

# workers world

Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite

Sam Marcy on  
The bourgeois  
opposition in  
the USSR —p. 7

Vol.15, No. 17

Oct. 5, 1973

25 cents

## Stop the slaughter of Chile's masses!



By FRED GOLDSTEIN

The Chilean working class, peasantry, and all progressive people in Chile are now being subjected to the murderous blows of a full-scale bourgeois counterrevolution of the type carried out by Mussolini, Hitler, and Franco in the 1930s and in Indonesia in 1965.

The fascist junta in Chile is not merely another repressive regime which jails opposition leaders and passes harsh laws, bad as such regimes are. The junta has set itself the task of totally smashing the Chilean proletariat and binding it hand and foot to be delivered over to the big bourgeoisie.

It has launched a campaign of physical extermination and terror against working class parties, labor organizations, against factories and whole working class neighborhoods, and against workers' literature and culture. In the process, anyone remotely progressive is being rounded up and shot or imprisoned.

A U.S. Public Health Service doctor, Philip Pilakoff, who spent a month in Chile and was briefly detained by the junta told a New York news conference as far back as September 23 that "based upon what I learned, I believe the number of Chileans already killed could be anywhere from 5,000 to 25,000."

### EXECUTIONS AND TORTURE

The French Press Agency, on September 26, said that possibly as many as 30,000 have been killed and 70,000 wounded in Chile.

Time magazine admitted in its October 8 issue that "last week the junta stepped up its campaign against Marxism into a virtual holy war aimed at destroying anyone and anything vaguely connected with Allende. Thousands of people were jailed without hearings. Soldiers beat people and burned books."

Dr. Pilakoff learned from a journalist who had been held in the National Stadium that 5,000 people, most of them jammed into locker rooms, were held for a week there without any food. Some were subjected to water torture.

Two U.S. researchers, Adam and Patricia Schesch, who were also held in the stadium, told of witnessing the execution of 400 to 500 people. Prisoners marched to their deaths singing the Internationale. Shots were heard until the singing died out.

### MAIN TARGET WORKERS AND POOR

Richard Gott, Chile correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, described events as a "drastic counterrevolution" which was "hailed by shop-keepers, truck owners, anybody with a little capital. . . But when they showed us 1,000 prisoners in the

(Continued on page 8)

This man  
paid only  
\$878  
in taxes



OCTOBER 4—During the 1972 Presidential election campaign, Nixon ran an ad for himself on TV in which he pledged to "hold the line on government spending." "The average taxpayer," admitted Nixon, "pays every year in taxes the equivalent of five months of his entire income."

But there was something Nixon forgot to mention.

The average taxpayer pays more taxes than Nixon does!!

It was recently disclosed that the Nixons paid only \$729.81 in federal income taxes for 1970, and \$878.03 for 1971.

That's what a family of three with an income of \$7,500 for 1970 and \$8,500 for 1971 paid. But Nixon's annual salary is \$200,000!

And he gets extravagant "fringe benefits"—the White House, Secret Service, a gigantic entertainment budget, Camp David, Air Force One, and even expenses for Key Biscayne and San Clemente. Not only were taxpayers forced to shell out \$10 million for "improvements" at the Key Biscayne and San Clemente estates, but Nixon deducted it from his own taxes!

He also illegally deducted \$570,000 for his vice-presidential papers, which he so generously "gave" to the National Archives. What golden words of Nixon's could possibly be worth \$570,000? And we'll never know how much he gets on the sidelines for his favors to big business, and never claims at all.

So while you're working five months out of each year to pay your taxes, Nixon works at the most one day! (If you can call it work.)

But Nixon is just a small-time crook when compared to the heads of empires like Ford, Rockefeller, the DuPonts, and their gang. The real question is, how many other millionaires get away with it?

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## Va. bus drivers win in wildcat

ALEXANDRIA, Va., Sept. 18—Black bus drivers led a wildcat strike here to win increased benefits and to speed up recognition talks for Local 1131 of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU). Black and white workers were solidly united during the six days of the strike in the union-busting, open-shop state of Virginia.

The drivers and mechanics had been working since last November with no contract, although the "Metro" transit authority kept up the sham of negotiations. Metro runs the bus system for Washington, D.C. and its Maryland and Virginia suburbs. The Metro board has been trying to give 1131's jurisdiction to the D.C. local, 689. The workers naturally resisted having the bosses decide which union they got, especially after their own local had been organized on the job for over 20 years!

The strike vote came at a meeting of 1131. When the union officials wouldn't sanction any action, the workers asked them to leave the room and voted to wildcat. The strike began with 75 drivers and quickly spread to include all but one of the 600 drivers and mechanics. For the length of the strike, the picket lines were honored, and even the one scab apparently gave up.

The Metro board tried to rally public opinion against the strikers, but leaflets asking for public support were well received by working people commuting in car pools. The picket lines stayed 24 hours a day, and the negotiators held out. At one point, Metro was ready to give in on all the benefit demands except the one for retirement, which would only affect a handful of older drivers. But none of the workers, young or old, wanted to go back until the retirement question was settled!

The workers here were consciously inspired by the mood of labor militancy sweeping the country, highlighted by the wildcats against Chrysler in August.

After six days, Metro was willing to give the drivers all the benefits they wanted, which was quite a bit—improved health care, sick leave, retirement—but they refused to offer recognition for Local 1131. Joel Broyhill, a U.S. congressman known for his racist, anti-labor stands, was threatening federal action, and there were rumors that the ATU international was preparing to put Local 1131 into trusteeship. The ATU top officers added fuel to this anti-



During Virginia bus strike, leaflets asking for public support were well received by working people commuting in car pools.  
WW photo: Gregory

union rumor by not saying anything definite about it.

The workers went back after six days. They didn't get all they wanted, but the improved benefits alone put the strike in the victory column. The union recognition is in

negotiations and the workers' militance and unity should help speed things up. As one driver said, "We make the buses run, not the Metro board. We can stop them whenever we have to."

## Bosses say your living standard is too high!

By TOM MITCHELL

Is your living standard too high?

That's what the bosses are reading in the figures published in the September 24 issue of U.S. News & World Report, in an article titled, "After Many Years As Richest Nation . . ."

In a report comparing major capitalist countries, the U.S. is ranked fifth in total output per person, behind Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and West Germany, down from the No. 1 spot held after World War II. The report goes on to claim that the standard of living in the U.S. is still tops when comparing average factory wages with prices.

There it is, just like the boss tells it: in spite of constant speedup, you're not producing enough, and in spite of frozen wages while prices make luxuries of the most necessary things, you're getting paid too much!

#### FIGURES DON'T LIE, BUT . . .

In the first place, the way these figures are drawn up is a calculated lie. The figures on output hide the enormous productivity of U.S. workers because they add in more than 10 million adults who are permanently unemployed under "our great system" and produce nothing.

They also gloss over the fact that millions more don't work at anything really productive, but live off interest, or stocks, or

pull down a fat salary for a parasitic position—while really living off the labor of others.

And the figures on wages and prices don't reflect the enormous expenses of workers in the U.S. on housing, medical care, utilities, or daycare, just to name a few, which are much higher than in most other industrialized countries.

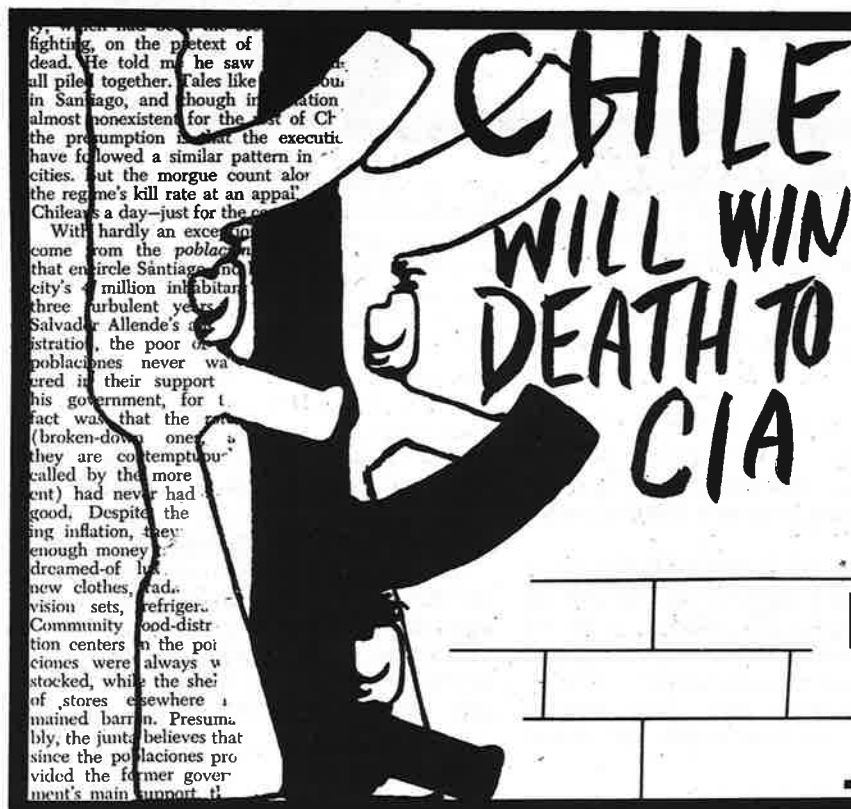
The fact is U.S. workers who have jobs produce such an enormous output that we have made the U.S. bosses the richest and most powerful in the world. Government figures for the first half of 1973 show that for every \$6 in pay (including management's fat paychecks), the bosses took \$1 in profit.

