacked the Russian Orthodox Church for not opposing the Soviet Government sufficiently. His close associate, the physicist Andrei Sakharov, has been accused by the Soviet government of sympathy with the Chilean fascist regime. In a telephone interview with The New York Times on September 25, 1973, Sakharov refused to condemn or support the U.S.-sponsored junta in Chile.

Open support for Solzhenitsyn within the Soviet Union has come from a layer of the intelligentsia that is substantially privileged in comparison to the average Soviet worker.

Fascist premier killed on eve of Carabanchel 10 trial

By CAL BONNER

NEW YORK, Jan. 4.—The assassination of Premier Luis Carrero Blanco on December 20 was a strong blow to the reactionary Franco government, and came at just the time when the Spanish fascists were about to try ten leaders of Spain's clandestine workers' movement.

The ten—nine workers and a Roman Catholic priest, known as the Carabanchel Ten—were found guilty of "illegal association" on December 22. They were sentenced, individually, from 12 to 20 years. Nine of the ten had already spent 18 months in the Carabanchel Prison outside Madrid.

TRIAL SUPPORT FOR SPANISH WORKERS WAS INTERNATIONAL

The trial of the Ten was attended by trade unionists, lawyers, and progressives from most of the countries in Western Europe and from the U.S., and it lasted three days. The verdict, given by a special three-judge court, was clearly a government attempt to shackle the long-suppressed struggle by Spain's workers to organize for a greater share in the burgeoning growth of the Spanish economy and for a voice in government decision-making processes. The severity of the sentences handed to the workers and the repressive measures the government is now taking against the oppressed nations (the Basques, Catalans, and Galicians) reveal the fear and insecurity in the minds of the oppressors that their futures, if any, will be quite other than serene.

Undoubtedly the gravest immediate threat to the Madrid government is the

Basque nation's fight for freedom. The ETA ("Basque Nation and Freedom" in Euzkadi, the Basque language), the underground liberation army of the Basque nation, has claimed credit for Blanco's rather abrupt exit from Spain's political scene.

The underground movement is regarded as the strongest, most militant, and most ancient of all such movements in Western Europe. The town of Bilbao, the major city of the Basque nation in northern Spain, was the site of the only known demonstration in Spain in support of freedom for the Carabanchel Ten.

From the standpoint of many anthropologists, the Euzkadi (Basque) nation is probably the oldest extant ethnic group in Europe. The Basque people are thought to be direct descendants of Cro-Magnon Man (named after a cave in southern France), an early, modern-appearing people whose fossil remains and artifacts have been traced back more than 10,000 years. Their language is unrelated to any other. The Basques resisted the Romans, the Visigoths, Franks, and Moors. The Basques lost their last independent stronghold with the conquest of the core of Basque country by the Spanish king Ferdinand the Catholic in 1512. After the conquest, the Basques became impoverished; their communal system, which nurtured them through the millennia, was destroyed by the Castilian feudalists.

Until April 26, 1937, the Basque capital was in the city of Guernica. But on that day Spanish aviators armed by Hitler made what became one of history's most infamous calculated experiments in terror. They first



Four Basque revolutionaries at a press conference in southern France, where they claimed responsibility for assassinating the fascist Blanco.

dropped big explosive bombs on the city. The fascists then practiced machinegunning civilians fleeing from the town. Finally, they firebombed the town. The anguish and terror of that event, later represented in a famous painting by Picasso, have never escaped the memory of the Basque people.

NEW PREMIER APPOINTED

By FRANCO

To replace Blanco, Generalissimo Francisco Franco has picked the first "civilian" Premier of Spain since the 1936-39 Civil War—Carlos Arias Navarro. A former Director General of Security, Arias is expected to continue the ruling National Movement party's policies of fascist repression. An indication of this was his first political act—his dismissal, on January 3, of 11 of 19 ministers to create what the Franco government calls a "cabinet of national unity." These new ministers are reported to be men who have no political affiliation

other than strict loyalty to the Generalissimo.

HEADED INTO THE DUST BIN OF HISTORY

Timed as it was to coincide with the workers' trials, the assassination of Carrero Blanco may signal a new alliance between the Spanish working class and the oppressed nations in struggle against the fascist government. Carrero Blanco symbolized that which is most at odds with the laws of social progress. To the forward-looking Spanish masses, he represented a political system that refuses to give up any of its rightist principles adopted during the Spanish Civil War, a system controlled by a party that compares its ideology to the nationalist, early imperialist policy of Spain's Catholic king of the late fifteenth century. The fascist, capitalist system which Blanco represented will not be long in following him into the grave.

—Solzhenitsyn distorts history

(Continued from page 8)

and architect of Soviet socialism.

Solzhenitsyn writes, "In his essay entitled 'How to Organize the Competition' published on January 7 and 10, 1918, V. I. Lenin proclaimed the common, united purpose of a 'purge of the Russian earth of all harmful insects.'"

What was Lenin's article, written two months after the revolution, really about? "One of the most important tasks of today," wrote Lenin, "if not the most important, is to develop the independent initiative of the workers and of all the working and exploited people generally, develop it as widely as possible in creative organizational work. At all costs we must break the old, absurd, savage, despicable and disgusting prejudice that only the so-called upper classes, only the rich, and those who have gone through the school of the rich, are capable of administering the state and directing the organizational development of society."

Practical experiments in control must take place, says Lenin. "Variety is a guarantee of effectiveness here, a pledge of success in achieving the single common aim—to clean the land of Russia of all vermin, of fleas—the rogues, the bugs—the rich, and so on and so forth. In one place half a score of rich, a dozen rogues, half a dozen workers who shirk their work (in the manner of rowdies, the manner in which many composers in Petrograd, particularly in the Party printing shops, shirk their work) will be put in prison. In another place they will be put cleaning latrines."

In this article exhorting the workers and peasants to take control of their own economic destiny, to police the remnants of the ruling class and those incurably corrupted under the bourgeois system, Solzhenitsyn sees only the part about the purge. He takes the side of the rich, the

Rift between U.S., Japan seen in Mideast trip

By JOHN OTTO

Japan's Deputy Premier Miki, who will be meeting with high U.S. officials as this goes to press, recently completed a 19-day tour of seven Mideast countries. This tour typifies Japan's new foreign policy, which has broken with the leadership of U.S. imperialism.

