

workers world

Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite

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Vol. 15, No. 15

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25 cents

Meat vanishes from workers' tables, but

Nixon's 'controls' hike profits 37 %

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Women take beef trusts to court for price fixing

By SHARON SHELTON

NEW YORK, Aug. 24—An organization of women shoppers instrumental in the April meat boycott has launched a legal campaign against the powerful meat industry's monopoly practices of creating shortages to raise the price of beef.

Representing many angry shoppers across the country, Women United for Action today filed an injunction in the Federal District Court of the Southern District of New York on the basis of a section in the Sherman Anti-Trust and Clayton Acts which outlaws any "conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce."

In the suit the women are charging that the large beef interests in their insatiable greed for profits have conspired to withhold meat from the market. The petition also asks that the court restrain the meat industry from any further increases—especially after Nixon's so-called Phase IV "freeze" expires on September 12.

The suit names Tenneco, Greyhound Corporation, Times-Mirror Corporation, Equity Funding Corporation of America, and Wilson and Co. as co-conspirators.

Referring to these corporations the petition states, "The beef industry today no longer resembles a small enterprise of isolated ranchers, but is rather a network of connecting links involving the beef industry

with the largest and most diversified companies in the world, which control oil wells, railroads, citrus groves, insurance companies, etc."

A look at the corporations named bears out this statement. Tenneco, Inc., for example, is the parent company (among others) of the Boquillas Cattle Company and the Victoria Land and Cattle Company. Its 1971 revenues from cattle alone exceeded \$1,603,000.

Another example is Greyhound Corporation, which is sole owner of Armour and Co., the second largest meat company in the United States. The Times-Mirror Corporation, another of the companies named, owns controlling shares in the T-John Ranch—a 295,000-acre ranch with 14,000 head of cattle and the largest single operating ranch in California with assets of \$5,730,000.

Also named in the suit is the Equity Funding Corporation of America, which owns the Equity Funding Cattle Management Co. and the Ankony Angus Corporation. Together these companies have a limited partnership known as Ankony Cattle Systems, which is capitalized at \$5 million. Another defendant is Wilson & Co., the third largest meat packing company in the country.

Named, but not included as defendants in the suit, are a number of corporations whose offices are not located in the Southern District of New York where the injunction is originating. Among these are the King Ranch, Western Beef, Idlewild International Foods Inc., LTV Corporation, and Iowa Beef Processors.

TRUSTS ADMIT ARTIFICIAL SHORTAGES

To prove that the industry itself has admitted to charges of creating shortages, the Women United suit quotes the American National Cattlemen's Association as threatening, "Unless controls on beef are

loosened, artificial beef shortages will become more acute and black markets will intensify."

The women's petition shows that: "This year cattle production reached 131 million head which is 15 percent higher than 1972 and the largest since industry records were begun in 1924. Yet 'shortages' appear today on the market, obviously not at all in keeping with the capacity or in fact the reality of beef production."

Since the Justice Department has done nothing to prosecute or investigate this conspiracy on the part of the meat industry, Women United for Action—an organization of working women, poor women, students, women on welfare, and all those who suffer

from exorbitant food prices—has taken on the task itself.

The group also announced a public meeting on "Why Are Food Prices Rising and How Can We Fight It?" on Friday, September 14 at 7:00 p.m., at the McBurney YMCA, 23rd Street and Seventh Avenue in New York City.

In a related development, it was learned that a number of consumer groups are planning actions in Washington, New York, and other cities on September 12, the day the ceiling on beef prices is to be lifted. Information on these activities is available from Women United For Action, 58 West 25th Street, New York City, telephone (212) 989-1252.



Government launches all-out attack on farm workers, while rank-and-file Teamsters support the strike. See back page.

The meaning of Nixon's June 5 conspiracy

See centerfold
article
by Sam Marcy

Chrysler rocked by walkouts, sit-ins

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Militant auto workers demonstrate at Chrysler.

By DEBBIE FIELD

DETROIT, Aug. 16—Three times in the last three weeks, Chrysler Corporation has been rocked to its foundations by wildcat action. The most recent eruption—a sit-in by 200 workers—raised the seismographs higher than at any time since the auto earthquake of the 1930s.

Militant rank-and-file Chrysler workers from assembly, stamping, and forge plants have taken the situation into their own hands and have moved to put an end to some of their misery. As a result, massive public attention has been centered on the unbearable work conditions, the racism, and the health and safety hazards in this city's auto plants.

On July 24, two Black workers, Isaac Shorter and Larry Carter, seized the control room of Chrysler's Jefferson assembly plant (10,000 workers) and shut off power to the line for 13 hours until the company met their demands to fire an extremely racist foreman.

Workers all over the city applauded Shorter and Carter and celebrated their victory while they silently thought to

themselves, "Why couldn't that have been my foreman?"

NO SAFETY AT THE FORGE

On August 7, Lynch Road Forge Plant workers—encouraged by the victory of their union brothers and sisters at the Jefferson plant—exploded when two workers were injured seriously on jobs where there was no protection from the open and dangerous machinery.

Though "accidents" are a fairly common occurrence at any forge plant (one of the many reasons why UAW leaders are currently negotiating for an earlier retirement for forge and foundry workers in the national contract talks), this time the workers had enough.

They walked out and set up picket lines—refusing to return until Chrysler cleaned up and improved safety standards. Throughout the walkout, workers picketed the plant despite injunctions that Chrysler obtained against them.

The rank and file stood together—Black and white—even during a stormy union meeting where they demanded the leadership to move on their grievances or else step aside to let the ranks do it themselves. This was happening while UAW leaders pleaded with the workers to go back to work the first day of the strike.

WHY THE MOUSE ROARED

The workers were so forceful and strong together that Local 47 leaders called in Douglas Fraser from the UAW International Headquarters.

Fraser, the UAW vice president in charge of Chrysler affairs, in an effort to convince the workers that the UAW would not "forget" their troubles amidst the flurry of the ongoing contract talks, cancelled the national negotiations with Chrysler for a full day, an unprecedented move for this timid (to the company) bureaucrat!

He personally toured the Lynch Road plant while his entire staff toured the rest of Chrysler's Detroit-area plants.

Fraser came out of the plant with his new suit coat all covered with grease and dripping oil. And after having seen the huge holes in the floor, overflowing sewers,

unguarded machinery, rats, and the broken-down ventilation equipment, he was forced to admit what every Chrysler worker knows:

"I saw it (the closed plant) under the best of circumstances and it's not good enough. The workers have legitimate and pressing grievances."

AFRAID TO COUNT THE VOTE

On Sunday, August 12, the union leaders called the workers back together in another attempt to assure them that the International would do something about the conditions if they went back to work.

In a close and highly questionable vote which was not counted, the workers agreed to go back to work if the union held a strike vote during the week.

A positive strike vote, if approved by the International Union, would authorize the workers to go out on a "legal" strike against the poor health and safety standards in the plant.

(Over the years, the union leadership has allowed itself to be tied down and handcuffed so that no strike is considered legal until an involved and time-consuming procedure has been followed. This "cooling off" time obviously is to the advantage of the companies who are always looking to buy time rather than improve work conditions.)

On Monday, August 13, the workers returned to the plant after almost a full week of wildcatting. The strike vote is to take place on Friday, August 17.

(The workers at Detroit's Lynch Road Forge Plant on August 17 authorized the strike—Ed.)

AGAIN, THE SITDOWN!

The next day, and before Chrysler could catch its breath from the last two angry strikes, a third plant was rocked by the first sitdown strike it had seen since 1937.

Two workers from the Mack Avenue stamping plant—one Black and one white, and both members of Workers Action Movement (WAM)—had been fired for their participation in a protest against poor ventilation and 130 degree heat in their section.

On Tuesday, August 14, these two workers returned to work and went over to their old places on the production line. When guards attempted to throw them out, they boldly sat on the line, stopping production.

In the ensuing fight, two guards were injured and Chrysler called in the Detroit cops.

The sight of riot-uniformed cops in the plant so enraged several hundred workers in the section that they sat down in front of the two workers, refusing to allow the cops near them.

The company was forced to send the workers home, but 200 of them stayed and occupied the plant, drawing up a list of demands, including demands that Chrysler rehire all workers fired during the Lynch Road walkout and that health and safety conditions be improved at Mack Avenue.

(This demand for justice at a different plant than their own—is also really unprecedented.)

Through the afternoon and evening, the number inside dwindled to 50, but fellow workers and their supporters massed outside the plant gates.

WAM'S RIGHTEOUS ANGER—BUT...

Early the same morning of the takeover, other members of WAM stormed the offices of the President of UAW Local 212 which represents the workers of the Lynch Road plant. They reportedly overturned desks and shoved the President around.

The act itself was most probably brought on by a righteous burst of anger against union leaders who do not represent the real interests of their members. But the

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Home for 300 poor people collapses

By TOM MITCHELL

NEW YORK—At 5:10 p.m., Friday, August 3, a hundred-foot-long section of an eight-story hotel in lower Manhattan collapsed with a great roar into a pile of bricks, mortar, wooden support beams, and crushed bodies.

On that day there were 308 residents of the rundown rat-trap hotel known as the Broadway Central (recently renamed the University). Living four and five to a room, cooking on hotplates, 120 of the victims of this unfit housing were placed there by the welfare department at room charges of upwards of \$50-a-week per person.

Many workers in the light manufacturing district surrounding the "welfare hotel" had seen the building facade bulging outward and predicted the catastrophe. The city building inspector had reported the bulge last February 22, but the buildings department did not force the landlord to make repairs. Six months later, the landlord was fined the paltry sum of \$100 and that settled the matter.

Luckily, the building shuddered and shook for several minutes before it went down, allowing most tenants to escape. Four bodies have been recovered, while four more people are reported missing.

MURDER!

The landlord and the city let the Broadway Central collapse because they care nothing for the lives of the poor people unfortunate enough to have to live there or other places like it.

They cared nothing two years ago when they packed 453 people on welfare, including more than 200 children, into the dilapidated hellhole. When four-year-old Tyrone Holland died in February 1971, from a fall down an open elevator shaft, hundreds protested by occupying a brand new luxury

high-rise apartment building. Only then did the city decide that welfare hotels would not entirely serve as the final solution and classified the Broadway Central as "unsuitable" for welfare housing.

Most of the families were relocated, leaving the old and disabled. Some of those left behind could not get out in time when the building finally collapsed.

THE REAL WELFARE CHISELERS

Edward's Management, owners of the hotel, were collecting more than \$500,000 a year from the welfare department without having to spend a nickel to maintain the building, while the welfare people suffered from malnutrition on a food allowance of less than \$1 a day. The Broadway Central especially points up the fact that the overwhelming portion of welfare funds is a direct handout by the city to criminal slumlords.

Bernice Rogers, a former Deputy Commissioner of Buildings, is one of the heads of Edwards Management, with a direct business connection to City Hall corruption.

In the cold, calculating profiteering of Philip Edwards, head of the corporation, it was good business to let the hotel fall apart while making a fortune off working taxpayers and the suffering of people forced to live in a deathtrap.

Edwards and his City Hall partners who grow fat on the misery and sweat of poor and working people are murderers. But they'll never be tried in a capitalist court for their crimes. There will be more Broadway Centrals—and more profiteers off them—until poor and working people are organized into a force strong enough to tear down the rat-traps and destroy the rats who oppress us.

3 Homes for Nixon get \$10M renovation

By BOB McCUBBIN

The Broadway Central Hotel was not a nice place to live. The eight-story building in New York's Greenwich Village was over 100 years old.

In it lived 308 people, 120 of them on welfare. This in spite of the fact that the hotel had been listed as unsuitable for welfare recipients by the Human Resources Administration. The hotel was dirty, rat and roach infested, and the living quarters were cramped, overcrowded, and unsafe. Yet the place was never closed and, in fact, continued to do a thriving business off the poor people forced to live there.

It is unlikely that any of the surviving occupants of the Broadway Central Hotel have a second residence where they can go, now that the hotel is in ruins. The Broadway Central, unlike President Nixon's "Western White House," had no "guest houses" to which the occupants might comfortably retire in the unlikely event that disaster should strike the main building. For that matter, there was no fleet of golf carts available to the hotel's residents for transportation to the shopping areas several blocks away. None of the Broadway Central's apartments came with a room designated as "the den" and it is likely that you could have refurbished the whole hotel with the \$4,834.50 that was spent furnishing the President's den at San Clemente (at the taxpayers' expense). The Broadway Central had no bullet-resistant glass (\$128,708—Key Biscayne), no redwood fences (\$11,561.35—San Clemente), and no relocated trees (\$1,800—San Clemente). It had, in fact, no trees at all.

The \$10 million in public funds that have been spent on the Presidential retreats in San Clemente, Key Biscayne, and Grand Cay, and on the homes of the President's married daughters, would go a long way toward providing decent housing for the 302

homeless survivors of the Broadway Central Hotel. Instead, however, the money has been used to "spruce up" Mr. Nixon's third, fourth, and fifth residences, the White House and Camp David having proved inadequate to his "needs."

The General Services Administration (GSA) was reluctant, to say the least, to divulge the amount of government money spent on Nixon's extra homes, and in May released the figure of \$39,525. Under the pressure of further questioning, the figure was raised to \$1,883,889. The third figure of \$10 million, released just weeks ago, may prove to be a further fabrication although it is certainly difficult for a working person to figure out where, even with the helicopter pads, shark nets, and bulletproof wind screens, that \$10 million went. Accompanying the release of what information has been made public was this warning by GSA official Arthur Sampson: "Putting these numbers and these photos in front of you is compromising the security of the President."

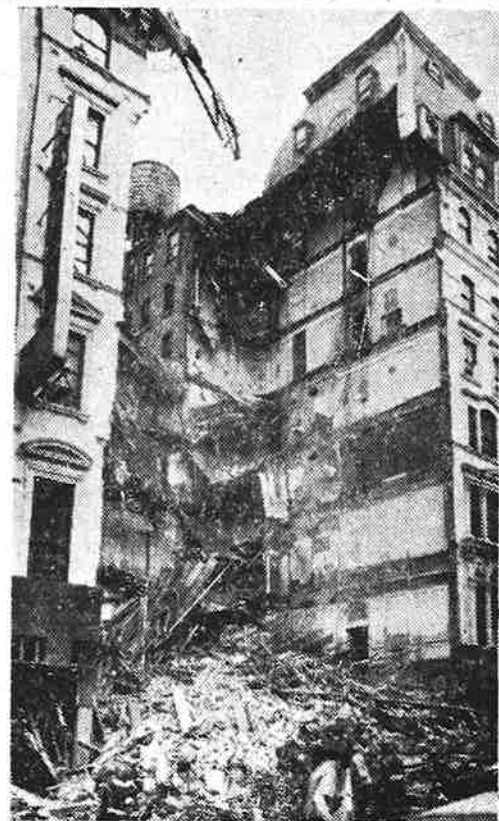
Now, they say there was a lot of crime in the area of the Broadway Central and officials like Louis Lefkowitz attributed it to the hotel's residents. No doubt it's true that some of these victims, who did not, by the way, choose to live in such squalor or pay such exorbitant rents, were driven to illegal acts to preserve the roof over their heads (though it was finally taken away anyway) and get food for their often-empty stomachs.

But what can be said of the big-time criminals like Matilda Edwards and her husband Philip, who, driven by no such pressing need as their tenants, robbed them anyway on a weekly basis (\$135,000 net profit a year by their own account) and bear direct responsibility for the deaths of a number of them?

And what of Mayor Lindsay, who stood in the rubble of the Broadway Central for a few minutes biting his lip, then returned to his limousine and headed uptown to Gracie Mansion for a fine early-evening meal. The last time a building collapsed the Buildings Commissioner asked for more inspectors. Lindsay replied at that time, "He will have all the inspectors he needs." Yet, during Lindsay's administration the number of inspectors has gone from a high in 1967 of 427 to a low in 1973 of 344. This time Lindsay didn't even bother to mouth words of reassurance. Shouldn't Lindsay be locked up for criminal neglect of the city he's supposed to act as mayor of?

And what of Richard Nixon? Might he not understand the problems of the people better if he had only one home, like the rest of us? Might he not understand the problems of urban decay better if he had to live in the midst of it?

We could fix him up with a not-so-nice two-room efficiency for about \$200 a month within a stone's throw of the ruins of the Broadway Central. We could have it waiting for him in case he somehow survived the sentence he should get for his crimes against humanity and his \$10 million rip-off of the American people.



Broadway Central deathtrap



...and Nixon's Key Biscayne.

move gave the top bureaucrats, who hate to have their boats rocked, just the excuse they were looking for to ignore the just demands of the strikers, and to do a little calculated red-baiting as well.