#### "MAKING DO"

Now, at a time when our standard of living is already under systematic attack, the bosses want more. It doesn't take an economist to know that when the boss takes more work from you and you can't buy that much more with your paycheck, the difference makes extra profit in the boss's pocket.

It's good business sense" to the same executives who are kicking about the Phase 4 regulations that took two years to put on paper a 5.5 percent limit on pay increases for executives.

If these millionaires can't make do without cutting us to the bone, then we must make do without them!



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# Rank and file steelworkers revolt against no-strike pledge

By MOSE PETERSON

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—The approaching contract negotiations between the United Steelworkers and the basic steel corporations are already running into controversy. The past month has seen a decided upsurge in activity at plant gates in the Youngstown district, all directed against the experimental negotiating agreement (ENA).

Workers pouring out of the Ohio Works plant of US Steel at the end of the 4 p.m. shift are pausing in their usual breakneck pace to get away from the plant long enough to sign petitions at the mill gate protesting the union's "no-strike pledge" in large numbers. Young workers were actually waiting in line to sign the protest petitions. This action was organized by RAFT, the local rank and file team.

Later in the week, another protest petition action was launched by the ad hoc Rank and File Committee from the Lorain, Ohio works of US Steel and once again it appeared that many, if not most, of the steelworkers signed the protest against the no-strike pledge.

What are the conditions in the mills that are creating some measure of revolt against the policy of the International?

Probably the biggest single change is the evidence, although no figures are available, that young workers in the steel mills now outnumber the old. In recent months, the young workers have been the targets of a flood of warning slips, disciplinary slips with days off, and discharges, primarily for the crime of absenteeism.

The local union has slipped deep into the International's class collaboration philosophy and many times a worker trying to fight a discipline or discharge slip will find the officers of the Local also lecturing him on his failure to be a willing slave. The smoldering resentment of the young is a new

factor in the union and one the career officials scarcely recognize. However, the resentment is not confined to the young. Older workers are complaining that the working conditions have gone downhill and the union has failed to defend them. A schedule that forces most production workers to work every weekend and holiday, pressure to work virtually unlimited hours of overtime, and foul and primitive working conditions are a greater source of anger than money.

As for the money (wages), here the International plugged up a major breach for the steelworkers by incorporating an open-end cost of living clause in the 1971 contract. This clause went into effect one year ago and in the first nine months has already brought steelworkers 21 cents per hour. So there is no great unhappiness over the basic wage.

But in the field of incentive earnings it is an entirely different story. Incentives, which add a sizeable percentage to most steelworkers' pay, have really hit the skids as steel production has soared. Management posts operating schedules that to the workers involved are not only unrealistic but border on insanity. To earn incentives becomes impossible day after day, and here the workers believe that this is a conscious act of management. One worker remarked at the last local union meeting, "Every time we get a penny increase in the cost of living, the company figures out a way to take two cents off our incentive. We can't afford another wage increase."

Most workers in steel feel that with the so-called world steel shortage the union is in the best bargaining position it has held for a decade and could make some breakthroughs toward ending the seven-day week slavery of a job in a steel mill. Consequently, for the union to throw away the major weapon of the strike before bargaining even begins is in no way worth the few pennies the corporations have offered in exchange.



Fighting for an education, workers at HEW in Washington, D.C. demonstrate against the termination of the Upward Mobility Program. WW photo: Gregory

## HEW gives up plan to cut program after 800 rally

By GREGORY M. DUNKEL

WASHINGTON, D.C., Sept. 21—Workers at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare quickly defeated a government attack on their education and progress toward better jobs and higher pay in this city.

With one day's notice, they called a noontime demonstration of 800 people to protest a decision of Comptroller General Elmer Staats which would have effectively terminated the Upward Mobility Program (UMP) at HEW.

The Upward Mobility Program was set up two and a half years ago after 52 HEW workers were arrested in the Secretary's office during a protest over HEW's racism as an employer. UMP offers low level HEW workers a full college program through Federal City College (FCC) on the job site, at times when working women can attend. It is also supposed to lead to higher paying career ladders.

About 2,000 workers are in the program. Eighty-five percent of them are Black and 95 percent are women. A large number of the women in this program are in their late 30s and 40s and have families. Almost all the women in the program are clerical workers, although at St. Elizabeth's Mental Hospital there are some food handlers and nursing assistants.

One of the older women told this reporter, "If they don't back down, the roof's going to come off HEW and there won't be any work done for a good long time."

A younger woman spent one entire day organizing and leafleting. Her boss tried to force her to sign a form saying she was absent without official leave. She told him that people in the UMP got administrative leave for "educational activities" and that was what she was engaged in. She insisted that if he tried to write her up, she would file a grievance. "The only way we're going to get an education is to fight for it," she said.

The spirit of the demonstration was extremely militant. After a few short speeches by Charles Cassell, a member of the D.C. School Board and a faculty member at the UMP college, by the president of Local 41 (AFGE), which is organizing at HEW, and by some employees'

organizations opposed to racism, the demonstrators set up a picket line around the main HEW building.

### CUTBACK REVOKED

Later in the afternoon, Comptroller General Staats revoked his decision and said that Federal City College could continue to operate the Upward Mobility College at HEW. The next day, HEW bureaucrats called a meeting to congratulate themselves for preserving the UMP and to undercut the demonstration.

The workers met the bureaucrats' claims with silent anger. But when Madeline Golde, President of Local 41, got up at a meeting of the two sides and said that they were liars and that the victory was ours—the workers'—she got wild applause. The workers then cross-examined the bureaucrats for a couple of hours on their failure to support the program, their constant attacks on the program, their racism and sexism, and their failure to implement the career ladders the workers were promised.

Even the faculty supported the Upward Mobility Program by resolving not to work for any other university that might pirate the Upward Mobility College (UMC). The Federal City College administration fired the whole staff of UMC two days before the workers forced the government to change its position and then had to rehire them. The faculty were notified that they were fired the day after their firing went into effect.

At first, the administration refused to pay the faculty for the two days they were locked out and relented only when it was clear that they were facing a major collision with the faculty, too, and would probably lose. This second struggle is going to continue because the faculty is now upset about its lack of job security and other matters.

It is clear that the Upward Mobility College was born through struggle and can only survive through struggle and the workers at HEW are determined that it will survive, grow, and expand. The struggle this fall just sharpened their determination.

(Note: Gregory Dunkel has worked for the Upward Mobility College as a faculty member since the summer of 1971.)

## Says Chrysler contract a sell-out

Dear Editor,

In regards to the article in your last issue about the Chrysler strike, I'd like to comment about the outcome of the contract. The press talked about how Chrysler was very pleased with it—and you know what that means. The UAW bragged about it being "precedent setting." But most of the Chrysler workers in my plant and many who I've talked to in other plants are really angry and call the contract a sell-out.

Why?

(1) Our so-called pay raise is \$.35 cost-of-living folded into our regular wages leaving a \$.05 cost-of-living float. Ford and GM have been getting the above \$.40 in their pay checks for the past quarter. The \$.10 cost-of-living raise for this last quarter has been lost to Chrysler, Ford, and GM workers. Then we were given a 3 percent raise each year plus an extra 12 cents this year. This "extra" 12 cents was owed to us from the last contract.

(2) They said they got us some volunteer overtime, but they can still make us work at least 54 hours a week. You can refuse every third Saturday if you don't miss a day that week. You don't have to work on Sundays if you came to work every scheduled day, including Saturday, on the week you want to turn the Sunday down. All this doesn't even start until January 1 and "critical" plants are exempted.

(3) The health and safety provisions provide for safety committees but no teeth to enforce measures against the unsafe and unhealthy conditions. Before the new contract these kinds of grievances could

wait for months to get action, and it doesn't look like things are going to change much with the new contract.

(4) Many of the provisions in the new contract have been delayed until the second or third year of the contract, including the dental care program, which doesn't start until October 1, 1974.

I hope you will let other workers know about all these loopholes in our "precedent setting" Chrysler contract.

T.K.

A Chrysler worker

## Working Women —Our Stories and Struggles

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FOR UNITED LABOR ACTION

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# Striking sales clerks strong after 14 weeks

MILWAUKEE, Sept. 19—It was the first day of the biggest yearly sale at Goldman's Department Store, and the striking women sales clerks, most of them in their 40s and 50s, were angry. Carrying picket signs in Spanish and English, they formed 2 large and spirited lines at both entrances to the store singing:

Alan Goldman had a store,  
ee-ai-ee-ai-o  
And in this store he had some scabs—  
ee-ai-ee-ai-o  
With a scab scab here, and a  
scab scab there . . .