Desperately needing a steady supply of oil for her economy, Japan tried to persuade the Arab nations to reclassify her as a friendly nation. During the meetings, Miki repeatedly called on Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab territory, and also agreed to supply Egypt with a \$140 million low-interest loan to help reopen the Suez Canal.

Japan depends on the Mideast, including Iran, for almost 80 percent of her oil. Without this oil Japan's industrial growth, fastest among the imperialist powers at around 10 percent per year, will grind to a

saboteurs, and the parasites against the building of socialism at its very inception.

THE CIVIL WAR

As for the civil war from 1918-1921, Solzhenitsyn denounces the Committees of the Poor who took the landlords and slavemasters "behind the wing of the village soviet and finished them off there." He sheds tears for counterrevolutionary uprisings which were repressed by the Bolsheviks.

Repressive violence against the ruling classes and its armies by the proletariat is unjustified according to Solzhenitsyn, but centuries of the whip of the master class is business as usual, not to be included on the list of punishable crimes.

He talks of the uprooting, and im-

halt. The oil crisis has already weakened Japan's formerly strong trading position, causing a deficit of \$1.7 billion for her in December 1973.

The relations between U.S. and Japanese imperialism have undergone immense reversals in the course of one generation. Starting in 1941, Japan was first at war with the U.S., then occupied as a defeated power, then a junior partner to U.S. imperialism in the Far East, and is now the strongest individual imperialist competitor with the U.S. for the world market. In the post-war period, the U.S. set imperialist foreign policy on a world scale—and workers here paid the price of U.S. imperialist aggression in Korea and Vietnam. Meanwhile, Japan developed and streamlined her industrial machine, now the third largest in the world.

Outcompeted economically, U.S. imperialism moved against Japan on other

prisonment of the kulaks as a great "ethnic catastrophe" comparable to Hitler's extermination of the Jews. But the kulaks were not a people, they were a class stratum of rich peasants, exploiters of labor, who by 1929 and 1930 had gained a dangerously powerful position in the economy and were making political gains in the soviets. They were hostile to socialism and were striving to overthrow it.

Stalin's original fault was to neglect the poor peasants while being too lenient with the kulaks, to the point where they controlled a large part of the country's food supply and were threatening to starve the cities. Finally he had to go to excess and crush them to save socialism. But it is not Stalin's former concessions to the kulaks, only his crushing of them to save socialism,

that Solzhenitsyn is opposed to.

Solzhenitsyn is being held up by the capitalist establishment as a foe of repression and police tyranny. If he based himself on the oppressed classes, and championed their right to be free of landlords and bosses, would he be accorded the same treatment? If his abhorrence of Stalin was, in reality, opposition to the privileged grouping in Soviet society who consolidated their political and economic power under Stalin's rule, would he have such good friends in the imperialist ruling class?

Have truly revolutionary opponents of the Soviet revisionists ever been welcomed by history?

History long ago answered these questions.

Thieu orders offensive; U.S. ups war supplies

On January 4, Saigon puppet dictator Thieu ordered ARVN troops to invade and attack areas in South Vietnam whose control by the Provisional Revolutionary Government was recognized by Thieu under the terms of the Jan. 20, 1973, ceasefire treaty.

At a review of troops in Can Tho in the Mekong Delta, he said that while the "preemptive actions" of the ARVN had "forestalled a Communist offensive," the fight now had to be carried to the PRG zones because the threat of an offensive remained.

"As far as the armed forces are concerned, I can tell you the war has restarted," he said. With this statement Thieu has publicly proclaimed the wholesale violation of the ceasefire treaty.

Meanwhile, back in Washington, the U.S. military is likewise making preparations to openly violate the treaty by shipping extra armaments, including new weapons never before used in Vietnam.

Already \$813 million has been appropriated for military aid to the Thieu regime in the fiscal year ending in June 1974. Now the Pentagon and the State

Department are planning to seek appropriation for an additional \$400 million to \$1 billion in arms shipments before next June, including F-5-E fighters, electronic equipment, and a variety of tactical missiles.

Some of the militarists are afraid that the astronomical \$1 billion expense, especially at a time of domestic shortages, will provoke sharp opposition to the burdensome military budget. Others are convinced that Saigon is so glutted with arms sent in the weeks before the treaty was signed that new shipments will "only sit around the docks in crates."

The Vietnamese are valiantly rebuilding after the savage years of aggression against them. But if the U.S. ruling class thinks this means the DRV and PRG are not ready to move to a war footing again to preserve their independence, they are very mistaken. And renewed U.S. aggression at this time, when the monopolies and politicians here are more exposed than ever, will lead to a broader and deeper opposition at home that will stop the imperialist death merchants in their tracks.

Report lauds Milw. cops, mum on racism, brutality

By JOHN SCOTT
MILWAUKEE, Jan. 3—A study declaring Milwaukee's 2,000-man police force to be one of the best in the country was released here last month. But the Black, Latin, and Native American people who make up at least half the city's population are asking: Best for whom?

Just in the last few months, there has been a string of incidents that have angered the residents of the poorer communities. They have all involved instances of police brutality or total callousness toward the oppressed.

On September 30, more than 30 squad cars of heavily armed police raced through a predominantly Black and poor white housing project on the Near North Side, in total disdain for the lives of those living there. As the squad cars jumped curbs, they came very close to hitting children at play in their front lawns. Parents, too, had to dodge for cover.

In a news conference the next day, the housing project manager denounced the outrage as one more act of police provocation. But Captain Anderson, who had been in charge, told the press that he saw nothing wrong with the actions of his men. This was seen as a deliberate reaffirmation of the police department's racism.