Douglas Fraser came out with the most pro-company and anti-union statement a union "leader" could make in this situation, when he urged Chrysler to "sit this one out and make them go back to work" because this was "just a small group of dissidents not representing the mass of workers."

The truth, in fact, was that those same leaders who denounced the worker

militants were at the same time forced by the general sentiment of the rank and file of the local to negotiate the strikers' demands all through the night with Chrysler. When the sit-down strike was finally ended late in the second day by a riot-police raid, the union intervened and got all but the original two workers released without charges.

A THOUSAND COMPANY COPS?

On Wednesday 200 Mack Avenue workers voted unanimously to continue the wildcat until the place was cleaned up. But

on Thursday a thousand UAW officials from all over Detroit stood at the gates to herd workers back into the plant and break up would-be picketers.

This was clearly an all-out effort on the union leadership's part to "put the workers in their places" and to show the corporations that the union bureaucrats are strong and in control of their ranks." It was also a new low in anti-union actions by these so-called "leaders" in quite a while.

The only reason the top union bureaucrats could have for such a show of force against the workers is to offer

assurances to Chrysler and the other auto companies that they (the bureaucrats) will try their best to stop any future upsurge of workers' anger or to put down any that might erupt.

But the angry uprisings WILL come against the companies, in spite of these misleaders. In the process the rank-and-file tide will sweep away all the cowering bureaucrats who never vent their anger at the companies but only flex their muscles to keep the workers from demanding too many of their rights.

Strike of oyster packers rallies labor support

NORFOLK, Va.—More than 70 pickets have demonstrated in front of the offices of the Virginia-Pilot and the Ledger-Star, the main newspapers servicing the Tidewater area, in support of the striking workers of the J.H. Miles oyster packing plant. The picket line, sponsored by Local 26, Distributive Workers of America and the Norfolk Center for United Labor Action (C.U.L.A.), was called July 23 to protest the lack of media coverage, especially by these two large newspapers, of the five-month long strike by Black workers, most of whom are women.

A leaflet distributed by C.U.L.A. explained the issues and conditions which forced these members of Local 26 out on strike. Some of these include:

"No heat in the winter or ventilation in the summer.

No private dressing facilities or toilets.

Workers must buy their own equipment and uniforms from the company at inflated prices.

Low wages at \$2.15 an hour. (One striker, 80 years of age, has 30 years seniority and was still working at \$2.15 an hour with no retirement benefits.)

No overtime pay even with frequent 10- to 12-hour days.

No night differential pay.

Racist harassment by supervisors."

In addition, the Miles company wants to take away dues check-off, union visitation rights, and the union's health and welfare benefit plan, while offering only a 10 cent-an-hour pay increase.

BOYCOTT CAMPBELL'S SOUPS

The strikers and their supporters carried signs and banners reading: "Why do the Pilot and Star hide the truth about the

J.H. Miles strike?" and "5 months on strike—That's not NEWS?!"

The message of many of the C.U.L.A. signs encouraged people to boycott Campbell's oyster and clam soups since J.H. Miles sells all its scab seafood to the billion-dollar soup company. Representatives from the United Farm Workers joined in the call for a Campbell's boycott and carried a sign linking the struggle of the Miles strikers with that of the farm workers against the grape and lettuce growers.

The demonstration, which displayed the growing community and labor solidarity with the Miles strikers, pricked a nerve somewhere in the Norfolk power elite. Police were sent to stake out the strike headquarters and to harass the pickets with threats of arrest.

The picket line caused considerable interest and support among passers-by, but was still not considered news by the big business owners of the Virginia-Pilot and Ledger-Star and received no coverage in their pages. However, other local media, particularly the Black-owned newspaper, Journal and Guide, did report the event and informed more people in the community about the strike.

Anyone interested in further in-



Miles workers hit the bricks. WW photo formation about the strike or in receiving copies of a petition supporting the Campbell's boycott, please contact Center for United Labor Action, P.O. Box 7002, Norfolk, Va. 23509.

Thousands thrown off NYC welfare rolls

By MARK DORAN

From September of 1972 to May of 1973, 69,000 persons were dropped from the New York City welfare rolls. As Mayor Lindsay boasts about "cost savings," tens of thousands in the city are faced with actual starvation.

The drive to force people off the rolls, which was initiated nationwide by the Nixon administration in 1970, resulted in "new tough management" which is designed to drop existing people from the relief rolls and make it virtually impossible for new ones to get on. Some of these "management innovations" include:

+ Long lines outside welfare centers beginning at 5:30 a.m.

+ Inability to reach welfare centers by phone.

+ Eligibility requirements that stagger the imagination, such as birth certificate, driver's license, draft card, rent receipts, and physical examinations lasting for days.

+ A campaign designed to drive "addicts" off the rolls.

+ Arbitrary cutting people off the rolls with no reason or accountability.

+ Harassment of social workers considered too generous.

In the same period as the cutbacks welfare costs have risen by \$110 million. This is because the cost of computers and

highly paid "experts" has exceeded the savings from the cutoffs—and because rent-gouging landlords have doubled and tripled their bill to the city since rent control was defeated.

The ruling class spokesmen from Nixon to Lindsay have deplored the rising welfare rolls. From 1966 to 1972 the New York City rolls doubled from 500,000 to 1.2 million. But this paralleled a doubling in the unemployment rate from 3 to 6 percent. The government has tried to blame the recipients themselves for the rise.

The cutbacks have hit hardest at the city's Black and Spanish-speaking poor. The city's racist response has been to publicize one-way tickets to the South or Puerto Rico.

Despite the fact that 53 percent of the nation's welfare recipients are white, the aim of Nixon and Lindsay is clear: whip up racist hysteria against the oppressed communities. They are attempting to divide Black from white to have a free hand in driving down the living standards of all.

No such animosity exists toward that other class of welfare recipients: the military, the giant corporations, and agribusiness. Their "allotment" amounts to billions of taxpayers' dollars.

But the growing crisis of imperialism, political and economic, points to sharp struggles in the near future, struggles which will shake up the computers and "management" owned by the ruling class.



Waiting for the food truck: the face of hunger, Christie Street, New York City, 1973.

the nearly 60 million workers not represented by bona fide unions, the government ought to guarantee them similar increases.

At the moment, the workers, even some of the most militant, still appear to believe the capitalist propaganda that "wage increases cause price increases," rather than that price increases are usually caused by other pressures, particularly monopoly corporation price rigging.

But this belief is already being eroded and will soon be shattered altogether. In desperation and in sheer self-defense, the workers—employed and unemployed—will begin to fight back.

The question is not whether they will fight, but how effectively and under what leadership.

Even now the United Auto Workers Union heads are planning to repeat their time-honored—or rather, time-worn and time-tattered—"one-at-a-time" strategy. Even now they are busy "picking a target" from among the Big Three auto-makers, when their real problem is how to hit the whole auto industry at the very least, and call upon the U.S. government to adjust the wages of the millions of non-auto workers; too.

These old fly-swatting, nit-picking, wrist-slapping "leaders" will never initiate anything bold, original, or really dangerous to the rule of the corporations. But they are already being pushed by the restless rank and file to do that which they were absolutely determined not to—fight.

Needless to say, they will not fight hard enough. And all labor will suffer this fall and winter when prices continue to rise far beyond the scope of the auto wage increases.

The growing militancy of the ranks, however, which can only partially communicate itself to the present thick-skinned, hide-bound leadership, must and shall result in throwing up a newer, bolder, more innovative leadership.

The situation may be tough at the moment. The frustrations may be difficult.

But "if winter comes," says the poet, "can spring be far behind?"

Among the oppressed in the United States, many winters have come and gone without the spring. But times are beginning to change.

If you work in the auto plants today, for instance, you don't have to be a poet to know that the working people's spring is definitely in the works.

Profits up 37 percent; labor faces hard winter

By VINCE COPELAND

Corporation profits for the second quarter of this year were 37 percent above what they were a year ago.

Second quarter before-tax profits were at the record annual rate of \$130.1 billion, with after-tax profits at a record \$72.6 billion.

Meanwhile, wage increases are being held at 5.5 percent—if anybody can get them.

And unemployment is still officially measured at about 4 million.

(Counting part-time unemployment and unreported jobless youth, etc., it is really closer to 8 million or even 10 million. And there are nearly 15 million people on welfare, too!)

Working people, employed as well as unemployed, have had to take food off their tables in order to pay the rent. They have had to eat less beef—while they turned out

more steel for their bosses.

(This will be a record year in steel, auto, and several other important products.)

Prices are going up much, much faster than wages. Food prices alone went up about 5.7 percent in the first two weeks of August, according to the conservative Bureau of Labor Statistics, and added over \$3.00 to the grocery bill of a family of four in that period.

Considering that there are many millions of families with a take-home pay of \$100 or less, it is clear that a crisis is shaping up for the working people and is, in fact, already upon us.

Even a family with a take-home pay of \$180 a week (which would be in the upper half of the population, income-wise), will be very hard pressed if this trend continues.

At the very minimum, every labor contract should provide for pay increases equal to the cost-of-living increases. And for

Commuters elated over transit fare victory

By MARY PINOTTI

NEW YORK—Bristling commuter opposition to the 67 percent fare increase on the New York-New Jersey commuter line, Port Authority Trans-Hudson (PATH), has forced the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to suspend the increase for seven months and to hold public hearings at a time and place convenient for the riders.

The PATH trains are operated and maintained by the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. The present fare is 30 cents. PATH wants to increase it to 50 cents.

A coalition of the New York and New Jersey chapters of the Center for United Labor Action (C.U.L.A.) and the Puerto Rican Association for Community Organization (PACO) of Jersey City organized commuter opposition to the increase. The coalition collected over 20,000 signatures on petitions demanding: (1) open the Port Authority books, (2) hold public hearings at a time and place convenient for working people, and (3) no fare increase.

For over two months, sisters and brothers from the C.U.L.A. and PACO rode the PATH trains, passing the petitions to collect signatures. "When I asked people to sign," one sister said, "they asked 'How

many times?' " A brother reported that the commuters broke their pencils in their rush to sign, and as he got off the train at his stop one passenger argued, "You can't get out! I haven't signed yet!"

On a Jersey City-bound train, a motorman came out of his cab and signed the petition, proof that the PATH workers know the Port Authority is a den of thieves. They had a 63-day strike against PATH earlier in the year.

"SIGN THE PETITION DAY"

On "Sign the Petition Day," July 31, tables were set up inside five major terminals (World Trade Center, 33rd Street, Hoboken, Grove, and Journal Square) during the rush hour. C.U.L.A. had been warned this was illegal—but did it anyway, because C.U.L.A. had the complete support of the riders.

It was important for the coalition to get the bulk of the signatures before August 8. The ICC was meeting then to decide whether to raise the fare or suspend the increase and hold public hearings.

The ICC selected Washington, D.C., as the site for the August 8 meeting. This selection (almost 300 miles away) was an



C.U.L.A. confronts ICC bureaucrat in Washington.

insult to PATH riders and an attempt to hide the ICC-PATH dirty work. PACO and C.U.L.A. responded to this with their decision to take the petitions right into the Washington, D.C., meeting.

On August 8, a large delegation from East Coast C.U.L.A. chapters (New York, New Jersey, Maryland-D.C., and Delaware) arrived at the ICC building in Washington. They carried a banner and a 20-pound scroll of petitions.

The delegation arrived at 10 a.m., but one hour earlier the ICC by voice vote had decided to suspend the increase for seven

months and to hold public hearings.

It was a clear victory for the PATH riders. Even the ICC admitted this when their spokesman said, "It was the strength of the commuter protest that commanded this decision."

The victory will save the 75,000 PATH riders a minimum of \$4.5 million!

The demand for local (New York-New Jersey) hearings at a time convenient to working people was also won. The C.U.L.A. and PACO are now distributing questionnaires asking the commuters to determine their preference about time and place.

Women mark down prices at food chain

By RUTH McCORMICK

If you had been shopping at Key Foods at 21st Street and 8th Avenue in Manhattan on August 4, at about 12:00 noon, you would have noticed, to your amazement and delight, that all the prices had been rolled back by 25 percent. And when you had loaded up your cart with items you may not have been able to afford for months, you would have been very angry to find that the store manager had instructed the checkers not to honor the rollback.

Pandemonium broke loose in the store, as nervous-looking cops and eager TV cameramen entered, the former called by the manager, the latter, in advance, by representatives of Women United for Action, who had in fact been the organizers of the action. Earlier, about 30 women from the group had entered the store and surreptitiously put stickers on numerous food items reading, "Sale—25 Percent Off."

Although the manager, on instructions from his boss in the main office of Key Foods, refused to grant the angry customers a rollback, the point was made, and many of the customers joined the sisters from Women United in an angry street meeting outside the store, where leaflets were passed out exhorting people to "Turn Our

Complaints Into Action."

Both Women United members and people from the community got to speak to an appreciative crowd. Joyce Kaessinger, a spokeswoman of the group, said, "The recent grinding up of baby chicks, the threats of meat and poultry shortages, the holding back of the processing of canned goods are all criminal acts against the health of poor and working people. The government has rewarded these criminals by granting them increases in food prices and profits. We want people to come before profits."

Another representative of Women United, Margarita Goodman, a Brooklyn mother, described the enormous difficulty she has been having trying to feed her two children. A young woman from the community addressed the crowd in Spanish, declaring that we must all get together to fight the big food chains in order to get decent food at decent prices, and an 81-year-old man, also from the Chelsea community, told about the problems of living on a fixed income, and the outrage he felt at the prospect of not being able to feed himself.

Because of the nationwide press coverage that the action has received, Women United has been signing up at least



Women United at Key Food "sale."

WW photo: Fabian

two new members a day in the New York area alone, and has chapters in 14 states. The organization plans to step up its campaign locally at supermarkets in communities across the country. As Joyce Kaessinger put it, "People are angry and they're looking for a way to express it."

Food prices have gone up 4 1/2 percent

since August 4, and under Nixon's Phase IV hoax on the American people we can expect much more of the same. Women United and other grassroots groups are determined to fight for our very basic right to eat. Anyone interested in joining this fight can contact Women United (see article page 1 for address and phone number).

Latin community suffers police blitzkrieg in Boston

Special to WW from Boston YAWF

BOSTON—On Monday, July 9, at about 11:00 p.m., a few members of the Boston police force arrived in the vicinity of Dudley Street in the Puerto Rican community in Dorchester. They had come to arrest a young man who was allegedly guilty of a criminal act.

The next criminal act was committed by the police themselves. They proceeded to push and shove people around, shouting racist slogans, and ordering people into their houses.

This was enough provocation on that sweltering night for people to resist and protest such treatment. At the least sign of resistance the police called for reinforcements. They then proceeded to brutally beat and arrest all those who were in the

area. Among them were many minors, pregnant women, and even blind people.

The Committee Against Repression in the Puerto Rican Community, led by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, is spearheading the drive to free those who were unjustly arrested. On July 14, a demonstration was held in front of the City Hall in Boston with the community issuing the following statement: "We contend that those arrested are innocent of all charges made against them!!"

"We maintain that the policemen are guilty of provocation; brutalizing and arresting innocent people!!"

"This is not the first time that this brutal oppression has been unjustly meted out to our people. We of the Puerto Rican community of Boston say it must be the

last!!"

The community demanded:

"1) That the mayor suspend the irresponsible policemen who attacked our people. Real justice for the real criminals. 2) Eliminate all charges from the records of those arrested. 3) Put an end to all such flagrant abuses and brutal police forays or interventions in our community."

The two trials on July 17 and July 19, for juveniles and adults, respectively, were both accompanied by militant demonstrations, as was the second adult trial on August 9. The cases were all continued and it is significant that several of the defense witnesses have been harassed into leaving the city. On August 16, charges against six of eight juveniles were dropped because the racist police could not identify which person was accused of which charge.

More trials are slated for the future and Boston Youth Against War & Fascism will continue to be active in supporting the struggle of the Puerto Rican community

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The eleventh hour in Chile

The forces of counterrevolution in Chile are growing stronger by the hour. Not so secretly egged on and supported by the U.S. government through the CIA and of course ITT, they are coming out more and more openly and bidding for political supremacy.

First demanding new elections (and fortunately not getting them), then forcing President Allende to accept the top militarists of the country into his cabinet, they are still not satisfied.

Eduardo Frei Montalva, ex-president of Chile and leader of the reactionary Christian Democratic opposition, is demanding that the Cabinet generals be given "the necessary powers" to restore capitalist order completely and liquidate the remains of the socialist measures instituted by the beleaguered Allende regime.

Meanwhile, the so-called "strike" of truck owners has tied up the transportation of the whole country for a month. And now the shopkeepers, physicians, airline pilots, engineers, and technical and professional organizations are going on "strike" too.

Furthermore, on August 21, hundreds of fascist youths took to the streets and dared to demonstrate outside the national headquarters of the Communist Party and get into a street fight with the representatives of the majority of the working class!