During the course of the day many of the strikers' children and husbands came to see how the picket was going, or just to talk with their mothers and wives. There was much joking about how the families are learning to take care of themselves while mom is fighting for a union.

"Don't go in there, they're serving scab-burgers at the lunch counter," shouted one striker to potential shoppers.

The strikers, members of the Retail Store Employees Union, Local 444, are demanding a salary increase to \$2 an hour, recognized seniority, paid sick leave, health insurance, and a pension plan.

A picket captain who has worked at Goldman's for eight years told this reporter that the 50 striking sales clerks, mostly women, are tired of watching the prices of the merchandise in the store rise again and again while their wages remain frozen at \$1.60 an hour. There is no seniority, and a woman working at Goldmans for 27 years, and one hired yesterday both make \$1.60 an hour. However, the boss does have several favorites that he pays \$1.65 an hour. It is not unusual for women with years of experience to be laid off, or put on part-time while a woman with no seniority is allowed to work full-time. In a recent ruthless move to force older women to quit, Goldman released a memo arbitrarily cutting vacation time for women on social security from three weeks to one. Those not on social security will still get three weeks vacation.

As if this were not enough, these workers must pay entirely for their health and welfare insurance, which can eat up as much as one-quarter of their paycheck. One woman told this reporter that between taxes and insurance, she brings home 40 cents an hour! There is no pension plan or sick leave.

In November 1972, the workers had had enough, and voted for a union. Goldman and Ashley, the millionaire owners of the store, refused to negotiate. After repeated harassment of union members, the Goldman workers went out on July 10, 1973. Brought into negotiation by the National Labor Relations Board, and the power of the striking workers, last week Goldman's offered a 10-cent hourly increase for part-time employees and 15 cents more an hour for full-time. But he will not negotiate fringe benefits. This offer is not acceptable to the workers.

Goldman workers are now in their fourteenth week on strike. As one picket said, "We would have settled for \$1.80 an hour if we could have gotten back in two weeks. Well now, we've had to walk this line so long that we're not going to settle for less than \$2 an hour, and we'll stay out till spring to get it, if we have to."

These women are fighting for others besides their families and themselves. Goldman's is a key store on Mitchell Street, Milwaukee's largest South Side shopping area, where none of the large department stores are unionized. Workers in other stores are watching the Goldman's strike and waiting, and there soon might be more organizing on Mitchell Street. Gimbels, down the block, has doled out some token raises, fearful of organizing activities in that store.

There is a new solidarity building on Mitchell Street initiated by the Goldman workers. There is tremendous respect for these union fighters who have shown the courage and determination to be the first on the South Side to strike for what they all deserve!

## PATH fare increase halted by CULA campaign

By JIM KOWALSKI

NEWARK, N.J., Sept. 26—Tens of thousands of workers are funneled under the Hudson River each night as they leave their jobs in New York City and go home to New Jersey. Their journey from work to home may require as many as three fares: a subway trip to a PATH (Port Authority-Trans Hudson) station, the PATH train under the river, and then a bus home.

"I am sick and tired of being bludgeoned!"

"PATH can afford it better than me."

"The Port Authority changed its bookkeeping methods to cover up the profits it reaps from the tolls on tunnels and bridges and also from its role as landlord."

This was the reaction of commuters when PATH announced it was seeking a 20-cent increase to 50 cents per ride.

That increase has been fought and held off—at least for the next three months—by the determined effort of the riders themselves and the Center for United Labor Action, which collected over 150 depositions written by the riders, and 20,000 signatures on a petition to open the P.A.'s books. The petition asked for hearings at a time and place convenient for working people.

United, the voices of the people were able to stop the fare increase, which had been scheduled to take effect in August. The

C.U.L.A. delegations from New York, New Jersey, Wilmington, and Maryland-D.C. didn't even have time to start a picket line at an I.C.C. hearing in Washington on August 8, when an official came out and announced that they would keep the present fare for seven months and hold public hearings on the proposed increase.

The Labor Center was recognized as a party of interest with the right to call and examine PATH officials.

At the first hearing on September 24, the PATH lawyers were unable to present any case. The examiner denied their request for a postponement and cancelled all hearings. This was a victory for the people (who came with C.U.L.A. to the hearing) because it leaves the fare intact at least for a few more months.

The fate of the PATH commuters has been complicated by the intervention of New York and New Jersey politicians in this struggle. Sensing the popularity of holding down the fare when elections are coming up, they are vying with one another to appear as the people's friend. The biggest maneuver seems to be between New York Governor Rockefeller and "mass transit advocate" Theodore Kheel. (Kheel arrives at this position from the top, of course. Rockefeller recently appointed him policy chairman of the "Citizens' Coalition for Mass Transportation.")



After 27 years, these women get \$1.60 an hour!

## Increasing misery on the welfare line

By ELIZABETH ROSS

"It gets harder every week even to get into the Fordham Welfare Center, let alone to get help," a young woman on relief in the Bronx told me.

"The line starts forming at 4 a.m., though the doors don't open until 8:30. Then they let 20 people in at a time, while the rest wait on the street. During the heat spell, when the thermometer hit 98 degrees, I stood with hundreds of other recipients out under the sun for seven hours just to get my Medicaid card. One frantic man carried a butcher knife yelling, 'I've been trying to get into this goddamn place for three days, and nobody's going to keep me out today.'"

"We let him in at the head of the line."

It used to be that a few idealistic women and men wanted to work for the Welfare Department because they thought they'd be able to help the people who needed it; but the department, since Albany has ordered crack-downs and slashed the budget, has decided those "bleeding-hearts" weren't right for the job—welfare workers had to be tough.

"Those people that interview you now are like stones," a relief recipient said.

Since Rockefeller's "welfare reform" program went into effect on July 1, 1971, mothers of dependent children have been ordered to work at whatever jobs the department finds for them, at whatever wages are offered. About 45,000 recipients in New York State have been working under those conditions ever since.

This is despite the fact that last October a Federal District Court judge ruled that an individual state could not require work from welfare recipients in federally aided categories. (That still left 36,000 home relief mothers working for slave wages because the funds that "aided" them came from state and local sources.)

But now the U.S. Supreme Court has overruled the district judge's order, and every able-bodied welfare recipient must once again report for jobs or job training.

State Social Services Commissioner Abe Lavine said that 92,193 persons were denied welfare because of their failure to take part

in the program.

For the tenth straight month the number of persons on New York City's welfare rolls has dropped. In the month of July alone 10,713 people were pushed out, saving the city and state \$228,665 (but don't expect to see this money go for anything the people really need!).

On top of this there is a bill before Congress that will deny welfare to families whose fathers are in prison, provided the husband intends to rejoin them when he gets out.

By what sort of twisted reasoning such a bill was conceived is hard to figure. What families need financial help more than those whose mainstay is behind bars, incapable of earning more than a dollar a day? And what could be considered more cruel and unusual punishment for the prisoner than knowing his wife must desert him in order to get aid!

Would the wife have visiting rights to see her imprisoned husband? It hardly seems likely that she would, since that would infer she does not intend to desert him, after all.

Laws like this are in line with the penny-pinching measures already taken by the Nixon administration—cutting out free milk for school children, slashing the budgets for day-care centers, public libraries, and health services.

At the same time it was doing all this, the Administration brought all the pressure it could muster to overturn a Senate vote of 49 to 46 that would have cut U.S. troops abroad by 188,000 men. Nixon's arm-twisters succeeded in changing the votes of four Senators, and so U.S. foreign forces will remain close to half a million armed men, complete with the necessary hardware.

Nixon's proposed military budget of \$85 billion is expected to pass both houses with little opposition.

The savings achieved by the new "economies" will amount to much less than a thousandth part of that sum, but they will create more misery for many thousands of Americans.

Rockefeller is charged with making a secret deal with Kheel. In return for Kheel's support for a \$3.5 million state transportation bond issue, the butcher of Attica agreed to ask for "only" a 5-cent PATH hike. Kheel has opposed these bonds in the past. He must be aware that the fees and interests collected by Rockefeller's banks will cost the people more in the long run. In the secret deal there must have been something "extra" for Kheel.

Both Rockefeller and the governor of New Jersey could have vetoed the hike in June. Neither did. The directors of the Port

Authority from New Jersey resent Rockefeller's maneuver and they plan to file again in December for the 20-cent stick-up. Board members such as W. Paul Stillman, whose financial empire includes Metropolitan Life and two banks in Newark, know that Rockefeller's opposition to the fare increase will blow over after the elections.

But the people who are being held up everywhere from the supermarkets to the turnstiles aren't going to give up! And that's what forced this postponement in the first place.