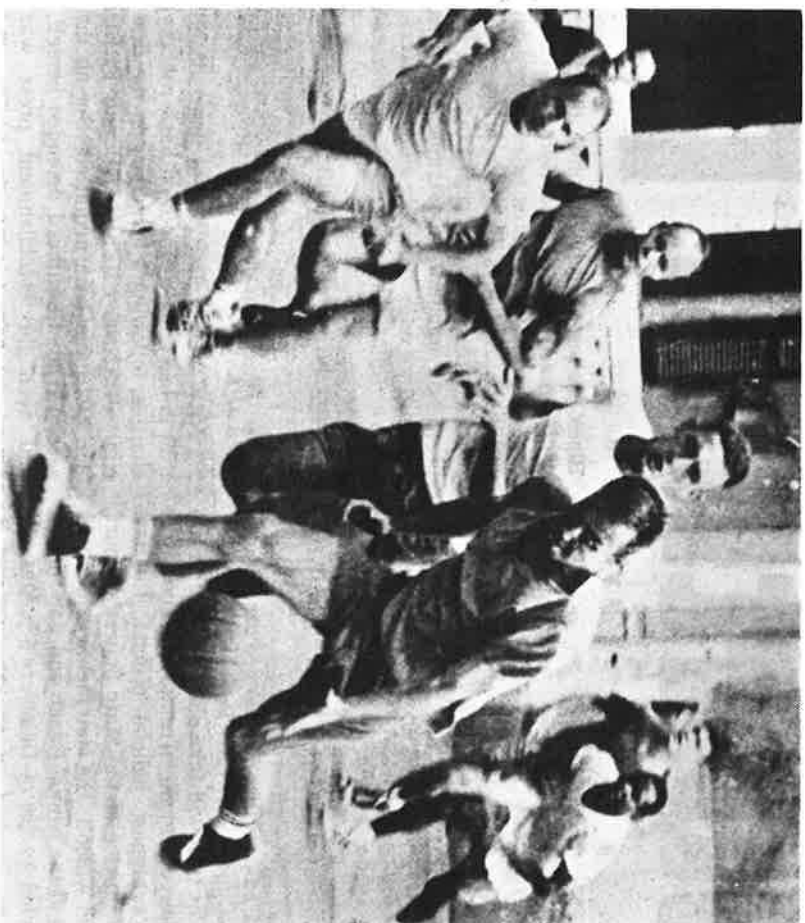
Less than two weeks later, police gunned down in cold blood a young Black man, Andrew Friend, while he was caring for a friend's children. Police asserted

Friend had threatened one of the children with a knife. But neighbors refused to believe it, for they had known him as a very even tempered and gentle man. Police also claimed they had shot Friend only once, to restrain him, but examiners found at least seven bullet holes in his head and chest. Nonetheless, the medical examiner's office wasted no time in ruling "justifiable homicide," the same verdict heard so often when cops and other official cronies try to cover for each other.

That night on a radio talk show, Lawrence Friend, the man's brother, told of the cops' attempt to keep the family from knowing about his murder. He suggested that families of those murdered by the police join together to stop such terror.

On a night in November, Kenneth Iserman, a detective on patrol in the Black community, got drunk and his patrol car jumped the curb, hitting two pedestrians. An attempt was quickly made to hush it all up. This same detective has been linked to six "accidental" deaths of prisoners in the Milwaukee House of Corrections, all since last August.

The report extolling the Milwaukee police is an official effort to try and counteract community anger and give a stamp of approval to all that has been done. But it has only succeeded in implicating those higher up in the system, who have built the semi-fascist police force to protect their stolen wealth against the people's anger.



Officer pilots told grim tales of prison in N. Vietnam. Enlisted man tells a different story.

Non-officer POW hails North Vietnamese

When the Vietnamese released their American prisoners of war, Workers World commented on the charges made by some of the POWs that their captors had been brutal. We pointed out that only officers (many of them pilots with knowledge of the crimes they had committed) and no enlisted men made these accusations. Besides other factors throwing doubt on their testimony, these officers were indebted to the U.S. government for their future careers and for the considerable fortunes they received in back pay and compensation.

It was good, therefore, to read in The New York Times of December 29, 1973, an account of what life in those prison camps was like, according to a non-officer. John A. Young was an enlisted man in the Special Forces and a prisoner of war for five years in four different camps in North Vietnam.

Gloria Emerson, a former war correspondent for the Times, interviewed Young and recorded his thoughts about the days and his memories of the Vietnamese, especially of one ranking political officer the American prisoners nicknamed Cheese. Here are excerpts from her article:

"I don't regret any of it," he said. "I wouldn't give it up for nothing. If I had to do it again, I'd do it again."

He means the 1,811 days as a prisoner. Young is not sure he is the one to be pitied.

"I don't think Americans really know what love is, or what it is to love a country, or to love their own people," he said. "The Vietnamese in the North do. It's unbelievable. They'll do anything for each other."

He was defiant and stubborn in the beginning. Once, in isolation and forced to remain kneeling, he shouted at a guard that everyone in the National Liberation Front lied.

Cheese summoned him.

"He asked me what I said. I started telling him what the hell I thought. He had a real strange look on his face," Young said. "He got up, walked around and knocked me right off the chair. He just nailed me one."

Young had time. . . . He could not do complicated mathematical problems in his head, or build dream houses, or remember poetry. Cheese came often to speak to him, quietly, telling him about the war and the Provisional Revolutionary Government. Young does not call it the Vietcong, an offensive name to the Vietnamese.

"I was trying to understand. Why didn't they kill me or beat me with tire irons or water hoses when they were asking me questions," Young said. "I was taking a look at the war and wondering who was telling the truth?"

He did not weep while speaking of his pain or of how at the age of 22 he had almost died while being carried up the Ho Chi Minh Trail, or of his fear and despair.

What made him cry . . . was remembering September, 1969. He was in isolation. The camp radio announced Ho Chi Minh's death. He had known something was wrong. There was such a deep hush among the Vietnamese.

"The Vietnamese really loved this man," Young said. "I think a lot of people around the world did. I did—and I'd just read about him in prison. But talking to the Vietnamese cadres—they had such respect, such esteem for him. You don't even hear people talk about any of our Presidents as highly as the Vietnamese talked about him."

It was Cheese who warned Young, as he went on making antiwar statements to be broadcast or printed, that he would eventually have to face the United States military when freed. Young refuses to say he is sorry. He is glad he did it. Two separate charges of aiding the enemy, and other military offenses, filed by two officers, also prisoners, have been dismissed.

Young was freed on March 16, 1973. He said walking up the ramp at the back of the big C-141 was the hardest thing he has ever had to do in his whole life. He did not want to leave.

Cheese said good-by to him the day before.

"He told me, 'Do not ever lose your determination and do not forget us, for we will never forget you.' " Young said.