In this situation, the Chilean CP is calling upon the workers to "be vigilant" rather than to accept the evidence of their already vigilant eyes.

They are exposing foreign conspiracies at a time the workers are all too well aware of the conspiracies and want to know what to do to defeat them.

They are allowing fascists and counter-

revolutionaries to have the streets, when it is no longer a question of exposing them, but of kicking them off the streets.

No U.S. capitalist government would ever allow a workers' strike to tie up the country if it had the slightest power to prevent it. Aside from wanting to destroy labor's power, the capitalist government is also determined to keep its economy going.

Yet Allende's government has allowed a relatively small group of bourgeois and petty bourgeois truck owners, and now doctors, engineers, etc., tie up the country much more effectively than U.S. transport workers have ever done. (Obviously he could end the "strike" by expropriating the trucks and putting real workers to work driving them.)

That was what Karl Marx had in mind when he said over a hundred years ago that to get socialism it was necessary to remove the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

So the eleventh hour has now struck for Chile. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat it must inevitably go to the unrestrained brutal dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This would mean terrible reprisals against the workers.

The last word, of course, has not been said, even now. The Chilean workers can yet stop these foul enemies of humanity in their tracks. They are ready, willing, and able to defeat the machinations of U.S. imperialism.

But to do so they need a resolute leadership and a program for unleashing their own class power and crushing the class power of the U.S.-backed counterrevolution.

The supposed 'plot' against Nixon

The reaction both at home and abroad to the supposed "plot" to assassinate Nixon in New Orleans has been highly skeptical. Like his "bout with pneumonia," a highly publicized plot against the president at the time of his lowest popularity ever can very well be a calculated move to evoke sympathy from the people and divert attention from the very damaging issues being probed in the Watergate investigation.

And knowing Nixon's past record, the possibility that this may open up a frameup against the left is very real. He has certainly tried to soften imperialism's defeat in Indochina by blaming it on "conspirators" at home (the Pentagon Papers case, the Harrisburg 7, the Gainesville 8, for example) using thoroughly illegal methods. And his early rise to political power was propelled by the Hiss case, one of the earliest frameup trials opening up the period of the cold-war witchhunt.

Nixon's whole line of defense for

Watergate has been to blame it on the anti-war and Black movements. This plus his ingrained reflex to solve every crisis with red-baiting makes us very suspicious of what may be behind the present "investigation."

Of course, there is another possibility. Tensions within the rightwing of the ruling class have risen so high that an attempt like that of the OAS against DeGaulle is conceivable. Military and para-military groupings exist in the U.S. that are certainly capable of an attempt on Nixon from the right, especially since he has become so discredited and his base of support has narrowed to a small clique of personal friends and millionaires.

At the present time, however, no information is available on the details of the so-called plot, nor is it clear how hard the administration wants to push its importance. It seems most likely that it was hatched within the administration itself to serve its own ends.

Ten years ago in WW—

"GADSDEN, ALA., August 3, 1963—About 700 Afro-American men, women, and teen-agers were arrested today in the downtown section of Gadsden as they were conducting a protest march against segregation.

"Included in the group are two workers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC): Patricia McElderry, 17, of Gadsden, and Claudia Rawles, 19, of Baltimore.

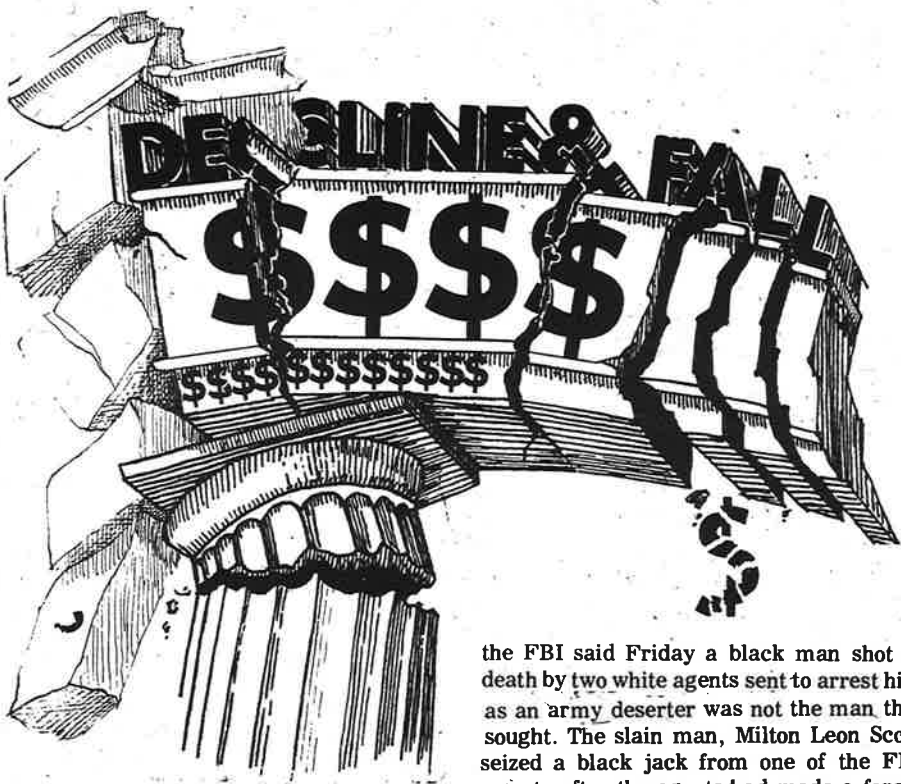
"A 15-year-old woman told SNCC officials in Atlanta that state police first arrested adult men, then adult women, and then began arresting juveniles of both sexes.

"The youngster also said that she saw

state police use electric cattle prodders on the younger children to drive them back, and that her own sister, 13, was jabbed with one of these poles.

"Meantime, up in Washington, Kennedy has been talking about 'peace' and 'civil rights.' But he hasn't done anything about making Gadsden's cops peaceful.

"He has been sounding off a lot about how shocked and concerned he is about People's China. But so far, he has not registered the slightest quiver of emotion over children in Gadsden being hit with cattle prodders and arrested like criminals for demanding freedom."



the FBI said Friday a black man shot to death by two white agents sent to arrest him as an army deserter was not the man they sought. The slain man, Milton Leon Scott, seized a black jack from one of the FBI agents after the agents had made a forced entry into his house. When Leon struck one of the agents with the black jack they killed him. The man the FBI were seeking was not Scott but Calvin Henry Wallace.

"The army did not furnish a photograph of the suspect. 'We look for a lot of men without photographs,' Donald W. Moore Jr., special agent in charge of the New Orleans FBI division, said."

Nixon's "work ethic"

Houston, August 2 (UPI):

"An unemployed mother confined to a wheelchair because of polio and denied welfare assistance said Saturday she faced eviction from her home because she owed

\$610 in unpaid rent.

"Mrs. Marlene Elkin, 41, said she and her two daughters, Susan, 14, and Judy, 12, would be homeless in less than a week.

"The family had their electricity cut off two months ago, their gas service disconnected four months ago and have been cooking meals on a home-made grill in their driveway."

The precinct connection

The Philadelphia Inquirer, August 11:

"The Pennsylvania Crime Commission reported Friday that the practice of accepting money payments from business is 'extremely widespread' among Philadelphia policemen.

"The report, based on an 'incomplete' investigation of eight retail businesses in Philadelphia, found 'at least 183 officers who had regularly accepted money for police services.'

"The report estimated that further investigation of the eight businesses would reveal the identities of an additional 500 officers who have received either money or merchandise."

Nazi finds home in CIA

From The Invisible Government, by David Wise and Thomas Ross: "Reinhard Gehlen, a member of the German General Staff under Hitler, was placed in charge of wartime intelligence for Foreign Armies East. This meant that he ran Germany's espionage against the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. He surrendered his organization and his files to the United States Army Counter-Intelligence Corps when the Nazi empire collapsed in 1945.

"With his knowledge of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, it was not long before Gehlen was back in business, this time for the United States. Gehlen staffed his organization with many former SS and

Wehrmacht intelligence officers. The CIA poured millions into the Gehlen apparatus while West German newspapers were asking why ex-Nazis were running the Bundesrepublik's intelligence service in the first place."



Nazi Gehlen (left) in World War II.

Nazis find death in USSR

Moscow, August 11 (Reuters):

"A military court in Minsk has sentenced four members of a Nazi police battalion in World War II to death by firing squad for their part in reprisals against civilians, Pravda reported today.

"The Communist Party daily said that the four, named as K. M. Osipovich, P. G. Plotnikov, N. E. Braginets and P. P. Khristoforov, had all been members of the 57th Police Battalion under the command of a German officer, Heinz Ziegling."

This is a Democracy?

The New York Times, August 4:

"The Gallup Poll reported that 71 percent of the American public now believes that Mr. Nixon was involved in the Watergate cover-up, but a White House official curtly dismissed that startling statistic. 'The decision has been made,' the official said. 'No resignation. No way, not even if 104 percent of the voters think he was involved in this.'"

Genocide is called "mistake"

Baton Rouge, La. (UPI):

"In a tragic case of mistaken identity,

U.S. threatens to send in ARVN, Thais

By KENNY PETERSON

The U.S. air war over Southeast Asia (one should really say against) appears to have ended last week, at least officially and for the time being, with the halt in the bombing of Cambodia. In all, 7.4 million tons of explosives were dropped, \$17 billion spent, never to be seen again, and of course, countless homes, villages, and human beings blown apart. The U.S. dropped more than three times the amount of explosives on Indochina from 1965 to 1973 than it dropped in all the theatres of the Second World War. Over half-a-million tons were dropped on Cambodia alone.

Despite all this, the consensus is that U.S. aggression has met with defeat. In Cambodia particularly, the situation seems very clearcut, with no one believing that the U.S. will be able to avoid the total collapse of its puppet Lon Nol regime.

U.S. helicopters are poised in nearby Thailand, ready to scoop up the American Embassy officials from Phnom Penh when the final struggle for that city is launched. According to press reports, neither in Washington nor Phnom Penh, is there much hope by the U.S. that it will be very long before this evacuation takes place.

On top of the military defeat handed the U.S., there is the very severe moral defeat suffered by imperialism. On August 15, the day of the bombing halt, The New York Times printed its obituary for U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. While stating that the bombing of Cambodia was a "grotesque failure" and an "exercise in futility," The Times frankly confessed the political failure of the class it represents: "the indiscriminate cruelty of such attacks served only to generate hatred for the U.S. and the regimes it supports."

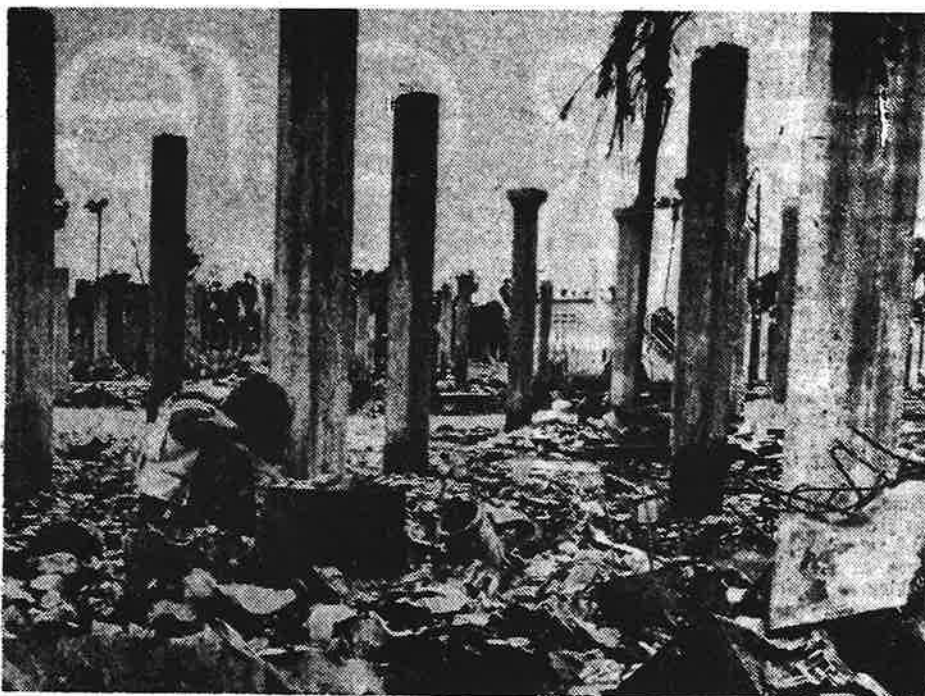
On August 15 in Peking, Peking Nouth, the Premier of the government-in-exile of the Cambodian resistance, was asked what progress had been made in the battle for the Cambodian capital. "We are at the gates of Phnom Penh and even inside Phnom Penh," was the answer.

As for the question of when the liberation of Phnom Penh will take place, Chau Seng, another representative of the government-in-exile explained: "Phnom Penh expects a sudden offensive, but we know the imperialist habits. We have to avoid making victims of the innocent population. (In 1972, when the NLF liberated Quang Tri in Vietnam, U.S. B-52s totally demolished the city—WW.) It is essential for us to have the support and the participation of the population. It is just a matter of time."

Nixon has said that the halt in the bombing of Cambodia "undermines the progress for world peace." This statement only makes sense when you remember that Nixon's speechwriters won't let him say "progress for a piece of the world," which is what he means, of course. Nixon also turned reality inside out by claiming that the bombing halt is a violation of "international agreements." When asked which "international agreements" he meant, Nixon referred to the January 27 cease-fire agreement with the Vietnamese. When a man argues in this vein, you can see why no one would buy a used car from him.

In fact, while Chau Seng was in Paris warning of "imperialist habits," the Pentagon issued a threat to the Cambodian liberation front by inviting its Saigon puppets to attack "North Vietnamese sanctuaries" in Cambodia. The Associated Press had reported a few days earlier that Saigon airlifted 10,000 troops "of Cambodian descent" into Phnom Penh. And the Pentagon has admitted that 400 fighterbombers and 175 B-52s would remain "on call" in Thailand, Guam, and on carriers.

Of course, while these are very real threats, the U.S. will remain unable to turn back the tide of the liberation struggle, just as it has failed until now.



Cambodia devastated by U.S. bombs.



Rising from the ashes: new teachers' college in North Vietnam.

Laos 80% liberated as rightist coup fizzles

By JIM KOWALSKI

August 20—An attempt by exiled right-wing members of the Laotian air force to overthrow the bourgeois government of Souvanna Phouma ended in a rout today. The general leading the attempted coup was shot down and killed in a bombing raid after having met with the U.S. charge d'affaires. His troops holding the national radio station then surrendered without firing a shot.

The U.S. government was quick to dissociate itself from the coup attempt, announcing its full support for Souvanna Phouma.

The move by the rightwing was evidently a last-ditch attempt to prevent the signing of an agreement this Saturday between the Pathet Lao liberation forces and the Souvanna Phouma regime, setting up a coalition government.

After ten years of fighting, after liberating four-fifths of the land, the Lao Patriotic Front last February signed an agreement with the Vientiane government providing for a ceasefire in place, an immediate end of U.S. bombing, and the withdrawal or disbanding of all "special forces." A coalition government was sketched out, but there have been delays in the formation

of this coalition.

Rightwing elements did not like the treaty. U.S. papers called the agreement "all red."

"The United States has continued bombing and strafing raids and reconnaissance flights and air-dropped bandits and rangers," declared the Pathet Lao radio on June 28. "In coordination with U.S. 'special forces' in Laos, Thai mercenary troops have continuously violated the agreement."

On May 7, Lao guerrillas with rifle fire downed a U.S. helicopter, capturing a U.S. major and a major from Vang Po's mercenary army. They were on a commando mission inside the liberated zone.

A broadcast in late July condemned the U.S. for nearly 7,000 aircraft flights in violation of the agreement, while ground actions directed by the U.S. reached over 400.

These are in direct violation of the 1973 Vientiane Agreement, which specifies: "It is forbidden to bring into Laos military personnel of any type, regular forces or irregular forces, and all kinds of weapons and war means of foreign countries..."

Six months after the treaty the Pen-

Cambodians wire appeal to YAWF

(The following telegram was received August 14 by the Activist, publication of Buffalo Youth Against War & Fascism. NUFK refers to the National United Front of Kampuchea—Cambodia—and RGNUC is the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia.)

...Nixon declared cessation U.S. bombing Cambodia from August 15 conforming Congress law. This is great common victory thanks to Cambodian people struggle, American people and Congress struggle, and all world peace, justice, freedom-loving peoples.

Cambodian people express profound thanks American people. Solidarity between our two peoples sealed in students' blood killed by Nixon police at Kent and Jackson. But U.S. bombing cessation does not mean U.S. aggression against Cambodia and Cambodian people sufferings ending.