# \$100 a week to feed a family of four?

By KAREN PAULICH

"Just to keep our heads above water . . . If feel like a guy running hard to keep in the same position," a factory worker complained to the press this week. Many other poor and working people across the country would agree that they are running the same treadmill or are suffering a real cut in their standard of living. This becomes especially clear when a trip to the supermarket makes it necessary to stretch last year's wages to cover this year's food prices.

And it's no wonder. During the month of August alone, inflation took its biggest leap in 26 years, with a 1.9 percent overall price increase.

Food prices, which accounted for 80 percent of the total August increase, jumped an incredible 6.17 percent—the most in 27 years. (If this rate were to continue throughout the year, it would mean a 92 percent increase in food prices!) In the last 12 months, food prices have spiraled 19.9 percent and meat, fish, and poultry have skyrocketed 40.7 percent!

This means that two pounds of meat this year cost the same as three pounds of meat did last year. The same basket of groceries that cost \$40 last year is now ringing up at the cash register for \$50.

While Nixon's Phase 4 has given the signal for prices to run wild, while profits are making and breaking new records each day, workers' raises are held to the 5.5 percent limit. In fact, U.S. workers are really taking a cut in pay. When wage increases are adjusted for inflation, even the government's own statistics show that the average worker is paying those higher prices with a paycheck that is worth \$2.03 less than it was last year!

Who's responsible for this galloping inflation? The bosses say it's workers' wages. But while pay increases are frozen to 5.5 percent, food prices are soaring 19.9 percent and overall prices are up 7.5 percent.

Is everybody suffering? Hell, no! The real culprits in the high cost of living are the rich corporations that set a record 20 percent increase in profits for the first quarter of 1972 through the first quarter of 1973. While admonishing their workers to tighten their belts and to be content with low wages in order to "stem" the inflationary tide, this same capitalist class is reaping in profits and driving up prices as never before.

One case in point is the food industry, which, like all production, has become more and more concentrated into the hands of a

few huge conglomerates. These agribusiness giants control the production and distribution of food from the farm to the shelf, and they collect gigantic profits all down the line. Because of their monopoly, these corporations can set their prices as high as they want, in order to squeeze out the maximum profit. The fact that poor and working people find it difficult or impossible to eat decently is of little consequence to them.

Those on welfare, Social Security, and other fixed incomes are among the poorest and most oppressed in this society, and are the most cruelly trapped by the high cost of living.

But recent welfare cutbacks in New York left a family of four with \$23 a month less than in 1967. Because food prices have risen nearly 50 percent since 1967, that means that New York welfare recipients are being forced to survive on less than half the bare minimum they eked out an existence on in 1967.

The workers and oppressed can't afford to see their standard of living lowered. Everyone has the right to live decently, and the U.S. ruling class has not by far heard the last word on its attack against this right.

# Soviet women gain new work benefits

How many women do you know who have had to stop working—even go on welfare—because of having a child?

And if you're a mother yourself, you know how much it costs you every time your child gets sick. It may be only a persistent cough that worries you, or it may be one of those raging fevers that seem to hit small kids at least a couple of times a year. Whatever the illness, you're out at least \$15 for the doctor and medicine, plus cab fare, and if you work it's an additional day's pay.

As if having your child feeling sick and miserable weren't enough!

It doesn't have to be this way. In the socialist countries, even those struggling to industrialize, the health of the people is a national concern, and you're not penalized for getting sick or pregnant.

In the Soviet Union, for example, maternity benefits have long been available to working women. In a recent decision by the Council of Ministers, however, these benefits have been extended.

According to Novosti Press Agency, an improved "system of allowances during pregnancy, childbirth, and for taking care of a sick child" was announced as part of the Ninth Five-Year Plan—the socialist plan

which integrates all parts of the economy and makes the Soviet Union so different from the capitalist countries, where production is regulated not by people's needs but by the market.

Since the Revolution of 1917, the USSR has made considerable advances in the field of public health: free medical care for everyone; measures to prevent diseases; a wide network of all kinds of clinics, sanatoriums (including overnight sanatoriums), resorts, and children's health-building centers. Under the current five-year plan, total capital investments in public health will amount to 6.371 billion rubles.

Special attention is paid to the health of children and women.

The majority of women in the USSR work. They have equal rights to work and receive equal pay for equal work, but Soviet society has also retained certain privileges for women. For example, under existing Soviet legislation, women are not allowed to work on arduous jobs or in unhealthy trades. More than that, pregnant women who continue to work are given easier jobs at the same pay.

Expectant mothers receive a paid



Do you get paid to stay home with a sick child? Soviet women workers do.

photo: Forum 1961

# Supreme Court attacks Gays, not pornography

By MARY JO WUETRICH

CHICAGO, Sept. 28—In June of this year, the Supreme Court gave local jurisdictions broad powers to determine and control obscenity, holding that juries may consider state or local rather than national standards to determine what is pornographic.

The history of the U.S. Supreme Court has shown it to be a tool of big business interests. So we can't seriously believe that this ruling is directed against multi-million pornography empires such as Playboy, Penthouse, or film studios that daily grind out films which exploit and degrade women as mindless sex objects for white businessmen.

Who then is to bear the brunt of this ruling? Arch-racist priest and Chicago alderman, Francis X. Lawlor, gave us a key when he claimed that the "phenomenal increase in the number of homosexuals was directly traceable to pornography." He also

claimed that, "The Supreme Court has come through, and now it is up to grass-roots America to stand on its feet and say: 'We're here; we want to be recognized.'"

In view of the recent wave of attacks against Gay people, from the murder by fire of 32 Gays in New Orleans, to bomb threats against the Chicago Gay Alliance; from the "mysterious" explosion of a Gay bar in Springfield, Massachusetts, to the beatings of Gays by cops in Los Angeles, the Supreme Court decision can only be seen as official sanction for these heinous crimes.

Until recently, Gay literature could only be purchased in pornographic book stores. Not because it was obscene, but because homosexuals were considered obscene. Gay prisoners are still denied the right to receive Gay newspapers and books. Homosexuals are also part of grass-roots America and we are also standing up to be recognized.

The Gay Caucus of Youth Against War & Fascism realizes that to do this we must

maternity leave amounting to a total of 112 days, and a young mother also has the right to a longer leave without pay. In this case her job is held for her for a year. If the management of an enterprise or an office dismisses a pregnant mother or a young mother, ignoring the trade unions, it will inevitably be called to account.

Until recently, however, the size of the allowances during pregnancy and childbirth depended on the length of the woman's uninterrupted work service.

According to the recently adopted decision of the USSR Council of Ministers, beginning on December 1, 1973, women industrial workers and office workers, including those who are not members of trade unions, and women collective farmers will receive their full wages during the paid

maternity leave period irrespective of the length of service. This will particularly benefit young mothers who often have not worked very long.

The same decision increases the paid period for taking care of a sick child under 14 years of age from three to seven days. Imagine—being able to take off a full week with pay to care for your child! Such a humane law is unheard of here.

But that's not all. Unmarried mothers, widows, and divorced women may be given leaves for taking care of a sick child under seven years of age for a period of 10 calendar days.

Being able to care for your children when they're sick seems like a simple thing. But things like that and a lot of other simple, humane things are going to take a socialist revolution before we can do them right.

fight back against homophobic attacks, whether they come from newspaper columnists, racist priests, fascists, cops, or the Supreme Court.

We are not obscene or pornographic, but

Gay and Proud and fighting back against the ruling class of this country and the restrictions it places on our lives. It is this, and not Hugh Hefner, that scares the Supreme Court.

## The struggle over Agnew

The purge of Nixon administration officials, which began last spring with the Watergate revelations, has reached a new intensity this week as the bribery-conspiracy case against Vice President Spiro Agnew goes before a Baltimore grand jury. Less than a year after rigging a decisive election victory over McGovern and only seven months after beginning a second term in an atmosphere of total and complete victory, the seemingly "strong" presidency of Richard Nixon appears to be lurching from one crippling crisis to another.

The broad and loose-knit anti-Nixon wing of the capitalist class—infuriated over Nixon's extortionate methods of campaign fund-raising, embittered that a small clique among the bourgeoisie favored by Nixon seemed to be grabbing the lion's share of choice business deals ushered in by the detente with the Soviet Union and Peoples' China, and most of all alarmed by his attempt to set up a secret police operating out of the White House that bypassed the regular police agencies under their control—formed an uneasy alliance whose common aim was to cut Nixon down. This coalition, comprising a substantial section of the ruling class, turned on Nixon with a ferocity unparalleled in U.S. politics since the Civil War.

The New York Times, the Washington Post, the television networks, Special

Prosecutor Archibald Cox (a representative of the Kennedy clique) and the Senate Watergate Committee led the anti-Nixon counteroffensive and effectively exposed his utter corruption and massive violations of law while carefully playing down his secret attempt to set up a police state. Nixon has retreated somewhat before these attacks, firing his FBI chief, his White House lawyer, his Attorney General, his White House Chief of Staff, his chief domestic advisor, and scores of other government officials he had only a few months before appointed to their jobs.

With former Attorney General John "law-and-order" Mitchell and top Nixon fund-raiser Maurice Stans already indicted, it appears that Spiro Agnew's head is next on the chopping block.