WHAT'S ON IN THE PUPPET THEATRE?
A PLAY IN WHICH THIEU DEMANDS SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS LIKE ISRAEL GOT—IT WAS A CAST OF 25,000 U.S. MILITARY ADVISERS & CIA OPERATIVES AS THICK AS FILES. (SEEMS TO BE A SMALL AUDIENCE UNWITTING, JUST THE DIRECTORS.)

political prisoners

Smyrna 5

WILMINGTON, Del., Jan. 3—On Monday, January 7, the state of Delaware will continue its attempt to legally lynch five Black prisoners who have come to represent the prison struggle in Delaware. Tayari (Ronald Payne), Frat (Gary Watson), Askofu (Lester Johnson), Nihl (Carl Henry), and Puff (Thomas Le Grande) will be put on trial for their alleged assault on a prison guard, Lt. Earl Pope.

The trial will take place despite widely publicized prejudicial remarks made by the state's highest judicial official, the late Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court, Daniel Wolcott. His statements, which took place at the annual Bench and Bar Dinner, attended by 200 of Delaware's judges and lawyers, showed, as one observer put it, "that the five had been prejudiced by Wolcott and were already convicted in the Chief Justice's mind."

The remarks were intended to leave no doubts whatsoever in the minds of the listeners as to the results of the ruling class demands from this case. In attacking the character and actions of Lester Johnson and Carl Henry, two of the accused inmates, Wolcott claimed that the prisoners had filed "trivolous... God-damned petitions." One of these "trivolous" suits was to obtain underwear and other necessary clothing for prisoners!

The state's attempt to quash the struggle of the Smyrna 5 has taken many drastic forms. They are presently confined in the hold and have been held there since last May. Previous to that they were held for nine months on Smyrna's B Block, the maxi-maxi tier. They have been gassed, beaten, racially segregated, denied any visits from family or friends for almost a year, and even denied contact with any other prisoners. Inadequate food, little heat, or clothing, are the daily living conditions of these prisoners.

These incidents of prison brutality together with countless others make it immaterial whether these men or any others attack Lt. Pope. It was right for

Black slaves to rebel against their rich white masters. It was right for concentration camp inmates to rebel against the Nazis. And it is right for prisoners to rebel against barbaric prisons that jail the poor, and against a government that is committing daily genocide against Blacks, Native Americans, and the Indochinese people.

Stop the legal lynching of the Smyrna 5!

BLA

NEW YORK, Dec. 28—In their second trial in less than a month on bank robbery charges, following a hung jury in the first trial, JOANNE CHESIMARD and FRED HILTON have been acquitted. During the second trial, Chesimard defended herself, and even the establishment press was forced to acknowledge the ability and convincing presence of this Black woman.

Only two days before the acquittal verdict, the state attempted to influence the jury by announcing new indictments against Chesimard and Hilton for attempting to murder New York police.

The state conducted both trials very swiftly, in an obvious effort to poison public opinion for the coming trial of Chesimard and CLARK SQUIRE in New Jersey for defending themselves in the police attack against them on the New Jersey Turnpike last May.

Jury selection in the New Jersey trial began again on January 2, after the trial had been recessed when an earlier jury had to be excused for its outright prejudice. The new jury is being drawn from wealthy Morris County, which has a population that is only 3 percent Black and was the only county in New Jersey that Goldwater carried in 1964. The pretorial efforts of the defense in New Jersey are concentrated on gaining a new location for the trial in order to obtain a jury of their real peers, as granted them by the Bill of Rights.

In the aftermath of the first New York trial, on January 3, Judge Lee P. Gagliardi sentenced Evelyn Williams, Chesimard's lawyer, to ten days for contempt. Her "crime" was insisting on the right to a delay

As Chief of the State, Rockefeller was is directly/indirectly responsible/culpable for the dastard and nefarious activities by the state on September 13th, 1971.

Mancusi, Oswald, Dunbar, Williams and Vincent have received various positions whereby the issue will go unnoticed, but now are we going to allow Rocky to be granted public impunity as well?

There is no judicial parity or impartiality when they allow the ruling class plutocrats to be exempted, meanwhile arresting, indicting, convicting and sentencing the members of the oppressed class!

Support for us is intensely needed and appreciated as we are cognizant of the ill-distributed power by such a class system that is bent on denying us our human rights.

We do not subscribe to the concept that we have no rights that the oppressor is bound to respect! We have rights worthy of respect.

"Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

Thank you
Towards liberation!
(Akl!) Hebbie Scott Deane
An Attica Indictee

Auburn, N.Y., Dec. 12:

Would like to comment on the superbly written articles by Mr. Sam Marcy. We, the poor masses, black and white, need a man like Mr. Marcy to awaken us to the many facets of oppression suffered by the working class, all over world. I say, "Right On" to Workers World, and educate the masses, because we need to be re-educated. I wish all of you who make Workers World possible, Merry Xmas.

in the trial in order to prepare the defense, yet on the same day this same "equal justice-for-all" judge granted an indefinite delay in the perjury-conspiracy trial of Watergate defendants John Mitchell and Maurice Stans, former U.S. government Cabinet officials.

In an attempt to divide defense efforts, two other Black Liberation Army trials began in New York City on January 7. HENRY BROWN is accused in the deaths of patrolmen Rocco Laurie and Gregory Foster in January, 1972, and HERMAN BELL, ANTHONY BOTTOMI, ALBERT WASHINGTON, and GABRIEL and FRANCISCO TORRES, also known as the NEW YORK FIVE, are accused in the deaths of patrolmen Waverly Jones and Joseph Piagentini in May 1972.

For many months now the establishment press has been feeding the public lies and slanders about the Black Liberation Army. Like the hysteria about the De Mau Mau, this police propaganda has provided a cover for numerous attacks on Black people. But as Joanne Chesimard has said, the real Black Liberation Army is invincible, for that is all Black people.

Free all political prisoners!

AIM

Among the other tribes that knew them, the Cheyenne were known as the Beautiful People. But Cheyenne, Sioux, Apache—these names aroused in the soldiers, settlers, and entrepreneurs of the young and voracious United States only fear and hatred, as the names Vietnamese and Palestinian do in the oppressors today. It has been many years since the massacres of Native Americans at Sand Creek and Wounded Knee, and the rulers of this country thought those old names were confined to falsified history and the Indian people to a few reservations.

But at Wounded Knee last spring the Native Americans struck a great blow in the struggle to consign the rulers to history forever. For that, many Native Americans have died or been imprisoned.

Springfield, Mo., Oct. 28:

On October 27, a meeting was held in the prison here at which the administration and the inmates were represented. The meeting was called by the subcommittee on prisons of the House Judiciary Committee and was in fact attended by Congressmen William Cohen and Robert F. Drinan. It was supposed to investigate the Special Treatment and Rehabilitative Training (START) program, which is a behavior modification program.