Nixon intensively continues aggression against Cambodia by: First, political Khmerization, war intensification by greatly increasing dollars, ammunition, 155mm guns, planes all types, armoured cars, etc. and forcing population into puppet army to serve as cannon fodder. Second, intervention preparations of Bangkok puppet army withdrawn from Laos and Saigon puppet army. Third, continuing actively diplomatic maneuvers for so-called compromise and national concord between NUFK RGNUC and Phnompenh traitors.

We urgently appeal you to intensify multiform actions, mass meetings, demonstrations, campaign declarations, mass mobilizations, information meetings, international conference, to first of all demand total unconditional and definite ending all U.S. and Bangkok, Saigon valets' aggressive acts; second, total and immediate ending all support and aid to Phnompenh traitors' clique and all U.S. interference in Cambodian internal affairs; third, Cambodian right to settle their own affairs themselves without foreign interference according to March 23, 1970 declaration of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and NUFK Chairman.

Cambodian struggle situation is very favorable. It is very auspicious moment for all peace, justice, freedom-loving forces to be mobilized with Cambodian people to strike a decisive blow at U.S. aggression in Cambodia and bring back just and everlasting peace to Cambodia.

Warmly cordial and militant respects,
Thiounn Prasith, NUFK Politbureau,
RGNUC Minister

photo: Giai Phong (Liberation) Press Agency

tagon arrogantly asserts that "non-combat" flights to deliver military supplies will continue. Washington openly admits there has been a continual flow of military aid.

The Pathet Lao recognize that U.S. neocolonial designs are still alive. A recent statement warns: "U.S. imperialism and its lackeys... have not abandoned their wild ambition to attack the patriotic forces and nibble at and occupy the liberated zone. Their aim is to create a situation of 'leopard spots' in areas controlled by the patriotic forces after the signing of the protocol."

Although the United States has dropped 1.6 million tons of bombs on Laos since 1965, the liberated zone has grown to eighty percent of the land. Schools and small factories for iron smelting, textiles, sewing, rice hulling, and sawmills have been built. In the liberated area of Phong Saly Province, 12,500 acres of wasteland were brought under cultivation by water conservancy works in 1970-72. This area, which used to suffer from famine, now is self-sufficient in grain. In the liberated area of Udomsay province, 7,500 acres of early rice were sown. Two rice crops are brought in where before there was only one. Forty-

(Continued on page 12)

The meaning of Nixon's June 5 conspiracy

This article is excerpted from the document, "The Crisis in the U.S. Ruling Class," by Sam Marcy, prepared for pre-conference discussion of Workers World Party.

By SAM MARCY

If the Watergate affair involved merely an internal squabble in the ruling class over graft, corruption, and violations of capitalist legality, it would command no more than the ordinary interest we usually accord to such events.

Widespread corruption, the rigging of election campaigns, the accumulation of mountains of illegal cash, and the gross violation of democratic rights, even on the monumental scale practiced by the Nixon administration, are not really qualitatively different from what was practiced during the Johnson, Kennedy, Eisenhower, and Truman administrations.

Wire tapping, theft, burglary, opening mail, and countless other forms of illegal and undemocratic practices have been standard government procedure at least

without any congressional approval. This has been pretty well publicized in the radical and bourgeois liberal press. It's the June Fifth event which needs explanation.

THE WHITE HOUSE MEETING

The June Fifth event is by far the most important aspect of the investigation thus far uncovered by the Ervin committee. It has, however, been touched upon only peripherally, and its significance has been lost in the mass of revelations.

On June 5, 1970, Nixon called a meeting at the White House. It was a most extraordinary and crucial meeting, as subsequent events show. Very little attention has been given to it.

This June Fifth meeting at the White House was attended by FBI director Hoover, Richard Helms, who was then the director of the CIA, Lt. Gen. Donald F. Bennett, director of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), and Admiral Noel Gayler, director of the National Security Agency (NSA). It is important to remember that this meeting took place against the background of the Cambodian invasion, the Kent State and Jackson State killings, and

breaches of capitalist legality.

What finally emerged from this meeting was an agreement to come up with a plan to widen the government's domestic spy network and increase its efficiency. It went far beyond the pale of capitalist law, as is well known by this time.

One significant aspect of the conspiracy is that the plan to widen the government's illegal domestic spy network was approved by Nixon, and although he says it lasted only 5 days, there is no evidence that he ever cancelled it. At any rate, Nixon now claims that Johnson, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Truman did the same—and there is certainly ample proof of that.

THE REAL OBJECTIVE OF THE CONSPIRACY

The attempt to institute what amounts to a virtual private army for Nixon (now known as the Plumbers), while it smacks of an embryo American version of the SS and all the consequences which flow from this, nevertheless does not explain why the ruling class should open such a wide offensive against the Nixon administration that it actually raises the perspective of toppling

Fifth conspiracy. Why? Because the aim of the conspiracy was to concentrate in Nixon's hands the sole and exclusive authority of the military, the FBI, and the CIA. The broader purpose of the meeting, called at Nixon's initiative but ceremoniously chaired by Hoover, was to obtain the unanimous consent of all the service heads to the objective of the conspiracy.

This would have turned out to be the indispensable long step in the direction of obtaining totalitarian control over the repressive forces of the capitalist state machine.

Of course, under the Constitution the President is chief executive and all the executive agencies, including the Army, the Navy, the FBI, the CIA, and the National Guard—in a word, all the repressive forces of the state—are legally under his direction.

But this is so only if he exercises his prerogative in accordance with existing law. That is the dividing line, the point of demarcation between bourgeois democracy and one or another variant of a totalitarian dictatorship, whether it be a police state with democratic facade, a military dictatorship, or an outright, full-fledged fascist dictatorship.

The military long ago passed the demarcation line—in the course of the Vietnam War and even more outrageously with the secret bombing in Laos and Cambodia.

The June Fifth conspiracy, however, would have meant that in addition to having the military on his side (to what degree it is hard to estimate), Nixon would now bring under his personal control the internal organs of suppression. It is from that point of view that the June Fifth meeting far transcends in significance any of the other illegal activities of the Nixon administration, including the initial steps taken for the setup of the private gestapo (the Plumbers), which without specific congressional appropriation could not be very large.

There is no doubt that even if the Watergate break-in had not been discovered, a crisis in the ruling class resulting from the June Fifth conspiracy would have surfaced anyway. This is so because a very large and substantial element of the ruling class would have been opposed to Nixon attaining virtual totalitarian control over all the repressive forces of the state apparatus.

All who have watched the Ervin hearings could not have helped noticing references to "manipulation of the CIA and



Nixon performs for David Rockefeller and other top bankers. Does he still have a friend at Chase Manhattan?

since the end of World War II. Nixon, in his August 16 Watergate speech, was forced to bring some of this out in his own defense, although he denied that he is still engaging in these practices.

But the very fact that both the President and the Vice President stand accused of most serious criminal charges is in and of itself extraordinary—if for no other reason than that it is unprecedented in American history.

Moreover, the lengthy Senate hearings and the tremendous amount of TV and press coverage given to the event also demonstrate that a great deal more is involved.

A qualitative difference does exist between the Nixon administration and its recent predecessors. The beginning of the change can be traced to the middle of 1970, but its precise nature has to be examined carefully. The bourgeois press is systematically cultivating the idea that the Watergate struggle is merely a "constitutional confrontation" between the executive branch and the Congress, a squabble over the usurpation of power by the President.

At best, this is a mask for the deeper issues involved, and at worst it is a fraud and a deceit.

In order to plumb the depths of the crisis within the ruling class, it is essential that we first discard these bourgeois shibboleths, abstractions, and legalisms. The ruling class always uses them to cover up momentous issues which vitally affect the working class and the oppressed.

The qualitative difference lies in two interrelated events. One is the June Fifth conspiracy in the White House, to which scant attention has been given. The other is the setting up of what amounts to a private gestapo responsible to Nixon alone and lacking any congressional sanction, and, so far as anyone knows, completely financed and equipped by government funds but

the general upsurge throughout the country which had resulted in thousands of demonstrations.

The alleged purpose of the meeting was to "strengthen the government's domestic intelligence gathering."

The most striking feature of this unusual meeting was the presence of the military and the CIA. The CIA is specifically forbidden by law—under the statute which created the CIA in 1947—from intervening in any way in the domestic affairs of the country. The presence of the CIA director was in and of itself a flagrant violation of the law. So was the presence of the military. Such high-ranking officers as Lt. Gen. Donald F. Bennett and Admiral Gayler could not have been present unless they had received the advance approval of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The very act of meeting to consider action on a domestic subject, which they are prohibited by law from doing, constitutes a gross violation of capitalist legality in general and a violation of a specific statutory obligation under the U.S. law.

There is every reason, therefore, to consider this a conspiracy: First, because of its clandestine character; second, because of the statutory violations of law which bar the military and the CIA from interfering in domestic affairs; and, finally, because the stated reason for the meeting itself, to "strengthen domestic intelligence," had to be a coverup for other purposes.

Nevertheless, the meeting, which was chaired by Hoover, began consideration to broaden the scope of the spy system. It should be noted that for more than six months previous to this meeting, Nixon had been calling on various government agencies to provide so-called political information by wiretapping and other illegal means, so that this meeting at the White House came more or less as the culmination of a series of intrusions and serious

both Nixon and Agnew. Nor do we think that the bugging and burglarizing of the headquarters of the Democratic Party in and of itself constituted the decisive factor, although the projected private gestapo, the burglary of the Democratic Party headquarters, and other factors certainly contributed to arouse large sections of the ruling class.

Nevertheless, we think the attack on Nixon would never have taken on the proportions it has were it not for the June

Agnew, we knew you had

For the first time in history a great nation is threatened not by those who have nothing—but by those who have almost everything.

Spiro Agnew, June 3, 1970

+ + +

Federal prosecutors investigating the Vice President have been told by several Maryland engineering contractors that they made regular cash payments to Agnew to receive choice state contracts while he was governor of Maryland. In addition, the prosecutors are also investigating charges that, since Agnew became Vice President, money collected from Maryland businessman on his behalf, ostensibly as campaign contributions, has been used to influence the awarding of federal contracts by the General Services Administration.

Washington Post, August 15, 1973

Spiro, we always knew you had it in you.

Back in 1966 when Tom Wicker wrote in The New York Times that "Ted Agnew is generally considered an outstanding executive in local government," we weren't fooled. We knew that you were involved in shady real estate speculation, that as Maryland governor you had approved building a bridge across land that you owned, and that you had deposited public funds in a bank in which you held stock.

And even while you were grabbing money from the public till with both hands, you called 10,500 federal troops to Baltimore after Martin Luther King was assassinated, and, as you know, Spiro, these soldiers killed six Black people.

Of course, your racism didn't begin in 1968. We remember your lying speeches about "so-called poor people in Cadillacs." But you have a Cadillac, bought with stolen money and with the graft businessmen gave you "to put in the fix."

You have tried to cover up your corruption with insane red-baiting, like the time in 1968 you accused Hubert Humphrey

FBI" by Nixon. But this phrase inadequately describes the situation, and in fact is a cover-up. As was subsequently exposed in the press, the military and the CIA went along with Nixon's perspective for totalitarian control of the state's repressive forces.

But Hoover broke away from the conspiracy and began an undercover opposition to Nixon's scheme.

The anti-Nixon ruling class opposition has been vying with Nixon to win back the CIA, as well as the military. They are not out to expose the true character of the CIA, nor do they want to discredit the military establishment.

Their purpose is to win them back from Nixon and his ruling class faction which unquestionably has deep roots in the military-industrial complex. By employing the euphemism of "manipulation of the FBI and CIA," the Ervin committee, the networks, and the capitalist press generally are hiding the real magnitude of the internal struggle in the ruling class.

WHY DID HOOVER DEFECT?

But how does one explain Hoover's opposition to the Nixon conspiracy? Why did he break from it? Mary McCrory, in her syndicated column of June 8, says of the June days: "Hoover stood between us and the gestapo." A truly remarkable change of roles for one who had trampled on the civil liberties of the American people for more than half a century!

Joseph Kraft, in the June 2 issue of his syndicated column, explains Hoover's opposition on the basis of his "fidelity to law enforcement and institutional loyalty." Others seem to shy away from the subject altogether or do not know what to make of Hoover's apparently contradictory change of political position.

If one views Nixon's attempt to seize sole and exclusive domination of all the state's repressive forces as laying the groundwork for totalitarian control, the opposition of Hoover is more easily understandable. His arm of the state's repressive forces, that is, the FBI, had attained under his tenure a relative degree of autonomy. But governmental autonomy is incompatible with totalitarian control! They stand in irreconcilable contradiction with each other.

That, and that alone, explains Hoover's defection from the conspiracy.

It was therefore not some sudden interest in the preservation of democratic rights that propelled Hoover to break away from the June Fifth conspiracy, but the preservation of bureaucratic control over his personal domain, the FBI.

In his bureaucratic clash with the Nixon conspirators, he consciously or unconsciously represented the anti-Nixon ruling class coalition which has now sur-

faced and is conducting the struggle.

Had it been anybody else with even a slightly less unsavory record of repression, the ruling class would have made a hero out of him for his opposition to Nixon. As it is, his role has been barely mentioned—only enough to make the record.

WHAT ABOUT THE MILITARY?

In reality, the whole struggle of Nixon to achieve the objective of this conspiracy hinged on his ability to unify or merge all the repressive forces of the state under his exclusive control.

With Hoover's defection, the question remains, what is Nixon's relationship to the military? So far as surface manifestations are concerned there is no evidence of any rift following the collapse of the June Fifth conspiracy and the series of exposures resulting from the discovery of the Watergate break-in. (In John Dean's testimony, he recalled a conversation with Kleindienst over whether Congress could force the White House staff to turn over files and information to the investigation. Don't worry about a few federal marshals, said Kleindienst, "our boss has the army.")

While there has been speculation abroad about a military takeover, there have been no overt independent moves by the military at this writing.

There seems to be no precedent or parallel for a military takeover in American history. The case of General McClellan, whom Lincoln replaced in the midst of the Civil War, a century ago, is the only analogy.

It was not until the rise of MacArthur that there seemed to be another serious challenge by the military. In his memoirs, Truman asserts that in his conflict with MacArthur, he gave MacArthur the "McClellan treatment," that is, summarily dismissed him. But this is subject to doubt. Other sources say that Truman polled the military chiefs before relieving MacArthur of his own command, which modifies the situation considerably. In other words, Truman dismissed MacArthur only after he had gotten the acquiescence of the military.

Furthermore, Eisenhower, who was then a popular figure in the military because of his role in World War II, was being groomed by the Republican party (and the Eastern establishment via Columbia University) as Truman's successor, a fact which militated very much against any strong resistance from the military to Truman's dismissal of MacArthur.

Today, there is scarcely a military figure who has any popular support among the masses. Certainly the military chiefs who participated in the Vietnam War are all tainted with the defeat administered to them by the Indochinese people.

DeGaulle's prestige rested on his leadership of the bourgeois segment of the resistance movement against the Nazis. He therefore became a central figure around which the various French fascist groupings could unite as a symbol. There is no such military figure today in America that one can easily discern.

Of course, if the crisis in the ruling class deepens and it is incapable of stabilizing its internal situation, it is possible that the military will step in, even though they have no leading figure who commands support in the population. At the moment, however, the military are playing it cool. It should also be remembered that militarist demagoguery thrives on cynicism in the population, when corruption is rife, when politicians utterly discredit themselves, and when all available alternatives to the masses are either beyond their reach or lack appeal.

Bourgeois democracy can succumb to a form of totalitarian rule by a variety of methods, but fascism has generally triumphed through the use of open violence directed against the masses.

Classic fascism came in Europe under the stress of acute class antagonisms and the existence of a revolutionary situation on the continent.

Papadopoulos came into power in Greece as a result of a military coup and later broke up and illegalized most of the bourgeois democratic and working class organizations. Marcos has foisted a fascist

dictatorship in the Philippines by first dismantling the facade of bourgeois democratic rule.

DeGaulle crushed the 1968 general strike in France by a mere show of force, without using it, and the CP leadership with its bourgeois and petty bourgeois allies caved in under the threat. Today, France differs little in essence from a police state and political repression is the order of the day.

In summary, the June 5, 1970 conspiracy marked a qualitative change in the direction of totalitarian control. It was an aborted



FOOD-PRICE RISE/PHASE 4
WAGE-FREEZE



MURDER OF STRIKING
FARMWORKER PICKETS



FRAME-UP TRIAL OF
ANTI-WAR VETERANS



attempt at a coup. Its first objective was to obtain unified, centralized control of the repressive forces of the capitalist state apparatus under the sole and exclusive direction of Nixon. The attempt foundered when Hoover defected.