Despite his frantic legal maneuvers, the case against Agnew is moving relentlessly toward indictment.

Less than a month ago, on being informed that he might be charged, Agnew said, "I have confidence in the criminal justice system of the United States." A week later Agnew said he was "hurt and angry." Last week, as his lawyers bargained with the Justice Department to see if by resigning he could avoid imprisonment (the Justice Department said he would have to resign and serve nine months), Agnew sputtered, "These people are trying to destroy me." He blamed the Justice

show that we're pretty bad. We've got somewhere between 25 and 45 million people in this country, largely poor or those who border on poverty, who are medically indigent. So you can see we're not in good shape at all.

"Q—Why is this so in the richest country in the world?

"A—It has a lot to do with the workings of the free market. (That is, capitalism—ed.) The free market economy says that if you're scarce of manpower, that manpower will aggregate where the greatest amount of money is. This means the suburbs. Therefore the inner-city and rural areas do not have enough physicians and health services available to them. The problem is maldistribution.

"The free market also favors high-cost curative medicine rather than preventive medicine."

### For Poor Women: More Sterilization

The Ron Hunter Noon News Report, WGR-TV, Buffalo, Aug. 10:

"A government health official says forced sterilization of persons receiving medical care under federal programs will continue until better policing methods are found."

### For Rich Women: Fabrics at \$100 a Yard

New York Post article by Eugenia Sheppard, Sept. 25:

"I couldn't be happier for the world's wealthy women. For years, it has been chic for them to look as if they didn't have a nickel to spare. They have dragged through the era of the little nothing dress and been good sports about the casual sweater bit until Givenchy's new made-to-order collection yesterday crystallized a new direction for their dressing.

"His message: If you're a millionaire's bride or his girl friend, for heaven's sake, play the part. Nothing so utterly luxurious as this collection has hit Paris since before the war. Givenchy must have robbed Fort Knox to make it. There isn't a poor, plain little fabric in sight.

"The black velvet coats and suits are hand-stitched in gold or silver thread. The gold snakeskin fabric that he uses for dresses costs well over \$100 a yard.

"Wouldn't you know this would happen just when the money situation is so bad," moaned Mrs. Edwin Hilson of New York

Department for singling him out for prosecution. (After all, every politician takes some graft and Agnew knew his crimes were much less than those of his boss in the White House.)

But the campaign against the notoriously racist Agnew comes from far more powerful quarters than a few Justice Department bureaucrats.

In fact, the same anti-Nixon coalition that forced the Watergate purges this summer is behind the move to indict Agnew, and Nixon appears ready to sacrifice his hand-picked Vice-President in order to save his own skin.

If Nixon dumps Agnew it may well be part of a compromise that will leave Nixon in office but with his staff purged of his old political associates. Most recently his longtime crony William Rogers was replaced as Secretary of State by Henry Kissinger, who has been solidly associated with the Rockefeller block during his whole academic and political career.

All this political blood-letting called "Watergate" has been confined to struggles among various contending factions of the ruling class without the masses intervening in a concrete way to fight for our own interests. It was the struggle of the masses, however, that brought on this convulsion within the U.S. ruling class and its state apparatus in the first place. The defeat of the U.S. military adventure in South East Asia particularly set the various groupings of the capitalist class at each other's throats. Neither wing, however, can resolve the dilemma posed by a dying system, and the present dogfight within the ruling class only foreshadows the great class battles that are to come. The masses will intervene—not to salvage one gang of robbers but to overthrow the whole rotten class.

soon after the show started. Mrs. Pierre Schlumberger, though, one of Givenchy's best customers, went on taking down numbers unperturbed, and Baroness Edmond de Rothschild, who was wearing a ravishing emerald necklace, smiled happily all through the collection."

### The Precinct Connection

New York Post, Sept. 26:

"A special grand jury has been hearing evidence about a police 'sergeants' club' in the heaviest manned precinct in Queens, which dared to take graft even while the Knapp Commission hearings on police corruption were in full swing.

"One of the turnabout witnesses said the club received regular monthly graft payments from gamblers which netted him about \$3,000 a year. The same witness lamented, 'There was nothing for Christmas at all in 1972.'

"The case is reminiscent of one involving a similar club uncovered earlier this year in the First Precinct in the Wall St. area."

### NYPD Motto:

"We Serve and Protect"

New York Times, Sept. 30:

"Two former plainclothes policemen pleaded guilty yesterday to charges stemming from their having illegally abducted, shot and arrested a man so that one them would have to go to court the next day and thus not have to go on patrol that night.

"Bronx District Attorney Mario Merola's office accepted pleas to second-degree assault from Brendan Conway and William F. Kelley, who were assigned to the 40th Precinct's anti-crime unit when they seized Phillip Purden, a 20-year-old amateur boxer, on a street corner near his home.

"The indictment had charged that Conway and Kelley seized Mr. Purden at 138th Street and Brook Avenue at 1 a.m., on June 29, 1972, shoved him into the yellow cab they used in their undercover patrols, drove him to a deserted industrial area at 132nd Street and Brook Avenue, beat him with blackjacks and shot him in the shoulder and thigh when he tried to flee the cab.

"Because of his injuries, Mr. Purden, a golden gloves bantamweight finalist, was forced to miss a trip to a tournament in Panama with the United States boxing team in the summer of 1972."



### The C.I.A. Premier

The New York Times, Sept. 11: "The Observer said today that it has found evidence that the Central Intelligence Agency engineered the 1967 military coup in Greece and is using secret knowledge of Premier George Papadopoulos' 'wartime collaboration with the Nazis' to maintain control of the regime.

"The Sunday newspaper said that at the Athens Headquarters of the joint United States Military Aid Assistance Group Mr. Papadopoulos is known among senior staff members as 'the first C.I.A. agent to become premier of a European country.'

"The British paper said that the Greek secret service, built up after the 1945-49 civil war, was formed by the United States, and that, according to Andreas Papandeu, minister of state in charge of intelligence in the Government brought down in the coup, it 'was in reality a financial and administrative appendage of the C.I.A.'

"Mr. Papadopoulos, a former colonel, was among hundreds of secret-service agents sent to the United States for training. His anti-communist credentials were stringently investigated at the time.

"Mr. Papadopoulos had served as a captain in a security battalion organized by the Nazis to hold down wartime partisans during the war, the Observer said."

### Wealth Versus Health

Interview with Dr. John Knowles, former general director of Massachusetts General Hospital, Buffalo Evening News, Aug. 2:

"Q—Measured against its potential, how bad is American medicine?

"A—Some of the gross measures—for example, maternal and infant mortality, longevity and increasing cancer rates—





# The bourgeois opposition in the Soviet Union

By SAM MARCY

The initial point of analysis for a Marxist is always the class character of any social phenomenon. This is of exceptional importance when analyzing a political formation such as that in the Soviet Union led by Andrei Sakharov, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, and Andrei Amalrik.

The Western capitalist press has uniformly characterized the opposition in the Soviet Union as the "dissidents." But they are bourgeois dissidents—that is, they are advocating, implicitly, if not explicitly, the restoration of the capitalist system.

Some of the radical papers have gone along with the bourgeois press in labeling the Sakharov group as mere "dissidents" or even as "the Democratic Opposition." But this is now a code word or code phrase for bourgeois counterrevolutionaries.

This radical aping of the bourgeois press might have been excusable some years ago, before the now prominent representatives of this tendency had made their views available in writing by piercing the Soviet censorship and getting them printed in the West.

But today, the views of Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov, Amalrik, and others are well known. Each of them has committed these ideas in writing and an appraisal should not be difficult for those really interested in finding out the real class position of these people.

## THEY WORSHIP THE WEST!

All of them have this in common: They look to the West for "the salvation of the Russian people."

They do not look to the Western working class or to the progressive movement in the West, however, but to the capitalist ruling class and particularly the ruling class and government of the United States.

None of these "dissidents" evinces any faith in the Soviet working class, nor do they even make any pretense to speak in its name. This alone sharply differentiates them from the Russian pre-revolutionary generation of publicists, writers, and revolutionaries.

Even when they did not directly appeal to the workers or the peasants of Russia or were forced into exile by the Czarist monarchy, the revolutionary "dissidents" rarely, if ever, sought the "salvation of Russia" through the intermediary of Western capitalist governments.

## CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THE USSR

The capitalist press has tried to confuse the matter of the "dissidents" by reducing the entire issue to one of freedom of speech and civil liberties in the USSR, while disregarding the political content of their position and obscuring its class essence.

Certainly the restoration of proletarian democracy in the USSR is a precondition for the revolutionary regeneration of the Soviet Union. This is elementary. It should go without saying. And in a country as powerful as the Soviet Union, even bourgeois ideas could have freedom of expression with little or no danger of their leading to counter-revolution.

However, the actual struggle of political tendencies and class groupings against the governing bureaucracy in the Soviet Union is more fundamental than the question of civil liberties as such, and requires independent consideration.