Behavior modification means long periods of solitary confinement and conditions of extreme filth, isolation, degradation, brutality and, especially, deprivation of necessities such as food, so as to make these into "rewards" for submissive and "cooperative" behavior.

But on October 28, we prisoners here read an article printed by a local newspaper in Springfield, Mo., by staff writer Frank Farmer. This article quotes Congressman Drinan as saying that "in general, however, they (the prisoners at this meeting) said they thought that the (START) program is effective."

Here and now, we the prisoners that are confined in the START Program would like to make it perfectly clear to everyone who is concerned with the welfare of prisoners that we gave no type of indication to the Congressmen that were present that this program was effective in any aspect, or that a prisoner would benefit from such a program. No prisoner made a statement stating that the program had helped him in any aspect or area that a prisoner could benefit from his forced period of confinement in START.

On January 8 in St. Paul, Minn., in the U.S. District Court there, Dennis Banks and Russell Means will be the first to face charges in the ten-count conspiracy indictments handed out by a federal grand jury against six leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM). After their trial will follow the prosecution of Clyde Bellecourt, Carter Camp, Leonard Crow Dog, and Stan Holder. All six face sentences up to 85 years. Then will follow the trials of over 120 other Native Americans, beginning February 4 in Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

Carter Camp, National Chairman of AIM, has called for every supporter who possibly can to come to St. Paul or Sioux Falls for the trials.

Long live the spirit of the Second Wounded Knee!
Free all the Wounded Knee Fighters!

Tarboro 3

Special to Workers World

TARBORO, N.C.—Three young Black men were sentenced to death here on December 9 on a charge of raping a white woman. The execution date for Vernon Leroy Brown, 22, Bobby Hines, 23, and Jesse Lee Watson, 23, was set for January 10, but the sentence was stayed pending an appeal.

The three men were accused of having raped a white woman last summer. Each of the three testified that he had had sexual relations with the woman but that she had consented. A Black nurse and a white doctor who examined the woman at a hospital testified that they had found no evidence of rape.

The jury of 11 whites and 1 Black deliberated 6½ hours before returning a verdict of "first-degree rape," which carries a mandatory death sentence in North Carolina.

Black protest in the eastern North Carolina city was immediate and widespread, and was initiated by Black workers at the hospital, who also drew up a list of demands against racism in the hospital.

On Sunday, December 16, Black people staged a protest march through Tarboro, and the next day was designated "Black

Prisoners Letterbox

Attica, Dec. 15:

I have taken the time to write to your newspaper, hoping that you would apprise the readership of the status of us (The Attica Indicted Brothers).

On November 16th, 1973 our motion for the dismissal of indictments was denied by Judge Charles Gaughan. This motion was argued on September 5th, & 6th, 1973 by such legal compenents as Don Jelinek (Attica Legal Co-ordinator), Haywood Burns (head of National Conference of Black Lawyers), former Attorney General of the United States, Ramsey Clark, noted Attorney William Kunstler and Barbara Ellen Handschu.

On November 28th, 1973 Judge Harry Goldman of the Fourth Department of the Appellate Division in Rochester, New York denied the removal of the court's prior determination of venue, and our motion for change of venue.

Meanwhile, on November 14th, 1973 the special term grand jury in Warsaw, New York (Wyoming County) handed down some more indictments against some of the Brothers who have been already indicted. Yet, none of the state's employees have been indicted. Another example of injustice.

On December 11th, 1973 Governor Nelson Rockefeller announced officially that he was resigning as governor of New York State, whereby the governorship will devolve on Lieut. Governor Malcolm Wilson.

We also feel that the entire case should immediately be brought before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Prisons. We the prisoners know that we can better enlighten that subcommittee as to just how uncivilized and cruel and inhuman we the START Program prisoners have been treated.

The following are the names of the START prisoners here, all of whom affirm under oath that not one of us stated through our conversation during our talk that the START Program was effective in any manner, period:

William L. Alexander, G.J. McDonnell, Jessie Bishop, Herman Vaughn, B.F. Kalama, I. Taylor, Gustave Forest, J. Weir, Gerard Wilson, William L. Ruiz, Thomas X. Sparks.

Springfield, Mo., Dec. 28:

Twenty prisoners in the infamous solitary confinement at the Federal Prison Springfield, Missouri in full solidarity with our brothers and sisters in other prisons refused to partake of our x-mas meal in mourning for the victims of the Attica massacre both living and dead. And to symbolically protest the frame up charges brought against the remaining Attica survivors. We urge people to demand all charges brought against Attica survivors be dismissed and to support with financial help their legal struggles.

We could not rejoice by partaking of this meal while there is so much suffering. Our sacrifice is small we realize compared to the blood and beatings shed and sacrificed at Attica in order to bring justice for their brothers and sisters.

Bro. Adams, Bro. Alexander, Bro. Bennett, Bro. Bohannon, Bro. Caldwell, Bro.

Monday," with a boycott of white-owned businesses.

These latest convictions bring the number of prisoners on Death Row in North Carolina to 20. All but one are Black. Other crimes that carry a mandatory death sentence in the state are first-degree murder, first-degree burglary, and first-degree arson.

(The Mayor of Tarboro is also chief surgeon at the hospital, and is reported to rule both town and hospital with an iron hand. The alleged rape victim is a medical records clerk at the same hospital.)

Thomas Wansley

Special to Workers World

LYNCHBURG, Va., Jan. 8 — Virginia Governor Linwood Holton today refused to grant a pardon to Thomas Wansley or reduce his sentence. The governor's decision came in a letter to Wansley's mother, Mrs. Willie Mae Thornton of Lynchburg.

The governor's decision came despite unprecedented support for Wansley throughout Virginia. On December 30, more than 1,200 Black people had attended a Wansley rally here.

The governor's refusal to grant clemency drew a harsh rebuke from the Norfolk branch of the Prisoners Solidarity Committee, which has been organizing support for Wansley. Terming it a "racist slap in the face to the people of Virginia, especially to the Black community," the statement went on to say:

"The governor's decision shows that he has complete contempt for the feelings of the Black people and all progressive people in Virginia, and is more concerned with trying to please a small group of racists."