NOT JUST A "CONSTITUTIONAL" CRISIS

In the light of the actual developments it is particularly harmful to cast the internal struggle in the ruling class—which is still raging and whose outcome is still altogether uncertain—in the framework of a "constitutional confrontation" between the legislative and executive branches of the government. It masks the real character of the struggle. It creates illusions that the legislative branch of the government is more progressive, particularly in the current situation where Congress finally, after a ten-year war, imposed a so-called deadline on the bombing of Cambodia. Any attempt to paint up the legislative branch as being more democratic, more popular, more responsive to the people is pure demagoguery.

Each of the three branches of the capitalist government has contributed its share of oppression, exploitation, repression, and, above all, fraud and deceit in the general framework of the capitalist state. But this does not in any way invalidate the consistent, undeviating, and absolutely remorseless tendency in all bourgeois parliamentary systems for the real power to become concentrated more and more in the hands of the executive and, concurrently, in the hands of the military and the police. This is a direct result of the centralization of capital and the ownership of the means of production in the hands of giant monopolies.

The "separation of powers" constitutional theory had greater validity a hundred years ago when one could say there was still a material basis for it. Agricultural and industrial interests seemed to be

separate, as were light and heavy industry, urban and rural life. This is not to say that each controlled a separate branch of the government or could exclusively entrench itself in one. However, the bourgeois economic categories, or more precisely the propertied classes representing them, could be more adequately reflected under a political system where there was a greater division of powers between the judicial, legislative, and executive branches of the capitalist state.

But those realities of a century ago have nearly vanished. Modern monopoly capital

has vanquished and, in fact, has concentrated into its hands both light and heavy industry. Agriculture has been subjugated by high finance.

And all of them have been knit together by the fusion of the big banks with industry—the essence of monopoly capitalism.

If it should turn out that the ruling class is able to overcome both Nixon and Agnew, it would be due in part to the dissolution of old factional alignments in the ruling class and their merger into a larger, broader coalition. It would be because the so-called Eastern establishment blocked with other, more conservative groupings and dissolved itself, at least for the time being, under the strains of a totalitarian challenge from Nixon and his co-conspirators.

The traditional geographical class groupings may hereafter have less significance.

Unquestionably, the most important element in the struggle has been the inability of the working class and the oppressed people to utilize the crisis in the ruling class by vigorously intervening on their behalf for progressive and revolutionary purposes.

Conversely, it can be said that the ruling class has been able to conduct the struggle, at least up until now, only because there was no visible threat of a genuine revolutionary intervention in the struggle by a united front of Black and white workers as an independent class force capable of resolving the crisis with a socialist solution.

But no matter what the current vicissitudes of the ruling class may be, its objective situation, of which the present internal crisis is merely a symptom, is extremely precarious, highly unstable, and incapable of adjusting itself for any length of time to the new world situation or to containment of the crying class contradictions at home.

ad it in you!

of being "squishy soft on communism," even though he was Johnson's main cheerleader for the war in Vietnam. And then there was your revolting attack on Baltimore Sun reporter Gene Oishi, whom you called "the fat Jap."

Perhaps you thought if you could delude enough white people with your racist demagoguery no one would notice that you were wallowing in all that graft. But now everyone knows, Spiro. And more is coming out every day. Like how you intervened with the Justice Department to get underworld boss Gyp DeCarlo out of prison.

Speaking of prison, Spiro, remember how you used to say, "The radical left does not belong in a dormitory, they belong in a penitentiary?"

Perhaps if you get sent to the San Quentin White House, Bob Hope and Frank Sinatra will visit you on Tuesdays and Fridays.

We know that you had hoped that in 1976 your car would carry licence plate number 1. Well, if there is any justice left in this country, Spiro, you won't be driving licence plate number 1—you'll be making it.

Jailed GIs send greetings to Cubans on July 26

In the history of consistent struggle of the American Servicemen's Union, the Camp McCoy 3 trial ranks among the most important.

Following the massacre of students by National Guardsmen at Kent State, the National Guard training center at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin, was heavily damaged by three dynamite explosions. Three active duty GIs and organizers for the American Servicemen's Union, Steve Geden, Tom Chase, and Danny Kreps were arrested and charged with multiple counts of conspiracy and destruction of government property following the explosions which crippled the base on the night of July 26, 1970.

The brass tried to put the three Vietnam vets away for 35 years, but public support for the brothers, as a result of the intensive campaign the ASU launched, forced the government to reduce the charges to 18 months maximum. The brass is determined to crush the rank-and-file unionization drive, but they will not succeed.

These brothers remain strong and unwavering despite their enforced stay in prison. Their international solidarity with fellow workers and the oppressed peoples remains unbending and defiant. This letter of solidarity to the Cuban people on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the July 26, 1953, attack on Batista's barracks, is eloquent testimony to their strength and determination.

July 26, 1973

To our Cuban Comrades:

As you celebrate another year of revolution and socialist construction which has served as an inspiration to us, we send you revolutionary greetings from the U.S. concentration camps.

Since the founding of the American Servicemen's Union in 1968, the U.S. ruling

class has carried on continuous repression and brutality against our movement, jailing more than 200 members in racist and vicious attacks. Yet in Asia, in Europe, the Mideast, Africa, South America, and here in the belly of the beast, we continue to struggle and to grow.

Our struggle is against U.S. imperialism. Our struggle is to organize among the rank-and-file members of the U.S. military, to spread revolutionary thought and action among the soldiers forced to fight for the U.S. ruling class. Our struggle is to turn the soldiers of imperialism into soldiers of the revolution. We struggle this way not only for our own freedom, but for the freedom of all the oppressed peoples of the world. We are united with them in the struggle to build world socialism.

As we carry on this struggle, the Cuban people are a strong beacon to us. You show us the road to revolution and socialism, the road of tireless militant struggle. Your great achievements, your strength and unity in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, give us the strength and unity we need to smash the predatory beast which has too long sucked the blood of the world's people.

Though we are presently in the dungeons of the imperialists for the act of bombing a training camp of the national police on July 26, 1970, we pledge once again, with the heroic Cuban people as our example, to continue to struggle with every ounce of our strength until U.S. imperialism is smashed.

We will not rest until victory is ours.

LONG LIVE THE CUBAN REVOLUTION!!!

The Camp McCoy 3

Brass use CREEP tactics, bug, spy on GIs in Germany

By John Otto

In late July, Specialist 4 John M. McDougal of the 527th Military Intelligence Battalion in Kaiserslautern, West Germany, disclosed to the press U.S. army intelligence activities there, including illegal taps and espionage against civilians and military personnel. McDougal said, "I believe that military intelligence is out of control here in Germany and that someone has got to stop them."

The West German Government confirmed that their agents had tapped phones at the request of U.S. Army intelligence.

On August 9, the U.S. Army Command in Heidelberg announced that the program of "counter-dissidence" by the Eighth Infantry Division had been "rescinded" because it was "inappropriate." They said the plan, which had been revealed earlier in The New York Times "was determined to be inappropriate, as guidance on dissent contained in Army regulations is considered sufficient and soldier dissent within the command is presently at a very low level."

Knowledgeable sources in Europe feel this retreat was meant to cover up both the Army's reliance on illegal police-state methods and their concern over the growing dissidence among rank-and-file servicemen.

Black GIs are forced to struggle against overt racism, an example being the formation of a KKK group outside Frankfurt which distributed a vile racist leaflet in that city. This KKK is made up mainly of racist noncommissioned and commissioned officers and is supported by West German neo-Nazis. All rank-and-file GIs are disillusioned with the contrast between real Army life in Europe and the glowing promises made by lying Army recruiters in the States.

These realities have led to broad GI support for underground newspapers such

as Fightback, dissemination of much progressive literature in the military, and individual acts of resistance by angry servicemen.

This reporter watched the Fightback group sell their paper to GIs at the local train station outside Sullivan Barracks near Mannheim. More than half the GIs bought the paper, making donations of from 10 cents to 5 Deutschmarks (about \$2); many obviously had looked forward to getting the paper.

With such widespread anti-Army sentiment within the military, it's not surprising that the officer corps is using "Watergate methods" to try to stifle the dissent, but it's also not surprising that these methods are failing.

letter

Dear Editor:

I am writing to congratulate you on the very fine paper that you publish. Some of the articles that you write are extraordinary. I think they are extraordinary because you tell all about Black people's struggles and how you are helping so many poor people and Black men in jail with their struggles. I also think your newspaper is very revolutionary.

My opinion on police is that they are racist dogs. They go around terrorizing the poor Black working people.

A couple of issues earlier you wrote about a New York policeman killing a young 10 year old and I think that was very well written.

Continue on with your struggle. You will make it in the end.

In struggle,

Anita Cowan

P.S. Until the Revolution!!!



Dracula meets Wolfman: Batista and Nixon in Havana.

Obituary of a tyrant

Fulgencio Batista, the Cuban dictator overthrown in 1959, suffered a heart attack and died August 6 at Guadalupe, a resort on the southern coast of Spain.

A noncommissioned officer in the army of the Cuban tyrant Gerardo Machado, Batista served as the court-martial stenographer in the "treason" trials of the tyrant's opponents. Machado rule, remembered in Cuba as "the regime of the sawed-off shotgun," ended in 1933. A month after his former boss had fled the country, Batista seized power in a military coup. Batista then successively installed and removed five puppet presidents over the next two years.

In 1935 a massive strike wave swept Cuba, a country where four-fifths of the wealth was in the hands of U.S. businessmen. Batista unleashed the military who murdered over 100 striking workers. In 1940 Batista assumed direct power and had himself "elected" the nation's president. He installed another stooge in 1944 and ruled by proxy. In 1948 Batista was elected to the Cuban Senate, while living in Florida.

Batista ran for president in 1952, and, when the polls showed him running a poor third, he suspended the constitution, seized power, and announced over Havana radio, "I have been forced to carry out this coup because of my love for the people."

Batista showed his "love for the people" by instituting an unprecedented reign of terror that took the lives of 20,000 Cubans over the next seven years. Rolando

Masferrer, a Cuban senator and Batista crony, maintained a private army of 1,000 men, known as tigers, who terrorized the people of Santiago. These "tigers" hung 14 school children from the palm trees of Santiago on New Year's Eve, 1957.

Batista's secret police, the SIM, was modeled along the lines of Hitler's Gestapo. Its chief, the psychotically cruel Tony Verona, became known as "the Himmler of Cuba." Political prisoners were tortured with soldering irons, boiled in oil, and castrated. It was not uncommon for the secret police to dump over 100 bodies of mutilated political prisoners in a pile at an Havana street intersection to cow the population.

In 1958 Havana had tens of thousands of prostitutes and 27,000 persons living off the take from gambling.

The U.S. government gave total support to Batista. American Ambassador Arthur Gardner was so full of praise for the dictatorship that had enriched so many Wall Street businessmen that even Batista became embarrassed, saying, "I'm glad Ambassador Gardner approves of my government, but I wish he wouldn't talk about it so much."

In 1959 Batista was overthrown by a rebel army led by Fidel Castro. Batista fled to Spain with \$400,000,000 he had stolen from the Cuban people. He was often seen in Madrid in the company of the ex-queen of Rumania, who had been kicked out of that country when her alliance with Hitler collapsed at the end of World War II.

The one Nixon forgot

In Nixon's lame TV speech the other night on Watergate, he said that he could not reveal tapes of his secret conversations because of "confidentiality."

"The law long recognized," he said, "that there are kinds of conversations that are entitled to be kept confidential. This rule applies, for example, to conversations between a lawyer and his client, between a priest and a penitent, and between a husband and a wife."

Nixon "forgot" one of the most well-known legally protected relationships: that between a doctor and his patient.

But of course that would have been embarrassing for Nixon to bring up, since he ordered the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding broken into by White House secret police to get the medical records of one of Fielding's patients, Pentagon Papers defendant Daniel Ellsberg.

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MIR calls for counter-offensive in Chile

Below are excerpts from an interview with Miguel Enriquez, the 29-year-old Secretary General of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). It was published in the July 27 issue of Chile Hoy (Chile Today), an independent leftwing Chilean weekly. The translation from the Spanish was prepared by Workers World.

Miguel Enriquez: The coup adventure of the military grouping of the PN (National Party), aborted on Friday, June 29, sparked a response which witnessed an enormous strength on the part of the working class and the people, and which also expressed itself in the attitude of lower echelon officers, rank-and-file troops, and anti-coup upper echelon officers of the Armed Forces (FFAA). This made the openly pro-coup elements within the PN, the PDC (Christian Democratic Party), and the FFAA retreat and subordinate themselves to the sectors that, under the Frei leadership, initiated a different tactic: the tactic of the status quo. The tactic of the military status quo and of political and institutional blackmail against the (Allende) government is aimed at confusing, dividing, and demoralizing the working class and its vanguard. The military intends to gradually reinforce the content of the status quo, to force the government into a capitulation that will rehabilitate certain old structures, eventually to destroy that government, and to crush and repress the workers and the left.

These reactionary politics remove the prospect of a coup as an accomplished fact in the eyes of the masses and the left, making it appear that the class of the bosses is merely making political demands, thereby confusing and disarming sections of the left.

Thus, while on one hand the masses are being radicalized and significant sections of the left are taking a more radical political line resisting the capitulation, on the other hand conditions are being created for other sectors—those that vacillate and the recalcitrant reformists—to attempt once again the policy of class conciliation. Today, under the banners of "normalization" of production and country, of "dialogue" and minimum consensus, the proponents of implementing a policy of class conciliation as a political solution to the current situation intend to create conditions for a dialogue. They are proposing the return of the large factories seized by the workers, which would allow repressive measures against workers who are organized into industrial cordons and commando groups and would allow the police to dispossess seized factories, thus opening up charges against revolutionary organizations and provoking repression against them. But, at the same time, the working class, the people, and the most radical elements of the left continue to fight for the tactic of the counter-offensive, planning a common action to carry out in practice.

Chile Hoy: But according to your analysis of this critical juncture, can there be another solution?

M.E.: The recalcitrant reformists, which include the centrists, base their political positions on two premises: they believe that even if the situation is "difficult," it will tend to "normalize" itself, and second, that there is no other force strong enough to organize a counter-offensive. In spite of these premises, false in every way, they conclude that the fundamental task is to win time, take a step backwards so that later we can take two steps forward, that is, make a truce, or breather.

In reality, the civilian and military elements that want a coup have not been dispersed; on the contrary, they are openly strengthening themselves with absolute impunity. The tactic of the status quo and political blackmail is already developing, is resulting in unnecessary concessions to the ruling classes, and is strengthening their positions. The working class and the people, although in the last week they have continued to raise to a higher level the tactic of

the counter-offensive, have also suffered significant setbacks as a consequence of the politics of "truce" or "breather" which, since the 29th has pushed the reformist and vacillating sections of the government and the UP (Popular Unity coalition) into dispossessions, police searches, and the return of seized factories. The situation is much more critical than in all previous crises, in terms of the measures taken by the ruling class. This time, massive social and political confrontation in the streets and even within the jails are taking place. Two distinct social and political blocks have established themselves and taken their positions, threatening and preparing for each other. It is not possible to pretend to return to the previous "stability." . . . The only tactic that can allow the building of progressive forces consists of developing, right now, a powerful revolutionary and popular counter-offensive. A delaying tactic which can gain time can be correct, but only in certain situations and only if it doesn't lead to the weakening of our own forces—and this is not the kind of situation that exists now.

The correlation of forces that developed immediately after the abortive coup is the best we have had in the last few years. The correlation of forces is still in our favor, and it is possible, if the correct tactic is used, to strengthen our forces still more and at a rapid pace. Never before has mass activity and the radicalization of the working class developed as it has in the last few weeks. . . . The weaknesses of the working class and the people do not originate from the present correlation of forces because this correlation is favorable. They developed from the defensist and vacillating tactics that weaken the people: trying to "gain time" ends up by giving time to the bosses to organize themselves, strengthen themselves, so that the popular offensive is dropped, and the government isolated and forced to capitulate and to turn against the working class and the people.

Ch.H.: You have emphasized the organizing of communal commandos. What role do you see for these mass organizations?

M.E.: It has been two years since we first pushed for the development of certain

forms of mass organization, which in challenging the bourgeois order would create embryonic forms of dual power—the only path which will allow the growing revolutionary forces to reach their full potential. At the beginning this did not take concrete form on a mass level. But, at the end of 1972 in face of the bosses' aggressions, the mass movement and large segments of the left were conscious of the necessity to organize their own power, and they organized it from within the rank-and-file, creating the forms now known as Popular Power.

We conceived these organizations of Popular Power as being basically organized as the communal commandos. The commandos try to organically unite the people—to unite the working class with the rest of the exploited classes, so that in this way the working class can effectively exercise its role as vanguard and provide leadership in the life of the people, among the squatters, students and peasants.