We are for civil rights—perhaps under some conditions, even for such bourgeois thinkers' civil rights. That is, we are for their right to talk and publish under working class regulation and working class organization of the discussion. We are for their right to talk and publish—on the basis that there should be a powerful and comprehensive answer to them, defending the workers' state, the proletarian dictatorship, the socialist property forms, etc.

(Unfortunately, there has been no such answer and the bourgeois opposition is being dealt with by bureaucratic means only, by

crude police repression, etc., thus weakening the power of the Soviet working class and the Soviet Union, itself.)

## THE BOURGEOIS CURRENT

The bourgeois opposition in the Soviet Union is admittedly small and apparently unorganized. But the above-named pro-bourgeois writers are symptomatic of a strong and abiding political current in Soviet life.

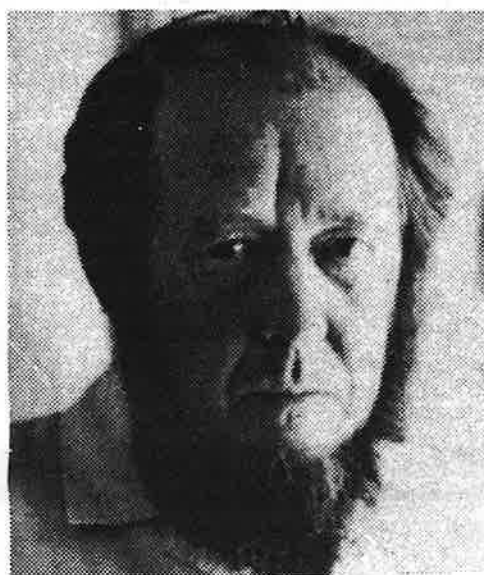
It is not a new current, however.

It slowly began to surface in the middle fifties. It received a tremendous impetus with the rise of Khrushchev (who did not initiate it, but only came to terms with it). It took on formidable proportions during the entire decade of the sixties and only recently suffered a decline.

## SOLZHENITSYN—THE LYRICAL RACIST

Solzhenitsyn is probably the most prominent representative of this opposition or, at least, the best known in the West.

In a recent letter to *The New York Times* (September 15, 1973), and in an earlier interview at the end of August, 1973 with correspondents of the *Associated Press* and



Solzhenitsyn

*Le Monde*, he offers a clear exposition of his views.

First, on Vietnam. Vietnam has been the touchstone, the supreme issue which has separated progressive humanity from outright reaction. Where does Solzhenitsyn stand on this?

"The bestial mass killings in Hue, though reliably proved," he says, "were only lightly noticed and almost immediately forgiven because the sympathy of the society was on the other side and the inertia could not be disturbed."

Thus Solzhenitsyn equates the alleged mass killings in Hue, which the Pentagon attributes to the DRV, with the decade-long genocidal war launched by U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese people.

With what he imagines to be devastating sarcasm, Solzhenitsyn adds: "It was just too bad that the information did seep into the free press and for a time (very briefly) cause embarrassment (just a tiny bit) to the passionate defenders of that other social system."

Then he continues with an attack on the capitalist liberal Ramsey Clark, for his role in the matter of the POWs.

"How can anyone believe that this fluttering butterfly of a Ramsey Clark, after all, a former Attorney General, simply had no idea, simply could not have guessed, that the prisoner of war who handed over a piece of paper needed by Clark for political purposes, had just been subjected to torture? . . ."

"Quite understandably, no one in the U.S. reproached Clark for it. After all, it was not Watergate."

"And yet, now they close ranks if it were a matter of protesting the other way. Could, say, the Republic of South Africa, without being penalized, ever be expected to detain and torture a Black leader for four years as General Grigorenko (one of the so-called

Soviet "dissidents"—SM) has been? The storm of world rage would have long ago swept the roof from that prison."

Who but an outright racist would make such a vicious comparison?

Incidentally, Lloyd Brown, the well-known Black writer, pointedly stated in a letter to *The New York Times* on September 19: "The liberal outcry has made Solzhenitsyn's name a household word in our country where the name and plight of Alex Laguma, the repressed Black South African writer, are quite unknown." And what about the murder of the 11 Black miners in South Africa which is also cited by Brown?

A considerable section of the bourgeoisie must be embarrassed by these rantings of its Nobel laureate, and must now find it extremely difficult to pass him off as a sensitive soul worrying about human freedom.

## HE WANTS "LIBERATION"—FOR THE WHITE GUARDS!

It is not only the Vietnamese and African liberation fighters that Solzhenitsyn hates; it's also the Palestinians, those who make "a treacherous attack in a peaceful setting on a peaceful people by military men carrying concealed weapons and often dressed in plain clothes."

As an example of a real liberation movement, he cites the counter-revolutionary detachments in Siberia in the Tambov region and Uzbekistan in the year 1920-21, which were crushed and disarmed by the Soviet government.

What the Bolsheviks regarded as banditry, he regards as liberation!

He makes it abundantly clear throughout his works that he is opposed to the very idea of the October Revolution and regards it as a "breakdown of Russian life." The way to repair this "breakdown," according to him, is not to revive or restore the norms and methods of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, but to completely discard them.

He makes an all but undisguised appeal for the restoration of capitalism, although not, of course, in its Czarist form. And from all that has been published in the United States, it is clear that he stands at the extreme right of the political spectrum in the USSR.

In his letter accepting the Nobel Peace Prize, Solzhenitsyn practically denounced the UN for not expelling the socialist countries from its midst.

Such is, in broad outline, the political physiognomy of Solzhenitsyn.

## AMALRIK—AND "1984"

Andrei Amalrik is somewhat less known in the U.S. than Sakharov or Solzhenitsyn, but he has the merit of having stated his views with clarity and brutal frankness in a little book entitled, "Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?" There is little of the moralizing that one finds in Solzhenitsyn but, like the latter, he addresses himself only to the capitalist West.

"What is there in common between a democratic country" (Amalrik is here talking about the U.S.—SM) "with its idealism and pragmatism (!—SM) and a country without beliefs, without tradition, without culture, and without the ability to do an honest job." Here Amalrik is talking about the USSR!!

With regard to a U.S. rapprochement with the USSR, Amalrik admonishes the U.S. "against such a friendship, based as it would be on hypocrisy and fear and would bring the U.S. nothing but the same sort of troubles that arose from the cooperation between Roosevelt and Stalin."

His view on Sino-Soviet relations is calculated to deepen the split.

"At first," he says, "China wanted to achieve her aims by 'peacefully absorbing' the Soviet Union and, after the victory of the revolution in 1949, offered to unite the two countries in a single Communist state. With a population three or four times as great as

that of the Soviet Union, China would of course have secured for herself, gradually if not at once, a commanding position in such a state and, more importantly, would have immediately opened up Siberia, the Soviet Far East and Central Asia to her colonization.

"Stalin did not accept this offer," he goes on, "and the Chinese postponed their plans for several decades; they will now have to carry them out by military means. Unlike in the above-mentioned case of the United States, China not only is capable of waging war against the Soviet Union but will also enjoy certain advantages in such a war."

Amalrik foresees the destruction of the USSR, probably (he hopes) in a war between China and the USSR, and the disintegration of the component nationalities of the Soviet Union.

Only U.S. Imperialism comes off smelling like roses in this Amalrik brochure.

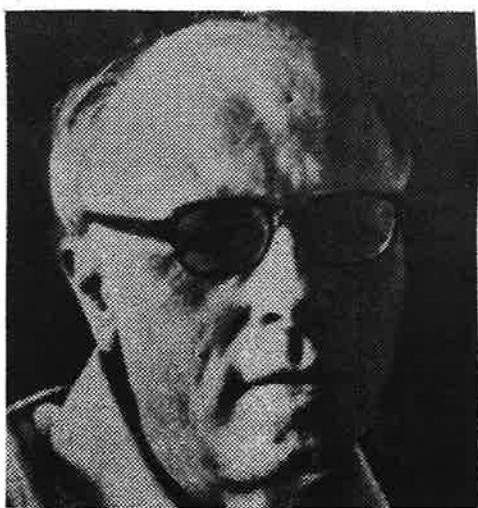
"The United States will help us because we are white and the Chinese are yellow," this "misunderstood" and "persecuted" Soviet "dissident" adds.

This is so right-wing and so racist that no experienced observer in either class camp can fail to see what Amalrik is driving at and just what class he identifies with.

The subtleties of the anarchists at counter-revolutionary Kronstadt, who "only" wanted non-Bolshevik Soviets, might have been hard for some genuine friends of communism to figure out. But who could misunderstand Amalrik?

## SAKHAROV: From Muddlehead to Counterrevolutionary

Andrei D. Sakharov is the well-known and noted Soviet nuclear physicist widely heralded in the West as the father of the hydrogen bomb and a principal figure in promoting the nuclear test ban. He is a



Sakharov

member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and published in 1968 a manuscript entitled "Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom." The division of the world into hostile camps, he asserted, threatens the world with destruction. But hope for peaceful coexistence lies in the gradual convergence of capitalism and socialism (capitalism moving toward socialism, and socialism becoming more liberal).