Referring to the fact that a new governor is to be inaugurated this Saturday, the committee called on "the people of Virginia and the country to show their outrage with phone calls, letters, and telegrams to the governor's office demanding that Governor Godwin make the Wansley case his top priority as he takes office. Initial response to the governor's action evoked great anger among Virginia's Black population. Hopes for Wansley's freedom had been stirred by the massive turnout at the December 30 Lynchburg rally.

That rally was called to protest Lynchburg prosecutor Royston Jester's

Denny, Bro. Deutschmann, Bro. Dow, Bro. Green, Bro. Jaquillions, Bro. Kennard, Bro. McDermott, Bro. McDonnell, Bro. McGee, Bro. Palgore, Bro. Phillips, Bro. Sanchez, Bro. Stevens, Bro. Taylor, Bro. Wallace.

.....

Leavenworth, Kansas: We wish to promote the momentum gained during our just struggle in opposing the brutal racist, inhuman and systematic repression typically rampant not only throughout the Amerikkkan big-business prison establishment, but also throughout the Amerikkkan capitalist-controlled society as a whole.

On or about July 26, 1973, an Italian prisoner, en route to Danbury Prison, died in Leavenworth prison's brutal punitive isolation unit (the hole) due to criminal lack of medical attention.

The prisoner had previously been classified by prison staff members as a malingering, one who "pretends" illness so as to avoid work details in the prison sweatshops where the majority of prisoners are forced to work at slave-labor wages under unsafe and illegal conditions earning millions of dollars annually for prison entrepreneurs while receiving only a few blood-and-sweat drenched pennies an hour for labor.

After having repeatedly demanded medical treatment for a serious ailment, he was told by prison guards that no medical attention was necessary nor would any treatment be provided. As a direct result of this apathy and negligence, a human life was mercilessly snuffed out, in a stuffy, funk-filled, rat-and-roach infested prison cage.

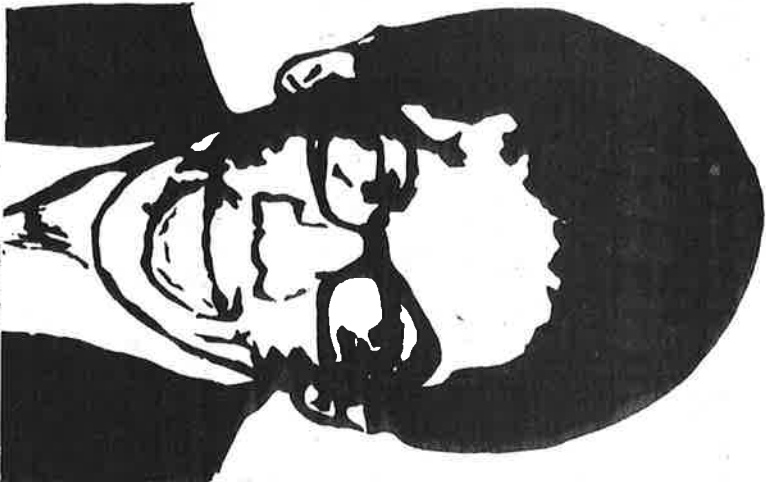
racist statement that Thomas C. Wansley is a "discredit to his race" and should remain in prison.

In response to an inquiry from the governor, the white Commonwealth's Attorney had declared in a letter that Wansley was guilty of raping a white woman in Lynchburg in 1962, that he is dangerous and a menace to society, and that many Black people (!) in Lynchburg think that he should remain in prison. Wansley is presently serving a life sentence after a recent reversal of a court decision that had set him free. Jester was the prosecutor in all three of Wansley's trials and insisted to the end that Wansley should be sent to the electric chair.

An alliance of local Black organizations responded to Jester's letter by calling for a mass meeting of the Black community on the theme "Who Speaks for Blacks in Lynchburg?" At the meeting, over 1,200 Blacks approved a statement drafted by four organizations (the Lynchburg Voters' League, the Lynchburg Black Caucus, Black Moses, and the Lynchburg NAACP). The statement, "The Official Position of the Black Community of Lynchburg, Va.," called Jester's letter "irresponsible, unwarranted, and prejudicial" and called for his immediate resignation.

"The Black Community of Lynchburg wishes to make it categorically clear to Mr. Jester that no White Man speaks for the Black People of our city. In recent weeks and months the office of the governor has been flooded with countless letters and over 15,000 authentic signatures requesting a Pardon for Thomas Carlton Wansley. The Black community has spoken."

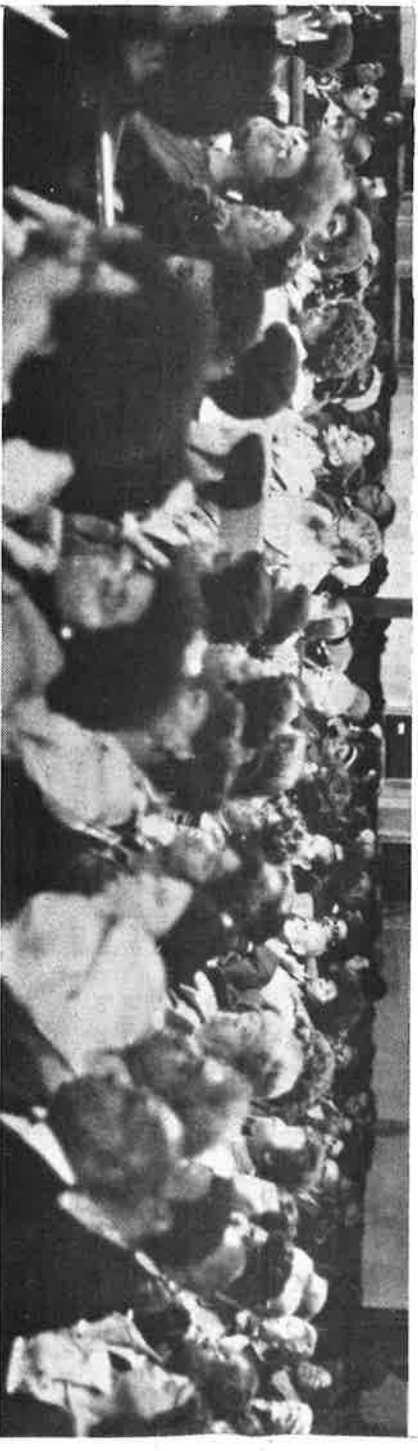
Representatives of the four Black organizations told Workers World that they



Thomas Wansley

will continue to build a struggle not only to free Thomas Wansley, but to eliminate Jester and his racist "double standard of justice." As their statement declares, "the day has gone forever when police brutality, unlawful search and seizure, one kind of justice for Blacks and another for whites, should be tolerated."