In creating Popular Power, two false positions have appeared. There are those who have either explicitly or implicitly opposed Popular Power—with a sectarian attitude or with the intention of maintaining bureaucratic hegemony or monolithism in the mass movement. They have strengthened their opposition to the communal commandos, maintaining that the latter create "parallel syndicalist power" and insisting that the CUT (Trade Union Confederation) is sufficient for organizing and representing the interests of the people. (The CUT has not chosen to organize an effective national center for communal organizations; the CUT, in its objectives, its nature, and its structure, does not organize squatters, peasants, or students).

The other false position has, in practice, consisted of restraining the development of Popular Power and the development of the industrial cordons. It only approves of the existing levels of working class organization and refuses to incorporate other oppressed strata of the population. This tactic keeps the people divided and backward, and makes it more difficult to unite them.

Ch.H.: What is your opinion of the dialogue that is opening up with the

Christian Democrats?

M.E.: Under the guise of a dialogue designed to bring peace to the country, those pushing it are in reality proposing that workers, although they have sufficient strength, give up the realization of their goals. Just recently, they have established the conditions for this dialogue. They have returned seized factories, tolerated police dispossessions of certain seized factories, issued decrees to suppress street demonstrations of workers; they insisted that a dialogue be held with the bosses' before holding a dialogue with the workers at the Vicuna MacKenna cordon, preferring to order its repression; they have slandered the MIR in the local administrations of Iquique and Concepcion, maliciously attacking the leaders of the Communist Youth of the MIR. In reality, this dialogue is aimed at a minimum consensus, hiding a tremendous capitulation to the demands of the ruling classes. The Christian Democratic Party is a bourgeois and reactionary party. A dialogue with its leadership only disarms the workers. If this capitulation materializes, its consequences will be extremely grave: it will divide the left, the working class, and the people—and, moreover, the reactionary offensive will not be paralyzed, but will have achieved its tactical objective of weakening and dividing the camp of the workers. It will have regained new strength and will come down on the workers and the government with all the reactionary violence of the pro-coup forces.

But if the dialogue were for the purpose of stalling for time in order to paralyze the reactionary offensive, then it could succeed in launching a tremendous revolutionary and popular counter-offensive that would paralyze the pro-coup forces and win over the Christian Democratic workers. And without surrendering the objectives of the working class and the people, it would allow the masses to act, to struggle, and to follow the revolutionary program, to fight for the democratization of the armed forces, and develop and strengthen popular power. All these conditions would then lead to new conditions necessary for putting a true workers' government into power.

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(Continued from page 16)

auto, etc., necessary for any real industrial development of the nation.

While the building of the "superport" in Puerto Rico offers an attractive (i.e., profitable) solution to the crisis of the U.S. oil industry, Washington and Wall Street did not anticipate much opposition to the project from within Puerto Rico.

But the pro-independence forces throughout the island have already mounted a national campaign against the projected "superport" and have received wide popular support.

The "superport" issue, like the Culebra-U.S. Navy struggle of a couple of years ago, will also develop into a mass struggle and can only swell the ranks of the liberation movement within the Caribbean island. Just two months ago, a mass demonstration of over 10,000 people was organized in Aguadilla, the west coast city being proposed as the center of the "superport" site. The demonstration was mainly organized by the Puerto Rican Socialist

Party (PSP), with the aid of other pro-independence organizations.

Thus, the fate of U.S. imperialism, Puerto Rican liberation, and the "superport" are inextricably intertwined. And the victory of the Puerto Rican revolution for independence and socialism is as inevitable as is the doom of U.S. imperialism and its "superport."

PSP on superport

By JULIO GHIgliOTTY

NEW YORK, Aug. 19—The superport that American oil conglomerates plan to impose on the Puerto Rican people was the subject of an informative and highly detailed forum today at the Puerto Rican Cultural Center on East 2nd Street in the Lower East Side. Comprising the panel were Juan Mari Bras, secretary-general of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Dr. Tomas Morales, also of the PSP, Emilio Soler Mari, of the Legal Institute of Puerto Rico, and Jose Milton

Soltero, a member of the PSP.

Dr. Tomas Morales gave a highly detailed description of the proposed superport and an analysis of its effects on the social, economic, political, and ecological life of the island. Just one of the many facts cited by Dr. Morales is that after 25 years, the refineries which come with the superport would need one billion gallons of drinkable fresh water for their cooling system. The total amount of fresh water available in Puerto Rico now is 950,000,000 gallons; 250,000,000 gallons are used by the population. He also noted that refineries already operating in Puerto Rico promised 100,000 jobs when they opened—and still owe the people of Puerto Rico 92,000 jobs!

Juan Mari Bras, Secretary-General of the PSP, expounded on the specific actions which the PSP is taking in the struggle against this new form of imperialist exploitation. These include demanding that the UN initiate a hearing on the subject (the PSP is at the moment demonstrating in front of the UN in support of the Cuban delegate's demand that decolonization procedures begin in relation to Puerto Rico). He also said that the struggle cannot be left to the narrow field of legal maneuvering—the people must mount massive, militant actions to show the imperialists and their lackeys that they will not allow them to continue exploiting the country and the people. The actions must be brought to the level where, if the oil barons succeed in their design, the people will be ready to carry out a war against this new phase in the imperialist exploitation of Puerto Rico.

Jury reveals threats in smallest U.S. colony

By CAL BONNER

The island of St. Croix contains more than half (50,000) of the Virgin Islanders. Most of the inhabitants are Black and poor. Because whites who live there are in disproportionate numbers the owners of the businesses, the entertainment clubs, and what other little industry exists, much bitterness has arisen among the exploited Black masses against the whites.

Within the past year; this has resulted in the slaying of some 16 people, 14 of them white. It began last September 6, when seven whites and one Black were killed at the plush, Rockefeller family-owned Fountain Valley Golf Club near Christiansted.

In a fear-crazed atmosphere created by the U.S.-controlled mass media, five young Blacks were arrested. This August 13, they were sentenced by a coerced jury of 11 Blacks and one white to eight consecutive life terms each by Federal District Court Judge Warren H. Young, who presided at the trial.

According to New York Times reporter Earl Caldwell, "A day after the verdict was delivered, two of the jurors reported in sworn statements that they had been pressured by the trial judge, United States District Judge Warren H. Young, and by Federal marshals into delivering guilty verdicts. A day later, a third member of the jury made a similar charge against marshals."

On August 16 it was announced that a St. Croix native of Puerto Rican descent had

been arrested and charged with three of the most recent killings.

The basis of the unrest in St. Croix is the transformation of the islands by capitalists from the U.S. mainland who effectively restrict the native Black St. Crusans' access to capital and to jobs by monopolizing the one big industry—tourism. As a result, unemployment is rife.

Many, if not most, of the young Blacks blamed for the killings are Vietnam veterans who were trained to kill by the U.S. Army, brutalized, and then sent home to no jobs. Many have been forced to come to the larger cities in the U.S., like New York, where they face the cruel racism which perpetuates their unemployed status and further attempts to dehumanize them.

Fed up with lies and stabs-in-the-back from white exploiters, the brothers and sisters in the islands are taking the ultimate step—killing the capitalist blood-suckers—in desperation against this government's refusal to let the Crusan masses decide their own affairs free of outside influences—to take control of the islands' resources and to develop them toward the interests of the masses rather than for the profits of a small elite.

The Caribbean already has one brilliant example—that of revolutionary Cuba. The road to socialism is becoming to the masses of the West Indies, with increasing clarity, the only road away from racist unemployment, neo-colonialism, and capitalist exploitation.

Virgin Islands: How paradise was stolen

By LINDA GREEN

(The author of this article is a Black, native New Yorker who spends much of her time in the American-owned St. Croix, Virgin Islands, where her parents, retired workers, reside.)

I have often wondered why little is written or said about the oppressive conditions which exist in the Virgin Islands. The Virgin Islands is an American possession where young men are drafted into the U.S. military but are not allowed to have any participation whatsoever in the national elections. In fact, until 1970 the governor of this so-called "American paradise" was appointed by the President of the United States.

The government of the Virgin Islands is richer than any U.S. state government, owing to tourism, but its educational and medical facilities are poorer than those of any state on the U.S. mainland. In 1970 the reading level of 75 percent of the graduates from the only public high school in St. Croix was comparable to that of a sixth grader in the continental U.S.

These graduates are told they will be the future leaders of their community. This, of course, is a farce because everyone knows the future leaders will be the elite few who were fortunate enough to have attended private schools soaked in bourgeois ideology, or those people whose parents are already members of the lackey ruling class. The most that St. Crusans can expect if they remain on the island is a civil service job—sitting at a desk, pushing papers, and counting chairs.

The million-dollar hotels designed for the pleasure of rich white people are built by contractors attracted by the gigantic tax loop-holes which exist for the rich wherever the American dollar goes. The people who are heavily taxed are the native Virgin Islanders. The majority of the businesses in St. Croix are owned by white U.S. businessmen.

It was 56 years ago that the United States government obtained possession of the Virgin Islands from the government of Denmark. The hyper-racist new American "owners" shortly thereafter proceeded to "work their show" on the people of the islands. One of the stipulations of the deed to the Virgin Islands was that the beaches remain public. However, the U.S. bosses changed that situation. It didn't take much time before the people were finding themselves shotgunned off the beaches. Many people were forced to sell their lands to U.S. capitalists and watched, astounded, as the land values skyrocketed. Because of the financial manipulations of the monopoly capitalists, most Virgin Islanders today cannot afford to buy a fraction of the lands their ancestors enjoyed. Rich capitalists have expropriated the land for use as their

private estates where natives are forbidden to "trespass."

INDENTURED SERVANTS

There are two industries in the Virgin Islands: Harvey Aluminum and Hess Oil. Both of these companies are located in St. Croix. The pig owners sweet-talked the people with false promises of prosperity and then proceeded to pollute the south shore of St. Croix and chase away the tropical birds indigenous to that region.

The workers hired by these two new plantations are not natives of the Virgin Islands but are mostly Black men from the poverty-stricken British West Indies. They are brought to the Virgin Islands under a procedure devised by the U.S. Immigration Department called "bonding," a form of indentured servitude formerly practiced widely against the African, Irish, and poor British laborers when the U.S. was a British colony.

When you are bonded by an employer, you are expected to work at something lower than the minimum wage. In turn, the boss is obligated to supply housing for the worker. He reserves the right to cancel the bond whenever and for whatever reason his heart desires. As a result the bonded workers (called "aliens") are constantly shadowed with the threat of having their bond cancelled and being sent back to their islands—where they will have no employment at all.

Until a few years ago, "alien" women were employed primarily as maids, where they were paid a mere \$150 a month to cook, clean house, iron, babysit, and whatever else their bondholders expected them to do. Until 1971, "alien" children were denied the right to attend public schools in St. Croix.

The method of obtaining the rights of citizenship for the aliens is painfully slow and often humiliating. To begin with, one must be bonded for three years. However, after this period, the alien as permanent resident still has no voting rights nor the protection of being an American citizen.

Harvey Aluminum and Hess Oil hire these workers more readily as they feel assured of a longer period of super-exploitation of their labor at the lowest possible wages. And to further insure that these workers are whipped into line, industries in St. Croix hire white foremen and managers from places such as Texas and other extremely racist areas of the United States.

The lackey government in the Virgin Islands permits this intolerable situation to exist at the behest of United States profit-mongers. The people of the Virgin Islands have had more than their share of both the lackeys and the U.S. bosses and are seizing the moment to take their destinies into their own hands.

leaders jailed on July 28, 1959. They included eight deputies to the National Assembly, as an effect of the July 22, 1958 coup against the coalition government, headed by Souvanna Phouma, which was established by the Vientiane Agreement of 1956. A minister of the coalition government formed in 1962, neutralist Quinim Pholsena, was assassinated on April 1, 1963, by agents of U.S. imperialism.

Phoumi Vongvichit has a long experience with U.S. imperialism. As chronicler of the victorious struggle of the Lao people against U.S. imperialism, he wrote how in the spring of 1954, the embattled French colonialists sent General Ely to Washington for help in suppressing Indochina. "Availing themselves of the occasion, warlike elements such as Nixon (!) and Dulles plotted with the French warmongers Laniel-Bidault and others to prolong and expand the war."

—Laos

(Continued from page 7)

seven percent of the people in the area suffered starvation under prior conditions of harsh oppression during the colonialism of the French and the neocolonialism of the U.S.

A few days ago a Western reporter asked Phoumi Vongvichit, the Pathet Lao negotiator in Vietiane, whether he was optimistic about signing the protocol agreement on the formation of the coalition government.

"Of course. I am always optimistic. I was even optimistic in prison, but that does not mean we have a settlement yet."

He was among sixteen Pathet Lao

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U.S. reveals plans for Mideast war

Even as the last U.S. bomb fell on the tortured nation of Cambodia, the U.S. imperialists were gearing up for another war, this time in the Middle East.

In mid-August the lizards and snakes who are usually the only inhabitants of California's vast Mojave Desert were joined by 9,000 marines in Operation Alkali Canyon 73, a "war game" staged to prepare U.S. soldiers for military intervention in the oil-rich Arab lands.

The Pentagon brass, usually so secretive, eagerly invited magazine and newspaper reporters to watch the mock war they were directing from an air-conditioned control center at Camp Wilson. The "aggressor" army, dressed in the khaki shirts and red-collar insignia of the Libyan army, was "contained and defeated" by marines deploying 175-mm howitzers, CH-53 and CH-46 helicopters, and the new English AV-8A Harrier jet.

The Libyan government has, since the overthrow of the monarchy, taken a hostile attitude to U.S. imperialism, expelling the U.S. from the giant Wheelus Air Force Base and nationalizing without compensation the Bunker Hunt Oil Company. The English, who before World War II were the dominant imperialist power in the Middle East, are today heavily engaged in combat with leftist guerrillas in the Arab Gulf region.

Behind the frantic war preparations of the U.S. military lies the enormous empire of oil the U.S. has carved out of the Middle East. Press reports indicate that the marines engaged in the desert training exercise are well aware that they were deployed in the Mojave Desert for a dry run against the Arab people in the interests of the Wall Street oil cartel.

Time magazine of August 27 quotes Staff Sergeant Greg Anderson as ordering

his men to board a helicopter with the words, "Come on, men. We're out here to get practice so we can grab the oil." The war-mad policy of the U.S. militarists was typified by Colonel Jerry O'Leary, who told the Time correspondent: "The Pentagon has a computer plan for the invasion of every civilized country in the world. The Middle East is the obvious powder keg, and we'd be fools if we didn't prepare."

So much for the detente. So much for Nixon's self-proclaimed "full generation of peace."

U.S. WANTS TO REPEAT 1958— BUT CAN THEY?

If the U.S. commits troops to the Middle East, either to prop up reactionary Arab regimes like that of Jordan or to bolster the U.S. client state Israel, it won't be the first time Wall Street has intervened with naked military might against the Arab masses. In May 1958, Eisenhower sent 10,000 marines to Lebanon to bail out the reactionary Beirut regime faced with the threat of revolution.

This is not 1958, however. The U.S. is much weakened from its former position as unchallenged imperial ruler of the capitalist and colonial world, a fact even the ruling class was forced to recognize in Indochina. U.S. News and World Report of August 27 wrote that one marine complained that "every grain of sand is like a knife."

If this hapless soldier is sent to invade the Arab lands he will find more problems than sandstorms. He will fighting a hopeless war against a different and more powerful storm, the storm of Arab liberation. And as Indochina has shown, U.S. troops are learning they have more in common with the oppressed people's fight for liberation and social development than they do with the U.S. brass and its Wall Street masters.

The \$6-Billion U.S. Stake in Mideast Oil and Gas

Investments of U.S. companies in—

Crude oil, natural gas, production facilities \$3,385 mil.

Natural gas liquids plants \$240 mil.

Pipelines \$985 mil.

Refineries \$770 mil.

Chemical plants \$50 mil.

Marketing facilities \$550 mil.

Other investments \$435 mil.

TOTAL INVESTMENTS \$6,415 mil.

Note: Figures include those for Arab nations of North Africa and are for 1972-73 fiscal year.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT



WHY MARINES ARE TRAINING IN DESERT

While worries mount over U.S. oil supplies, America's crack assault force is sharpening its combat readiness for a possible new kind of crisis.

MOJAVE DESERT, Calif. As general unease builds up in the Middle East, the U.S. has handed its Marines a new assignment—be prepared, if ever needed, to fight in the desert. This is a switch from the emphasis given by the Marine Corps in recent years to fighting in the jungle. Instead, the Leathernecks are looking hard at problems they might face should the U.S. become involved against a desert force, presumably in North Africa or the Eastern Mediterranean.