This muddleheaded reactionary utopia would scarcely engage the attention of anyone were it not for the fact that it was written by an eminent Soviet scientist. The motivating factor behind the construction of this fantastic schema could have been the desire for intellectual freedom, the restoration of civil liberties, and an end to political repression. But like Solzhenitsyn and Amalrik, he directed himself to the West even at that time. And now he talks principally to the U.S. ruling class, and even to the Nixon Administration.

Along with Solzhenitsyn and Amalrik, he admonishes the U.S. government on how to deal with the USSR. He has no program whatever for the Soviet working class. Nor

(Continued on page 10)

# — Stop the slaughter!

(Continued from page 1)

National Stadium they were all workers" (WW's emphasis).

(Both Gott and the Time reporter work for imperialist publications and therefore conveniently omitted that the coup was carried out for the sake of big capital and that the middle class was organized as a counterrevolutionary base and a battering ram for the big bourgeoisie.)

Pilakoff stated that he had spoken with "Chileans whose relatives are being held and tortured in isolated locales. Others told me that large numbers of poor people loyal to Allende were herded onto ships, taken out to sea, and the ships returned empty."

There have been reports by Mexican students who escaped the terror that pro-Allende militants have been hung from trees. Gott also reports that two children were shot as a warning to some villagers and that bodies could be seen floating down the Mapacho River in Santiago.

## WORKING CLASS PARTIES OUTLAWED

Chief butcher of the junta, General Pinochet Ugarte, after consultation with the ruling class, called a news conference on September 23 to announce that all Marxist parties were outlawed. He also announced that the junta was drawing up a new constitution in which it would be supreme. (All mayors and city councilmen have been removed and their offices are to be filled by appointees of the military. The new mayor of Santiago is a retired colonel.)

The outlawing of the working class parties was merely the legal validation of a brutal campaign that had already been going on for two weeks. (Of course, the junta also "dismissed" the bourgeois parties, but this was a gentle act of suspension because they are only parliamentary debating clubs organized for talk and not for class war and would get in the junta's way.)

It is now clear that the murder of former President Salvador Allende was the beginning of the effort to behead the working class political parties. Killed along with Allende on the first day was Daniel Vergara, a Communist Party leader. Luis Corvalan, head of the CP, has just been captured and it is feared that the junta will execute him. Jose Grigorio Lieudo, a leader of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), is also in the hands of the junta and his fate is unknown.

Carlos Altamirano, secretary general of the Socialist Party, and Miguel Humberto Enriquez Espinoza, leader of the MIR, are on "most wanted" lists being circulated by the junta; as are dozens of other leaders. El Mercurio, organ of the big bourgeoisie in Chile, is running lists of names of working class leaders and party militants in its pages, calling upon the population to denounce them to the junta.

What will their fate be if caught? James Goodsell, Latin American correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor and apologist for the junta, boasts in the September 24 edition that "the summary execution after military trial of German Castro Rojas (an SP leader—ed.), the former Governor of Talca Province, serves as an indication of the military's tough line..." In other words, death by firing squad is the penalty for being caught. Those leaders who have not been shot are said to be imprisoned on Dawson Island, a rock off the southern coast of Chile.

## UNIONS DISSOLVED

Two days after the parties were outlawed the junta dissolved the 800,000 member CUT (United Confederation of Workers). Led by the CP and SP, this was the proud organization built by the suffering and sacrifice of the Chilean workers over decades of struggle. Its secretary general, Luis Figueroa, is also on the "most wanted" death list of the junta.

The hatred of the bosses for the CUT

can be felt in the dissolution decree which prohibits anyone even to talk about the union or make any reference "either to its organization or action" and any "voiced or written propaganda which refers to the very existence or functioning of the CUT."

Of course the CUT was not simply dissolved by decree but by blood. Worker militants have been rounded up everywhere. The junta has given the bosses the go-ahead to turn "extremists" and "agitators" in the plants over to the military. Four leaders of the dock workers in San Antonio were "shot while trying to escape" after a protest strike against the coup. An unidentified MIR leader was also shot at the same time, according to an announcement by the military commander of the district.

## FACTORIES AND NEIGHBORHOODS BOMBED

The junta mobilized against the factories in the very first hours of the coup. Numerous witnesses have testified to the bombing of the giant Sumar textile plant. It is estimated that 500 of the 3,000 workers in



# YAWF, WW rally in solidarity with Chile

NEW YORK, Sept. 29—Solidarity with Chile's workers and peasants against the fascist junta was expressed by a capacity crowd last night at the Hotel Diplomat. The hall's 240 seats were filled and more people stood to hear an analysis of the Chilean counterrevolution by Sam Marcy, chairman of Workers World Party.

Sharon Chin, who opened the meeting for Youth Against War & Fascism, introduced the subject by comparing the fascist takeover in Chile to the 1965 coup in Indonesia. In both, the role of the U.S. in engineering the bloodbaths can clearly be traced, but unlike today, there was hardly any reaction around the world to the terrible setback in Indonesia.

She pointed out YAWF's record of struggle in defense of both the Indonesian and Chilean peoples.

Referring to the Chilean events as "a drastic counterrevolution," not merely a coup, Sam Marcy emphasized to the audience that Workers World Party's analysis of the setback is made in the spirit of comradeship and friendship with all the workers' parties in Chile, and must be distinguished from the criticisms of those who never defend the socialist countries, and who call for revolutionary violence

the plant were killed. There was fierce fighting in the industrial belt of Santiago and bodies were strewn in the street. Soldiers were moving through workers' districts piling the dead into blue bags and throwing them on trucks.

Dr. Pilakoff told the news conference of visiting "a poblacion—a village of the poor—on the outskirts of Santiago which had been largely destroyed, in which dozens of homes were totally destroyed."

Other witnesses, including a reporter for WBAI radio in New York who had been in Chile, told of the bombing of working class shanty towns outside Santiago, including the Ernesto-Fidel campamento, the Asalto Moncada, La Hermida, New Havana, and others.

## BOOK BURNING

During house-to-house searches, soldiers and carabineros have organized book-burnings as part of the junta's campaign to "extirpate Marxism." Whole libraries are dumped out of windows, piled on the main streets, and burned in bonfires.

The thousands of Latin American exiles from reaction are being hunted down by the junta. The big business press in this country attributes this to some sort of mad "xenophobia" of the military. In fact, the exiles were enemies of their own ruling classes and of course sided with progressives in Chile.

(Continued on page 10)

# All is 'normal' Yankee big

By BOB McCUBBIN

"Well, for a December flight you should make your reservations now. For October and November we can seat you on short notice."

"The situation? Oh, very normal. Yes, its getting more normal every day."

The reassuring voice is a reservations clerk referring to the "situation" in Santiago, Chile. As an employee of LAN-Chile Airlines, she is anxious, however, that the caller should realize that by December it will not be possible to book a flight to Santiago on short notice, since interest in air travel to Chile is picking up now and is expected to continue increasing.

The person making the inquiry is responding to an advertisement placed in the September 28 New York Times which read, in part: "LAN-Chile Airlines has resumed its regular passenger and cargo service from New York and Miami to ... Santiago ... Call our AMIGO, your travel agent or directly, toll free. . . ."

+ + +

The blood is hardly dry in the streets of Santiago but the vultures are already circling, preparing to land, half-crazy with desire for the gargantuan feast already in progress.

More than 200 foreign-owned businesses were nationalized during the term of the Allende government in Chile. At least 43 of them, including most of the largest, were totally or partly owned by U.S. interests and their value to the U.S. imperialists was great. Kennecott Copper, for example, is a U.S. corporation which had \$141 million invested in Chilean mines and derived 11 percent of its yearly net income from this

# In memory of P

On September 25, about 2,000 Chileans defied the fascist junta in Santiago by assembling to honor Pablo Neruda at his burial. Many more came to the area to watch the funeral from afar, afraid of the soldiers' guns and government agents taking pictures of all who were brave enough to openly attend. Neruda, the winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1971 and the pride of millions of Latin Americans, was buried as the crowd sang the Internationale, in what became a protest rally against the counterrevolution.

According to the military, Neruda died of cancer on September 23, but reports from Chile indicate that there is widespread doubt about this version of the story. Neruda, a lifelong Communist, was a close friend of President Salvador Allende, whose reported death by suicide is also highly

## The United Fruit Company by Pablo Neruda

When the trumpets had sounded and all was in readiness on the face of the earth, Jehovah divided his universe: Anaconda, Ford Motors, Coca-Cola Inc., and similar entities: the most succulent item of all, The United Fruit Company Incorporated reserved for itself: the heartland and coasts of my country, the delectable waist of America. They rechristened their properties: the "Banana Republics"—and over the languishing dead, the uneasy repose of the heroes who harried that greatness, their flags and their freedoms, they established an opera bouffe: they ravished all enterprise, awarded the laurels like Caesars, unleashed all the covetous, and contrived

(Continued on page 10)



# 'for return of g business

investment before the mines were nationalized. Anaconda Copper had investments in Chile totaling \$458 million and two-thirds of its total net profits came from its Chilean investments.