Frieda Davis of the Lynchburg Black Caucus predicted that demonstrations and rallies would continue until Jester and other racist officials in Lynchburg are removed. "Nothing could have united the Black people of Lynchburg better than Jester's letter



More than 1,200 people attended this rally in Lynchburg demanding freedom for Thomas Wansley.

WW photo

Add this ruthless infraction, the criminal denial of immediate medical attention, the disrespect for human rights and the overt disregard for human life. Add to this the incalculable atrocities stemming from the raw reality of oppression and exploitation reflected by the deplorable conditions of prison confinement, and the "real" causes of the prison rebellion becomes a bit clearer.

At the present time a hand-picked group of those classified by the prison officials as "aggressive" or "trouble-makers" have been arbitrarily and capriciously placed into Leavenworth prison's infamous punitive isolation unit. The sole purpose of the prison administrators reactionary infringement is to use these men as scapegoats in order to try to cover up their own brutality and to try to rid the Leavenworth pen of those who are more politically aware and thereby better prepared, more dedicated to oppose that which oppresses themselves and other alike.

The enemy is very clever at making the criminal look like the victim and the victim look like the criminal. For other suggestion please write to the below listed comrades here at P.O. Box 1,000, Leavenworth, Kansas, 66048.

Armando Miramon 34380-136, William Hurst 87-91-132 (Transferred to Marion, Ill.), Jesse Lopez 01962-135, Earnest Norman 33621-136, Robert Butcher, 28403-138, Jesse Evans 27689-138, Richard Van Dusen 33833-118, Donald Orand 87268-132, Richard Russell 29026-138, Clarence Howell 70904-158, James Matthews 92834-131, Alf Hill, Jr. 87066-132, Lester Pickens 86871-132, Frank Harris, Jr. 82541-132—Marion Ill., James

Parker 95185-131, Ronald Mattson 19236-175, Odell Bennett 85504-132—Springfield Mo., Robert Welge 92397-131.

.....

New York, Jan. 4:

During the Christmas holidays I journeyed to Attica for a visit with prisoner friends. I visited first with Luis Martinez—23379—who has been in solitary confinement for more than 2 months. Luis is being accused of selling about 100 capsules of a drug to a guard supposedly dressed in civilian clothes. Luis claims that he is innocent of this charge. The real reason is the fact that Luis has been organizing the Puerto Ricans Committee at Attica.

Luis had been an inmate at Attica before. During the 1971 rebellion he had been in the "box," the name given by the inmates to solitary confinement. After the massacre, he was transferred to the Comstock Correctional Facility where, together with Eduardo "Poncho" Cruz and Frank Perales, he organized the first chapter of the Concerned Puerto Ricans Committee. He was transferred back to Attica, when in September the inmates at Comstock tried to have a memorial to honor their fellow prisoners who were murdered 2 years ago and were denied that right.

Luis is being kept in his cell for a period of 23 hours, with one hour out for exercise. He told me he is afraid of being drugged as he has been sleeping unusually too much. According to their own regulations, an inmate is not supposed to be held in solitary confinement for more than 7 days. The officer at Attica bring him to a hearing every 7 days at which additional charges are levelled at him and he is sent back to the box

has," Mrs. Davis declared. "Now we're going to make sure that what happened to Thomas Wansley won't keep happening to Black people here."

The Lynchburg Black community, which launched the struggle for Wansley's freedom 11 years ago, is continuing its activity around the case. The next major action of the campaign is a vigil at the governor's mansion in Richmond the night of January 11, in which Lynchburg Blacks will participate while holding a simultaneous vigil at the Lynchburg courthouse. Garnell Stamps, chairman of the Lynchburg NAACP, described the vigil and the entire campaign for Wansley's freedom as a symbol of "Blacks, women, and the working class uniting to rid the American system of racism and oppression."

The Prisoners Solidarity Committee in Richmond and Norfolk is providing support to the Lynchburg Black community's struggle, and continuing the fight to free Thomas Wansley. The PSC is helping organize the January 11 vigil for Wansley, as well as a demonstration at the inauguration of the new governor in Richmond on January 12. In Norfolk, there will be a demonstration demanding freedom for Thomas Wansley and James Carrington (another Black victim of a frameup rape charge, now serving 75 years in prison) on January 19, and PSC members and friends have distributed over 10,000 leaflets on the case in the past few weeks.

For more information on the struggle for Thomas Wansley's freedom, contact: Prisoners Solidarity Committee, PO Box 7032, Norfolk, Va. 23509. (804) 625-7759.

Free Thomas Wansley and James Carrington! Jail Royston Jester!

for 7 more days. Another prisoner, Mario Serrano, vice-chairman of the Committee, has been transferred to Greenhaven Correctional Facility. This is the usual treatment prisoners get the minute that they get politicized and start organizing themselves.

At the present time there are at least 10 Spanish-speaking inmates in solitary confinement at Attica. One of them, Salvador Agron, has been in solitary confinement for one whole year. At least three prisoners have committed suicide in the last 3 years.

Prisoners are kept in two different sections. Political prisoners are kept in one repressive block. In the other, they keep prisoners that they can manipulate by divide and conquer methods.

The other prisoner I visited was Alexander del Hoyo—29250. He informed me that the Puerto Ricans were boycotting the Christmas show because they were not permitting them to have the kind of show that they wanted. They were also to stage a hunger strike on Christmas Day to protest their repressive conditions.

According to the Geneva Convention of 1954, tiger cages should have been abolished. Yet, they still have them in Attica. Of the 28 demands for which prisoners were killed, none has been granted to this day.

To you who are reading these lines, I ask that you please set aside a few minutes of your time and write a letter to Harold J. Smith, Superintendent, Box 149, Attica, New York 14011, protesting the brutal treatment these prisoners are suffering.

Genoveva Clemente

Chilean groups announce plans for resistance

JANUARY 8—The fascist military junta in Chile continues unabated its bloody repression against the Chilean people. Last month Mexican newspapers reported and editorially denounced the murdering of unarmed workers in Santiago. This act of savagery happened sometime in early December, but the news was delayed several weeks because of the censorship imposed by the junta.