There is where U.S. oil interests are great and becoming more vital as the nation's appetite for fuels outruns its supplies. The safety of the thousands of American civilians in these oil lands becomes a worry for Washington when emergencies arise.

Until now, the problems the Marines would encounter in such operations has been a concern mainly of Pentagon planners. But in mid-August, the arid high-desert country of southern California was taken over by some 9,000 Marine regulars and reservists.

Here, they carried out the most extensive desert-warfare training exercises of their kind in U.S. history—code-named Alkali Canyon 73.

According to official Marine sources, the five days of maneuvers called for the men to "repel invaders and preserve American lives and property" when a mythical desert nation is invaded.

Veiled motives. Top Marine commanders at the scene, however, were tight-lipped about connecting what they were doing here with possible Mideast involvement. Brig. Gen. Arthur J. Poillon, commander of the Eighth Marine Amphibious Brigade, says only:

"It's important for a ready force to be able to operate under difficult conditions. We never know where or when we might be used."

Significantly, many of the units taking part were from the Second Marine



Crewman of tank force wears protective gear as a safeguard against intense heat.

Division, which supplies troops for U.S. forces in the Mediterranean Sea. One battalion was scheduled to sail for duty there with the Sixth Fleet when the exercise ended.

In these maneuvers in the Mojave Desert, the simulated U.S. intervention supposedly comes after a period of border incidents between two predominantly desert nations who have "ideological" differences. As relations grow strained, the U.S. beefs up its fleet in the sea touching both countries.

When war breaks out, the scenario continues, the U.S. supposedly puts a Marine landing force ashore. In the

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, August 27, 1973

Muscat executes ten Arab guerrillas

Militant anti-imperialist fighters of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf were executed in early August by the Anglo-U.S. sultanate of Muscat. The ten executed by firing squad had been active in the fight against the Qaboos dictatorship, a regime propped up by direct English military intervention, including the terror bombing of Omani villages.

The ten martyrs were tortured by English and Jordanian interrogators in an unsuccessful attempt to force them to name their comrades. One had been so badly maltreated by the English police "experts" that he had to have a leg amputated before he appeared in court.

The ten heroes executed are Hamed Majed al-Mukhaini, Khalfan Salem Khalfan al-Wahibi, Mohammad Saeed al-Wuhaibi, Mohammad Hashem Attai, Ali Mohammad Salem al-Marzooqi, Mohammad Teleb Suleiman al al-Busaidi, Hamood Hamid al-Ghasoni, Ali Thani al-Gamoodi, Hamood Hamed Arrahabi, and Mubarak Hamed Mubarak al-Keitani.

The People's Liberation Army took their revenge for these murders. Shortly after the executions the English air base at Sallalah was attacked by guerrillas who destroyed many helicopters and killed a number of imperialist soldiers.



People's Liberation Army guerrillas on patrol in the Dhofar area of the Arab Gulf.

Photo: Hsinhua

political prisoners

Venceremos

DOUG and ANDREA BURT have been convicted of murder of a guard, of assault, and of rescuing a prisoner, Ronald Beaty, in his October 6, 1972, escape from the Chino, California, prison.

The jury in San Bernadino (known to prisoners as a "railroad stop" on the way to jail) ignored overwhelming evidence of the innocence of the Burts, who originally turned themselves in last October 22, when they heard there were warrants out for them.

Andrea Burt is a member of the Venceremos organization who has worked energetically in support of prisoners' rights. Doug Bert was released from Chino last year after serving the maximum ten-year term in punishment for his aid to other prisoners in legal matters.

The government frameup was based primarily on the testimony of the recaptured prisoner, Ronald Beaty. Though before the escape he had been serving a life sentence with no possibility of parole, after he was recaptured he was offered parole in seven years if he would testify against the Burts, JEAN HOBSON, BOB SEABOCK, and the Venceremos organization.

Beaty had escaped once before and kidnapped two people whom he later accused of being "accomplices" financed by the Black Panther Party. His partner in that escape testified that Beaty would do anything to save his own skin and that nothing he said should be believed.

Beaty himself admitted that he lied to the grand jury that brought the indictments in the Chino escape case, and his testimony at the trial was full of contradictions.

Joe Morgan, a former Chino inmate who did time with Beaty, testified that Beaty had told him that he was "playing the part" as a revolutionary so that he could "infiltrate those creeps" and use them as a bargaining tool if he got caught.

The surviving guard, who had known Doug Burt when he was in Chino, testified, even under hypnosis, that he did not recognize any of the four defendants as

having participated in the rescue. And the closest eyewitness, who had an unobstructed view, testified that he had never seen the Burts before in his life, evidence which the government tried to hide.

In fact, two friends and an acquaintance testified that both Doug and Andrea were in Hayward that day.

But the all-white, middle-class, elderly jury brought back a conviction because they were convinced the Burts and the Venceremos organization are revolutionists. Much of the prosecution testimony centered on their organizing activities, particularly with the Prison Law Project.

Two jurors have since come forward and stated that during deliberations at first five of the jurors were for acquittal.

But jurors most receptive to the hysterical red-baiting of the DA and judge argued insistently that Andrea had gone to Cuba and become a revolutionary and was capable of rescuing a prisoner, and therefore they must be imprisoned.

The debate in the jury room gave direct expression to the true charges in the case and its objective: political repression. The Chino escape case should have the support of all progressive people.

The Burts are scheduled to be sentenced September 4, and the trial of Jean Hobson and Bob Seabock on the same charges is scheduled to begin September 17.

Direct support to the Chino Escape Defense Committee, 747 Dolores, Stanford, California 94305.

Attica Brothers

Two of the Attica Brothers indicted for murder received a bail of \$10,000 in State Supreme Court, Buffalo, on August 7. At the time of this writing, Charley Joe Pernalice has been freed on bail and arrangements are being made to raise enough bail to free John Hill.

On September 5, a motion to dismiss all the indictments against the Attica Brothers will be argued. The Brothers have asked for support actions outside the courtroom, and a

picket line called by the Attica Defense Committee, the Prisoners Solidarity Committee (PSC), and other organizations will take place.

Also, many activities are being planned for the second anniversary of the Attica rebellion, September 9 through 13, including a mass demonstration on the 13.

The Brothers need your support, on both September 5 and 13. Call or write the PSC to find out what activities are taking place.

SHOW YOUR SUPPORT FOR THE INDICTED ATTICA BROTHERS

September 5
State Supreme Court
Buffalo, New York
(Franklin and Church Streets)

September 9-13
Call for information:
Rochester PSC (716) 546-6429
Buffalo PSC (716) 855-3055
Attica Defense Committee (716) 884-4423

Carlos Feliciano

NEW YORK—The second trial of CARLOS FELICIANO on bombing charges will begin in Manhattan's "Tombs" courthouse Tuesday, September 4.

Feliciano was acquitted on the same charges last year in the Bronx, and since then the arresting cop and principal liar in the frameup has been indicted for taking kickbacks from drug pushers.

But so far Manhattan DA Frank Hogan has refused to drop the phony charges, because the frameup was organized at the highest levels of government against a man who believes in independence for Puerto Rico and who shared a cell with Albizu Campos in the 1950s.

Recently New York cop Sargeant Dunn testified that the case was fabricated by the CIC (the Puerto Rican "intelligence" arm of the U.S.), the FBI, the New York City police, and Nixon's personal security guard.

Feliciano has been followed, his phone tapped, and his family watched as part of Nixon's 1970 orders for intensified police-state repression.

The Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano has called a demonstration to demand freedom for Carlos on Thursday, August 30, from 4 to 6 p.m., in front of Governor Rockefeller's office on West 55th Street, between Fifth and Sixth Avenues.

For more information, contact the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, Box 356 Canal Street Station, NYC 10013, or call OR4-6377 weeknights.

Gainesville 8

The trial of seven members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) and a civilian supporter in Gainesville, Florida, on charges of conspiring to disrupt the 1972 Republican National Convention has been an exhibition of police-state operations.

The Nixon administration invented the frameup charges about violent protest plans as part of its excuse for the Watergate burglary and bugging. But more than that, the charges are a direct result of Nixon's June 1970 secret plan to take direct personal control of "domestic intelligence" and open up a general fascist attack on all progressive organizations.

The Watergate burglars were caught and Nixon now says the 1970 plan never went into effect, but on the opening day of the trial, while the defendants were in the courthouse conferring with their lawyers, they discovered two FBI agents in a closet with a suitcase full of electronic "bugs," tapping into the telephone junction box!

And the jury has sent a letter to the judge reporting that three-fourths of their home phones "have been acting strangely," describing clickings, cutoffs, hollow sounds, and anonymous calls inquiring as to name and number.

But Federal District Judge Winston Arnow has dismissed these incidents with a casual manner because he himself is committed to the frameup as an instrument of the federal government. Judge Arnow



Lucasville, Ohio

On July 24 when two guards were shot, everyone went in lock-up at noon. A great deal has taken place since then, and the block guards seem to be the reason. We are being fed three meals a day, and the food is cold enough to make you hungry, and is cold most times.

At the time of the shakedowns, we came out of our cells one at a time under shotgun guard, from there we had to walk pants in hand, naked, to another cell block and were told to keep our mouth shut. After all were moved, they shook our cells down and took our personal things.

After they finished shaking down our cells we were taken back to get what things they left us. We were made to sign a paper to send all home under shotgun guard. A lot of things were missing from the lists of our things.

All visits have stopped, and they did not say when they would start again. We cannot get any hospital care at all.

Respectfully, A Prisoner.

Lucasville, Ohio, June 28

We are the Jewish Community. Most of us are back here in the Special Disciplinary Unit. We are the first ones they got. They came to the Jewish Community Block during the strike and asked us if we were going to work, and we said no.

So they put 37 of us back here, although the other day they took a few from back here and put them in K-Block. Warden Whealon uses this as a front, because the heat was on, and all the news was on radio and TV.

You see, they don't dig the Jewish Community because we stand for our rights, and always will fight for them.

The food is still cold. Last week made 11 days without a shower. We still don't get salt with our food, and no sugar. We still don't have no doctor here. So if someone gets real sick, he will be in a bad way. Not much of a hospital here. And we do not get out of the cells to walk around.

There are only about 200 jobs here.

When they let a few of our brothers out of here, there was one man that wouldn't sign this paper that says that you got all of your things back. This man had a few things missing, including his ring.

So about 6 guards jumped on him and worked him over, and put him in the strip cell, just because he wouldn't sign this paper, which would take them off the hook.

His name is Donald Taylor.

They still have 700 locked up. They still read our mail coming in, and hold our mail up.

We want what the Ohio Prison Labor

Union wants, and we all dig your paper. Free the Lucasville 700! Get the Union In! O.L.P.U. All the Way!

Yours, A Prisoner.

Attica, N.Y., Aug 7:

My Workers World was being held back. In other words, the pigs are saying that I cannot get the Aug. 3 Workers World—thus depriving me of my constitutional rights under the First Amendment, (if it so be that Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Native Americans and poor whites have any rights at all in this fascist country!)

They are also depriving the working people who contribute and donate money so we prisoners can read the Workers World and freely subscribe to it, of their labor power. And they are also making futile the working hours that the Workers World spends putting this newspaper together.

We must put a stop to the practice of censorship, deprivation of our basic democratic rights, which Attica Concentration Camp has unleashed upon the oppressed people within the confines of these concrete walls, steel, and iron bars.

The Attica Literature Review (censorship) Committee does not want the Attica population (prisoners) to read the truth about the July 11 gassing up in HBZ—just like the Nazi Gestapo did in Germany.

The Attica Administrators did not stop the Buffalo Evening News because it is in fact a liberal bourgeois newspaper which did not print the truth about the indiscriminate use of gas in HBZ, but printed

a ridiculous story that even a 6-year-old boy couldn't swallow or digest.

In Attika, the pigs don't stop lies, but when the truth comes out, this they go out of their way to stop.

Attika Koncentration Kamp will fall. The stamp of approval is written in our wounds, the scars that have been inflicted upon Third World people and poor whites.

Dare to struggle, dare to win!
Unite the many, defeat the few!

Hasta la Victoria Siempre,
Salvador Agron

Green Bay, Wisc., July 7:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of a letter which Steve and I have forwarded to our attorney in hopes that he will take Federal action against the prison officials for denying us the right to receive Workers World.

Steve and I among many other inmates truly appreciate your paper because you speak and write the truth as the truth should be written, and many of us are doing our small share of the fighting this sick capitalist society in which we are forced to live.

Many other prisoners have been awakened by your newspaper to the facts of capitalism and we are working in many ways to bring the monster down to the world of the working class of people, where the beast will be slaughtered in due time.

We remain your brothers in struggle.
Ernest Rodriguez and Steve Verbanc

began the trial by gagging all the defendants and their supporters, forbidding them to make any statements whatsoever to reporters.

Like all the many indictments in the past couple of years instigated by Guy Goodwin and the Justice Department's Internal Security Division, the entire case rests on the lies that the FBI pays informers to tell. In this case, the government is parading a string of agents telling of plots, weapons, explosives, and organized "political assassination squads."

But the intelligence reports for the security planning of the convention and the secret intelligence and operation logs make no mention of the plot these FBI finks are testifying about, reported The New York Times of August 9.

Free the Gainesville 8, JOHN BRIGGS, SCOTT CAMIL, ALTON FOSS, JOHN KNIFFIN, STAN MICHELSEN, PETE MAHONEY, BILL PATERSON, and DON PERDUE! Jail Nixon, Agnew, and all the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP) officials!

Fort Worth 5

NEW YORK, August 14—The families and supporters of five New York City Irish-Americans have welcomed them home after ten months in a Fort Worth, Texas jail for refusing to testify before a federal grand jury about alleged gun-running to the Irish Republican Army.

THOMAS LAFFEY, KENNETH TIERNEY, MATHIAS REILLY, DANIEL CRAWFORD, and PASCHAL MORAHAN were locked up in July 1972, far from their supporters, in an attempt to force them to answer general questions about all their associations and activities.

They were threatened with being imprisoned until the end of the grand jury session scheduled to close December 1973, unless they agreed to talk. But the Fort Worth Five, as they became known, held firm, and the Fort Worth Five Defense Committee worked hard to publicize the FBI harassment of Irish liberation supporters, who had never before even been in Texas.

The five were first released on bail from the contempt charges in September 1972, but bail was revoked in January 1973. Now, with the Watergate scandal spotlight on this country's police-state apparatus, they have once again won their release.

Hands off all IRA supporters! End all U.S. support for English rule in Ireland!

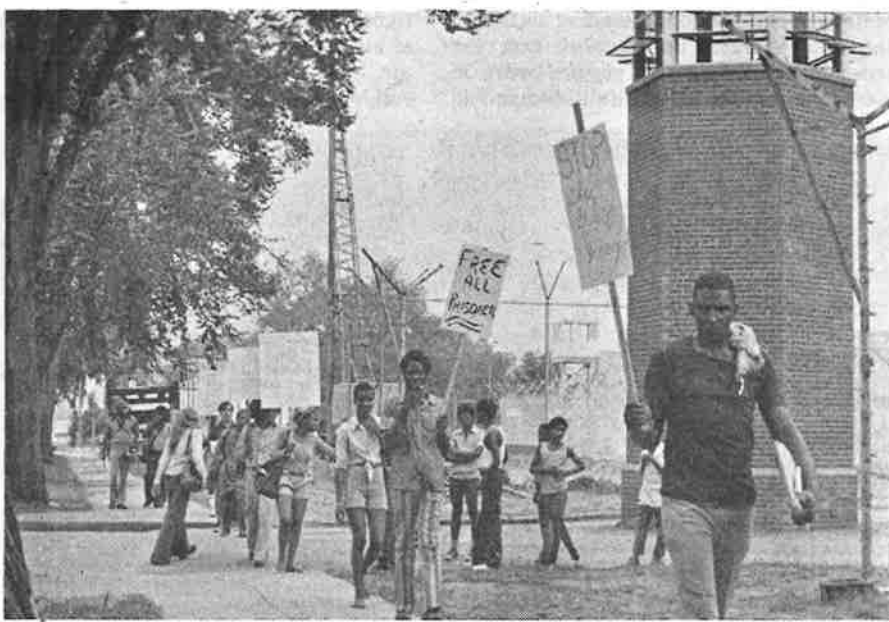
Kansas City 4

(Our thanks to Bill Berkowitz for the information in this report—Editor.)

As part of the Watergate conspiracy to frame up U.S. movement activists, the federal Department of Justice brought grand jury indictments on bombing charges in Kansas City, Missouri, on July 9, 1971, against MARTIN BAUMGARTEN,

the phony charges after the state acquittals. Instead, the Internal Security Division sent in one of their top men to prosecute, picked a rigged jury, got a fascist judge, and harassed the defendants with wiretaps and burglaries.