The incident occurred when subway workers in Santiago demonstrated peacefully, demanding an improvement in their economic situation. When police demanded to know who their leader was, all the workers raised their hands. An officer then ordered the troops to fire on the workers. Those who managed to escape didn't go to work afterwards for fear of reprisals.

Meanwhile, the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) announced in a communiqué that Juan Bautista van Schooten, a member of the MIR's Political Commission, has been arrested. The communiqué reports that van Schooten's arrest took place on December 14 in a church in downtown Santiago.

Rolando Calderon, General Secretary of the banned Central Organization of Workers (CUT), is reported to be in critical condition in a military hospital. He was wounded when captured in the yard of the former Cuban Embassy in Santiago. It is feared that the Chilean military may be trying to

find a way to murder him and then blame his death on his poor state of health.

More fortunate was the fate of Carlos Alamirano, General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Chile. Press reports indicate that he has arrived safely in Cuba.

As reports began to come in of acts of resistance to the junta, a joint declaration by the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the MIR was issued in Rome on

December 16. They declared: "Chile struggles and will struggle until it regains the freedom that was lost as a result of a fascist military coup planned from the offices of the Central Intelligence Agency in Washington in complicity with the local reaction."

"The Chilean people are reorganizing their ranks. They are regrouping for the struggle in the midst of a difficult, clan-

CHILE 1970-1973

The pamphlet, *Chile 1970-1973*, is available from World View Publishers, 46 West 21st Street, New York, N. Y. 10010. The price is 75 cents. The pamphlet provides both a historical review of the three years of the Popular Unity government, and an analysis of why that leftist popular front was able to be overthrown by a fascist coup. The analysis is unique in that it was offered both before and after the tragic events in Chile.

Prison worker charges

'I was beaten for defending Muhammad Ahmad'

NEW YORK, Jan. 8—The case of Muhammad Ahmad goes to trial in Kew Gardens, Queens, on January 17. Originally imprisoned almost seven years ago on charges around the frameup of RAM, a militant Black group in Philadelphia, he is now to be tried on charges of criminal anarchy, jumping bail, and two counts of criminal assault.

The strategy of the DA is to try the last charge, a 1973 prison frameup on assault and battery, first, instead of the original anarchy indictment, in order to project a "common criminal" image to the jury and suppress the politics of the case. But Ahmad's attorney, O.T. Wells, on behalf of his client, is basing the defense on the contention that a conspiracy between federal and local authorities has existed since early 1967 (when Ahmad was singled out by FBI Director Hoover) to deprive him of his liberty and constitutional rights.

A decision is now pending in the federal courts to remove the case from the state courts on this basis.

In a related development, a young woman employee of the N.Y. Corrections Department, Marion Rappaport, has charged that she was beaten and barred from her job for having shown support of Muhammad Ahmad. Her statement to Workers World follows:

"I have been a mental health worker at

the Riker's Island Prison Hospital since January, 1973. On December 19, 1973, I returned to the Island after having been barred from the prisons by the Corrections Department since October 26th. Within two hours of my first day back on the job, I was severely beaten up by an inmate at the hospital who is noted for his position as chief rat and who without a doubt had been set up by individuals in the Corrections Department to do a job.

"In other words, the political repression usually reserved for the inmate population has escalated to the point where terror tactics are now used on civilian workers who openly ally themselves with the legitimate struggles of the prisoners they work with. The Bronx DA's office, in conjunction with the Corrections Department, has refused to allow me to file charges against the inmate, who was immediately sent out to Matteawan State Hospital. Several law suits are now being organized.

"The order initially barring me from the prisons in October stemmed from my refusal to comply with an aggressive and unroutine search of my personal belongings without the presence of a supervisor. I ultimately consented to the search and no contraband was found on me.

"I had been targeted by Corrections in what a friendly officer informed me was a 'calculated set-up and systematic in-

imidation' because of the support I had given to a political prisoner, Muhammad Ahmad, who had been a patient at the hospital last April.

"In September, a captain and several officers cornered me as I was leaving the hospital one afternoon and busted me with leaflets from Ahmad's Defense Committee that I was taking to the meeting after work. Though the incident was reported to Commissioner Malcom's office, no action was taken at that time because the Corrections Department refused to submit the confiscated material to the Media Review Committees which were allegedly set up by departmental regulation to evaluate all literature coming into the institutions. Although I was barred several months later under the pretense of 'insubordination,' the unofficial charges against me were that I was a 'security risk' and 'runner for the Black Liberation Army.'

"During the spring when Ahmad was incarcerated within various city prisons, I had a vicious confrontation with the warden of the Queens House of Detention over my attempt to visit him, and an additional encounter with the warden of the hospital concerning the efforts of the mental health unit at the Bronx House to return him for medical care and rest to the hospital. On both occasions, these respective wardens warned in almost hysterical tones how criminal and dangerous Ahmad was. One

destine environment. A far-reaching and united movement is being set up for mobilizing the great majority of our compatriots."

While international support for the Chilean left continues to grow, the fascist junta is almost universally reviled and despised. But they do have some "friends." As if to reward the bloodstained generals and admirals, the U.S. has resumed economic aid to Chile. The aid, described as the "Little Marshall Plan," consists of some \$400 million.

The Cuban weekly review *Granma* describes how "Top officials of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Inter-American Committee of the Alliance for Progress, the Export-Import Bank and the Agency for International Development are in Chile or have already visited Santiago to put the finishing touches on their economic aid agreement with the four-man fascist junta.

"Meanwhile, the largest private U.S. banks have announced the granting of credits and loans to the fascist junta and the complete lifting of the criminal financial blockade that had been imposed on the People's Unity Government."

But the suffering masses of Chile are learning from their ordeal and are preparing a message for the bankers: All power to the workers and peasants in Chile!



Marion Rappaport

warden went so far as to shout that Ahmad would 'stop at nothing to murder, maim, and rape' and that 'he would never see the light of day.'

"It is largely on the basis of my association with this prisoner that the Corrections Department has retaliated against me with the kind of brutal harassment and intimidation daily dealt out to political prisoners and, ultimately, their supporters."

The Muhammad Ahmad Defense Committee (P.O. Box 389, Jamaica, N.Y. 11431; 850-3644) urges a large turnout when Muhammad's trial opens January 17. Be at Criminal Court, Kew Gardens, Part III—Judge Bosch.

Subscribe

THAT'S WHAT WOMEN'S LIBERATION
MEANS TO A BOSS...

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