On May 9, 1973, three of the Kansas City 4 were convicted. Randy Gould is facing 5 years for conspiracy and Richard Stanley and Martin Baumgarten are facing 25 years for two counts of aiding and abetting.



The Coalition for the Survival of DC Prisoners holds its first action in front of the D.C. jail on August 13 to protest inhuman living conditions.

RANDY GOULD, RICHARD STANLEY, and KEN SANDUSKY, also known as the Kansas City 4.

The federal prosecutor at the grand jury was Guy Goodwin, who also brought indictments against the Gainesville 8, the Camden 28, the Harrisburg 7, and many other anti-war activists, as part of Nixon's 1970 plan to crush "subversives." In addition, charges for the same alleged acts were brought in Kansas against Gould, Stanley, and Sandusky.

Between September 1972 and March 1973 on four separate occasions they appeared in Kansas courts until they were acquitted of all the state charges. Jurors expressed their disgust with the attempt to jail them for their political beliefs, including deliberate withholding by the state of eyewitness testimony favorable to the defendants.

But the federal government did not drop

As in many recent political trials, the government case was based almost entirely on a single witness who was being rewarded by the government. In this case, Arnold Stead, who was already serving a ten-year sentence on bombing charges, agreed to say what the prosecution wanted to hear after he was threatened with additional charges.

An admitted pathological liar and heavy drug user, Stead came out of the mental section of the Springfield, Missouri, medical center and accused his "accomplices." As a result, no additional charges were brought against him and his ten-year sentence was cut in half.

Cross-examination of his testimony revealed that Stead has lived a fantasy life of lies since he was 14, including imaginary military and pro-football careers; that he has been repeatedly admitted to mental hospitals; and that during May and June of 1970 (the months the alleged conspiracy took

place), he was taking eight to ten doses of LSD every other day.

The defense called eyewitnesses who saw only one person, Stead, at the bombing sites. They also produced work records proving the defendants could not have been where Stead said they were.

But none of it made any difference to the government's hand-picked jury, most of whom were related to federal, state, or city cops. The defendants were convicted in 1971 by Guy Goodwin, Richard Nixon, and the Watergate police-state conspirators.

One of the documents that has surfaced in the Watergate investigation is a June 1970 memorandum from Nixon to the heads of the FBI, CIA, DIA, NSA, and other federal police agencies, instructing these repressive forces to join together for a coordinated illegal attack on progressive activists.

Nixon claims the orders for burglaries, wiretaps, and the like were never put into effect, but the case of the Kansas City 4, like so many other cases, shows the plan was put into operation.

+ There were a half-dozen burglaries at the residence of Randy Gould in the Winter and Spring of 1971-72, during which the apartment was ransacked and files, legal papers, and phone lists removed. The apartment of defense witness Harold Pierce was also ransacked twice, during which a rifle first disappeared and then reappeared.

+ In the Winter of 1971, Randy Gould returned home slightly early to discover his door unlocked and phone disassembled. It was later learned that this had happened once before, but had not been given much notice by the men who had discovered it then.

+ In the Spring of 1972, two men in an unmarked car equipped with binoculars and a telescopic camera appeared outside Gould's apartment. A check into the license plate number showed that the car belonged to the government but not to the FBI or the Treasury Department.

+ In the Spring of 1973, the file of Gould's attorney on Gould's case mysteriously disappeared.

Numerous other incidents also took place. In fact, a former FBI informant has agreed to testify at a hearing for the defense about his activities in this case.

Contributions are still needed for appeal bonds and may be sent to the Kansas City 4 Defense Committee, P.O. Box 3366, Jayhawk Station, Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

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BROOKLYN HOUSE OF DETENTION, Brooklyn, N.Y.

I am not writing this letter for me as one individual, but for the multitude of detainees that are forced to undergo the inhumane injustices of the Kings County Supreme Court, which is administering this to us, because we are of the indigent class of this society, and somewhat laymen concerning the technology of law.

As of this day and time, the courts to us are like the Roman's arena was to the Christians. "They devour our freedom, like the lions devoured their meat."

We are planning to somewhat correct these injustices that the courts have bestowed upon us the poor and defenseless, we the inmates of the Brooklyn House of Detention for Men are boycotting the Kings County Supreme Court from the 1st day of July until the 31st day of July 1973.

You can plainly see or imagine how vital your assistance is to us at the Brooklyn House of Detention, by picketing the Supreme Court and writing letters to anyone or organizations that are in a position to assist us, because we cannot achieve anything without the assistance of the people.

A Prisoner

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LEAVENWORTH, Kan., July 31:

Today at 11:30 a riot broke out in the Dining Room. Trays, glasses and other equipment were flying. The Riot Squad

appeared immediately, with tear-gas, guns, night-sticks and baseball bats.

One guard has been killed and 11 held hostage. Names are unknown yet as we are now locked up in our cells. Guards are running around with ammunition, ready to kill us. Assaults and beatings are now evident.

The explosive situation occurred because prisoners are sick and tired of being treated as animals in a zoo, excuse me, not as good.

The illegal lock-up of inmates and assaults by officials to persons who express their belief and stand up to the bullshit here is only one reason of our sickness of the Federal authorities messing over us.

Everything from the parole system to our food, medical treatment and rehabilitation and education programs need realigning and immediate help from authorities. The harassment by authorities in ways of assaults and other types of mistreatment has got to be stopped.

John Gibbs was injured back on July 15, 1973 as reprisals by the authorities, when he filed charges on three guards for assaulting him on May 28, the only reason being that he is a gay prisoner, and Chairman of the National Gay Prisoners Coalition. His secretary, Ernest M. Valenzuela, is again locked up for "investigation," and for association with gay members of the organization.

All minorities have urged unity of all. Today we stand in a struggle for better future treatment, understanding, and a rehabilitative type educational prison reform, as Federal prisons stink with filth

and backward programs.

Loren Daggett, warden now, is fully responsible for conditions prevailing, which were left by S. J. Britten and "fearless" Mr. Malley, two very sick persons.

But the ousting of Norman A. Carlson, the Big Bad Pig of Washington, head of the Federal Bureau of Prisons has got to happen.

We urge the support for all minorities in Leavenworth as the riot, killings and urging of our rights, so deserved, goes on. As for dying for a cause, it is a beautiful death, when unity is had by all.

We urge publicity, legal support, and a fund drive for our legal help, and to help the Brothers and Sisters in struggle.

Yours in struggle,
Two friends

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LEAVENWORTH, Kan., Aug. 3:

There was a small rebellion here on July 31. At around noon, about 100 inmates tore through the prison, setting fires, taking hostages, and killing one hack. The hack was killed in "A" cellhouse, not far from our cell, though we were locked in at the time and were unable to see or participate in this just execution.

Several inmates with hostages took and held the laundry for the afternoon and night, but were forced to surrender the next day.

At this time, 15 inmates have been beaten with axe-handles and other instruments of torture and thrown into the hole as "suspects." The place is crawling with FBI and other porcine beasts.

The rebellion was in solidarity with the brave struggle of the MacAlester, Oklahoma prisoners who burned most of their concentration camp down. Adding fuel to the fire was the death of an inmate in the hospital here, murdered by the "doctor's" neglect.

I am somewhat isolated from the main population, but will send more information as I get it.

Prisons are concentration camps for the poor! Tear down the walls!

In Struggle,
S.G.

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STAFFORD, Va. June 15:

There are a number of persons housed and confined in the County Jail of Stafford, Va., who are residents of the Washington, D.C., area. They have been exposed to the worst conditions of brutality and torture known to man. I shall mention only one instance.

Prisoner Carl S. Kelley had been confined at one of the Road Camps in Stafford, Va.; he was called to the office of the camp superintendent for an alleged infraction of the rules, and adjudged guilty, upon which the Camp superintendent proceeded to strike Mr. Kelley with his fist, while other camp officials held him. In trying to ward off the blows, Mr. Kelly was brutally struck down by clubs to the head. Then, without receiving any medical attention, he was transferred to the Stafford County Jail.

For purposes of employment and personal safety, I must remain anonymous. Please take note!

UFWU fights for survival against murders, beatings

By V. COPELAND

August 21—Coming on top of all the trials and terror already visited upon the Farm Workers Union, the murder of two of its members last week seemed to be a near-crushing blow.

After withstanding the beatings by goons of the top bureaucrats of the Teamsters Union, who were of course protected by the sheriff's "law and order," the long-suffering farm workers were finally set upon by the sheriff's men themselves.

(It was indisputably a sheriff's deputy—Gilbert Cooper—who killed farm worker Nagi Daifulla, a citizen of Yemen, at Delano on August 14. The other victim, Juan de la Cruz, age 60, was shot by an unknown man in a pickup truck in Arvin, 50 miles south of Delano. This was just after the known sheriff's deputies had mysteriously scattered.)

Just before this, Frank Fitzsimmons, head of the Teamsters Union, who had been playing a strikebreaking role with honeymoon contracts and hired goons, had called off the goons and even repudiated some of the sweetheart contracts recently signed by California Teamsters officials.

This may well have signaled a real truce among top labor leaders. And it may have also been a signal to the vicious multimillion dollar growers that they could no longer depend upon the strategy of pitting one union against another.

RETREAT UNDER FIRE

At any rate, it was just after this that the real hell broke loose—the hell of open beating and shooting by the forces of "law and order" on behalf of the growers.

Under this deadly fire the UFW leadership has beaten a retreat. And from the picture that emerges behind the smoke of the battle lines, it is difficult to see how they could have done otherwise.

True, Caesar Chavez was not only optimistic but he was also sending his SOS to the wrong address when he called upon "the federal government (to) restore order in Kern County" with his union still demanding

its rights from the growers who run and own that county.

But it would be wrong to censure Chavez for this. He has risked his own life on several occasions. He has made the organization of the farm workers into a crusade for the rights of Mexican-Americans. And in spite of his pacifism (and his tendency to adopt the hunger strike as a weapon against ruthless capitalist murderers), he has put

up a long and consistent fight against the super-exploiters of his people. And he shows every sign of continuing the fight.

True, the liberal Establishment—that is, the more moderate wing of the imperialists, such as Edward Kennedy, George McGovern, etc.—have to some degree taken over the national strategy of the farm workers' strike.

This was exemplified especially in the call of Rep. Don Edwards (Dem. of California) for "50 more FBI agents" to be sent to Delano "to end the anarchy that prevails in Kern County."

Naturally, neither the FBI, the CIA, nor the U.S. Army is really going to help the United Farm Workers. In the long run each one of these agencies, Edward Kennedy, and George McGovern will all do their utmost to wreck or at least disarm and enfeeble this union.

But that is a longer-range perspective of the liberals and not a perspective at all for Chavez, as far as we can see.

In the short range, and on the present field of battle, the cry is still to organize the UFW. And even the liberals are behind it. The slogan is still to support the Farm Workers Union. The task for every sympathetic human being outside the arena of the California field-sweatshops is still to carry on the boycott of grapes and lettuce.

In spite of all the terror of the ruling class, in spite of beatings, persecutions, and murder itself, the long-struggling farm workers will organize, and they will win.

Viva La Causa! Long live the United Farm Workers!



These Delano farm workers were beaten and handcuffed by sheriff's deputies.

Rank-and-file teamsters for grape strike

By BILL ALLEN, a Teamster

At present there is an "arrangement" between the IBT (International Brotherhood of Teamsters) on the West Coast and the growers. This "arrangement" is financed from Washington by IBT President Frank Fitzsimmons and his pal, Nixon. Einar Mohn, the head of the IBT Western Conference (also International First Vice President, IBT), is Fitzsimmons's right-hand man and the local organizer of the goon squads terrorizing the United Farm Workers Union (UFWU) organizers. (See *Workers World*, August 3, 1973.)

The IBT International Headquarters in Washington has spent thousands of dollars in literature "explaining" the Teamster position. This literature addresses itself to the 2 million rank-and-file members of the Teamsters in an attempt to cover up the dirty work of the IBT leadership. Because

the Teamster rank and file in the East, South, and Midwest are confused about what is really going on, and correctly maintain loyalty to their union, it is nearly impossible to organized on behalf of the farm workers within the Teamsters. However, as the police-dog methods of the IBT bureaucracy become exposed, pockets of opposition appear within the IBT membership all over the country.

Brothers and sisters in the East who ask for lettuce marked with the UFWU eagle (the emblem of the union) engage in difficult arguments with store owners—such as: "Is Teamster-picked lettuce scab lettuce?" This question is raised again and again at membership meetings. There have been many complaints by Eastern truck drivers, at their membership meetings, that they are being called scabs by members of the UFWU. There are some Teamster locals

on record as supporting the UFWU.

When I discuss the UFWU in my shop, my brothers and sisters unanimously support the UFWU on two important questions. First, they say the IBT had no right to sign contracts with the bosses if the workers didn't vote for IBT representation. (They also say they know UFWU would win an election by a landslide.) Second, they agree that the IBT gave the bosses a free hiring and firing hand, thus killing seniority rights. The UFWU uses a hiring hall procedure, which gives the union the right to force the bosses to recognize seniority, hire democratically, and fire only with cause.

A Puerto Rican union sister in my shop recently returned from a visit to California. She said that the Chicano people she spoke to there said, "We want a Chicano-led union that will fight for higher pay and better

working conditions. We also want union leadership that understands the everyday problems that Mexican-Americans face in this country."

This sister expresses the real feelings of the Teamster rank and file. We are women and men, old and young, Black and white, Spanish and English speaking. We drive, type, operate factory machinery, dig, and build. The struggle of the farmworkers is our struggle.

The strength of the UFWU will carry it through to total victory for the hundreds of thousands of farmworkers who labor in the fields of this country. This strength and unity broke the back of the grape growers throughout the Southwest three years ago, in the face of beatings, threats, and murders. Regardless of temporary setbacks, the farm workers will win again.

Planned 'superport' angers Puerto Ricans

By P. MEISNER

When it was announced in December of 1972 that giant U.S. oil monopolies were planning to build a deep-sea port complex, or "superport," on the west coast of Puerto Rico, a new stage of U.S. colonial rule over the island had probably begun.

This new and monstrous invasion of Puerto Rico by Wall Street can only further disrupt and distort the economic, political, social, cultural, and ecological life of the Caribbean island and its 2.8 million inhabitants.

The need and choice for the "superport" in Puerto Rico arise out of the profound global crisis currently gripping U.S. imperialism in its desperate search for stable raw material markets and new colonial lackeys. With U.S. capitalist industry becoming more and more dependent on Middle East oil (which constitutes 80 percent of the capitalist world's oil reserves), the big U.S. oil corporations are finding it more difficult to blackmail the oil-producing

countries of the Middle East into accepting the outright robbery prices or royalties formerly paid by the Western oil monopolies for crude oil.

It is this attack on the superprofits of the Western oil giants (and not the artificially created gasoline shortage of the oil companies) which is largely behind the so-called "energy crisis" in Western Europe and North America. In fact, the U.S. oil monopolies are deliberately holding back on the sale of gasoline in the U.S. and around the world as one method of retaining their lucrative profit rates and, at the same time, control over Mideast oil reserves.

But this strategy is at best both politically and economically tenuous from a long-term perspective, as the Wall Street strategists well know. And this is where the use of "superports" comes in as an alternative method of cutting the costs of oil production, thereby helping to restore the price and profit levels desired by the U.S. oil monopolies. A "superport," such as is

planned for Puerto Rico, would reduce the cost of the shipping, storage, refining, and distribution of oil.

U.S. STATES REJECTED PLAN

But why was Puerto Rico specifically chosen for the "superport" site?

First of all, several sites along the East Coast of the United States were proposed but quickly rejected by the state governments affected. And while there exist in the Western Hemisphere geographical sites superior to Puerto Rico (some other "superports" are being built in the Caribbean anyhow) for a deep-sea port, none of the others can offer a more profitable combination of both deep-sea port and refining facilities.

Already, Sun Oil, Philips, Commonwealth Oil, and other U.S. oil giants have prosperous petrochemical industries in Puerto Rico and, it should be added, with pollution standards that are in flagrant

violation of just about all mainland U.S. antipollution laws. This "prosperity" is, of course, largely the result of the relatively cheap labor made available in the U.S. colony as well as the long-term tax-free status granted to U.S. corporations.

The proposed site for the deep-sea port is on the northern part of Puerto Rico's western coastline, with desirable sea depths of 120 feet less than one mile off the coast. The "superport" would ultimately encompass the use of approximately 35,000 acres of Puerto Rican land, threatening extensive pollution of the surrounding atmosphere, inland water bodies, and sea life.

Economically, the "superport" complex would almost triple U.S. investments in Puerto Rico—from the present \$6.8 billion to ultimately \$16.4 billion. But this would only perpetuate the colonial type of economy of Puerto Rico, since the "superport" would still only provide an intermediary industry and not a heavy industry, such as steel,

(Continued on page 11)