According to the Associated Press, the U.S. Embassy in Santiago has "expressed guarded optimism about the future of these companies" since the military takeover. Reuters reported from Santiago on September 19 that "Chile's new military government will open up to private foreign and Chilean investment the five big copper mines nationalized under the late President Salvador Allende Gossens."

As of September 25, control of 10 of the 43 most important businesses had been taken out of the hands of government administrators. In five of these cases, the "new" managers are the former owners. One big beneficiary already is the Rockefeller family which has had its Concretos Ready Mix Company returned to it, apparently none the worse for wear. Of course, the junta has barely begun its gigantic giveaway program, but it has already announced publicly that all businesses taken over "illegally" will be returned to their former owners.

It is no wonder then, that LAN-Chile Airlines anticipates a big boom in air travel between the U.S. and Santiago. There are lots of details to be worked out on the resumption of the exploitation of the Chilean masses by U.S. imperialism. But one frightening question haunts the returning marauders: How will the fascist generals be able to erase the memory of the last three years from the minds of the Chilean workers and peasants?

The answer is clear: They won't.

## Pablo Neruda

doubted. In addition, it has been revealed that Neruda's house in Santiago was sacked. The manuscript of his memoirs as well as a large collection of his books were stolen.

While the fascist junta has officially denied that the armed forces did this, it is well known that Chilean soldiers have been ordered to confiscate leftist literature and even burn books in their mad attempt to blot out the ideas of Marxism from the population. However, so popular were Neruda's poems, as well as his socialist ideas, that the military could not admit to killing him and destroying his works.

Following is a poem by Neruda on the United Fruit Company, one of the most hated U.S. corporations in Latin America. It illustrates graphically why Neruda spoke for so many Latin Americans and why, no matter how many books the fascists burn, his ideas will outlive them.

*the tyrannical Reign of the Flies—  
Trujillo the fly, and Tacho the fly,  
the flies called Carias, Martinez,  
Ubico—all of them flies, flies  
dank with the blood of their marmalade  
vassalage, flies buzzing drunkenly  
on the populous middens:  
the fly-circus fly and the scholarly  
kind, case-hardened in tyranny.  
Then in the bloody domain of the flies  
The United Fruit Company Incorporated  
sailed off with a booty of coffee and fruits  
brimming its cargo boats, gliding  
like trays with the spoils of our drowning  
dominions.*

*And all the while, somewhere, in the sugary  
hells of our seaports,  
smothered by gases, an Indian  
fell in the morning:  
a body spun off, an anonymous  
chattel, some numeral tumbling,  
a branch with its death running out of it  
in the vat of the carrion, fruit laden and foul.*



## Let them speak out!

By DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

The "liberal" imperialists, who have waxed so eloquent in their condemnation of Nixon's crimes and Watergate, who find so much to deplore about the lack of civil liberties in the Soviet Union, who abhor the tactics of the Palestinians, and who finally condemned the war in Vietnam after years of bitter struggle showed the U.S. couldn't win—where is their moral indignation, their compassion, their sense of fair play while the fascist butchers proceed to clamp an iron heel down on Chile?

Liberalism claims to be above classes. The liberals of The New York Times and their counterparts in the universities, the Congress, the media, speak in the name of the "eternal verities"—justice, truth, freedom, etc. Now is their chance to prove that these concepts exist, untainted by the class struggle and the vulgar material relations of society.

"Truth." Why don't the powerful liberals in Congress, or in the media, demand an investigating commission go to Chile and get the truth? Plenty of U.S. businessmen are finding it easy to go to Chile these days. A commission of inquiry could visit the National Stadium and interview the prisoners there; they could walk through the workers' districts and verify whether the homes have been bombed and shelled; they could interview the survivors in the south of Chile and find out how many Mapucho Indians have been slaughtered for taking the land away from the feudal latifundistas.

"Truth." Why doesn't someone get up in Congress and demand an immediate investigation of all those U.S. agencies and corporations that are known to have conspired with the fascists against the Allende government? Everyone knows that the CIA and the ITT are up to their necks in the blood of the Chilean people. Why aren't they under subpoena right now, being grilled about their role in the coup? More realistically, why isn't one prominent liberal in this country even suggesting such a course of action?

It's true that Senator Kennedy has held hearings on the bloodshed in Chile, and has demanded that the U.S. offer asylum to refugees fleeing the tyranny. But this is just tokenism.

Imagine for one minute that a left-wing government had taken over in Chile by a bloody revolt of the military (which is never how revolutions happen, of course). Would the U.S. hesitate for one minute to do everything in its power to overthrow that government? And wouldn't every politician,

every establishment paper and network, every prominent bourgeois figure, liberal or reactionary, go along with it?

In 1965, when the right-wing in the Dominican Republic ousted the legal government of Juan Bosch, but then were almost overthrown by a popular insurrection, the U.S. intervened with 40,000 Marines to keep the fascists in power. There was no liberal protest. And the U.S. did it all on the pretext that American lives were in danger. (Actually, not one U.S. citizen was even injured in the fighting.)

If the U.S. liberals wanted to put up any kind of fight against the junta, they wouldn't even need to sound liberal! They could do it on the basis that U.S. lives are in danger in Chile. Isn't that a safe enough reason to speak out against the incredible butchery going on?

## ...Those who will not see

Excerpts from an interview in Le Point with Jean Elleinstein, a "Marxist" intellectual and member of the revisionist Communist Party of France (translated by Workers World).

Le Point: The military coup in Chile reinforces in certain people the idea that the passage from capitalism to socialism by the legal road is impossible.

JE: Impossible, why? A setback—which I hope is temporary—doesn't condemn a strategy. It simply confirms what we already knew: the passage from capitalism to socialism is difficult by any means, whether by armed struggle or by more legal means. For it is necessary that in either case many be united.

LP: They were not in Chile?

JE: Imperfectly. President Allende and the UP (Popular United Government), although they legally came to power, had only obtained 36 percent of the votes in the Presidential elections and 43 percent in the legislature. Chile is, compared with France, little industrialized.

LP: You who are a communist, wouldn't you have wanted Allende to have moved faster and harder?

JE: I repeat, the UP was not the majority. Faced with the power of reaction, there was not enough time.

LP: But can't one see the same scenario in France?

JE: The environment in France is not that of Chile. There are in France more

The body of one U.S. citizen, Frank Teruggi, an economics student, has already been identified by the U.S. consul in Santiago. Many more Americans have been arrested, tortured, and beaten by the junta. Just on this legal basis alone, a storm of protest could be raised in Congress, in the newspapers, everywhere.

We don't think there is such a thing under capitalist society as impartiality between the classes. When it comes to a crisis, either you see things the workers' way or you side with the bosses. There can only be such a thing as a human set of values when humanity rids itself of class oppression and division—and it will take a revolution first to accomplish that, a revolution with two opposing sides and two opposing interpretations of justice, truth, and freedom.

But the liberals disagree with us. They claim to be impartial. Well, for those who deny the class struggle, now is the time to show their independence. Let them stand on their feet and speak out for the workers and peasants of Chile.

favorable elements. The attitude in the Catholic circles would perhaps not be the same as in Chile, where an important party of the Christian democracy participated in the preparation of the coup. Besides, monopoly capital, which has largely developed in France for 30 years, has prepared the minds. There are now a large number of militant cadres of the left or sympathizers who would be ready to loyally serve a UP (popular unity) government.

Finally, all the same, it will be easier in France to obtain obedience to the legal power by the French army which, in spite of 1958, has solid traditions in this matter.

WW Comment: Before the Sept. 11 counterrevolution in Chile, the misleaders of the Communist Party of France constantly compared France with Chile, saying that France was much like Chile and that a "peaceful transition to socialism" was possible in France along the Chilean model.

But now that the Popular Unity government of Chile has been destroyed and the workers' organizations suppressed in a mass slaughter, the leaders of the French CP, blindly continuing their discredited policy of "peaceful transition," are eager to show how "different" France is from Chile.

Elleinstein says that the UP in Chile did not have a majority. But in France, where the Communist-Socialist joint ticket actually won the absolute majority of the vote in the last national election, the reactionary

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# -Solidarity

(Continued from page 8)

capitalists more resistant, Comrade Marcy pointed out. When Chilean capitalist property was nationalized—with compensation—this gave the bourgeoisie the capital to invest elsewhere, and also left them with capital to finance the rightwing.

This nationalization, he said, was not like the expropriations carried out by the Bolsheviks in 1917, where property was seized without compensation and the political and economic power of the bosses was broken.

Comrade Marcy also commented on the failure of the Allende government to solve the agrarian crisis. While the peasants couldn't wait for a decree, and took over the land, the government didn't defend them. Only the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) took a clear position in defense of the so-called "squatters"—that is, peasants and homeless workers who had seized the land.

## BOURGEOIS BUREAUCRACY INTACT

In reviewing the three-year history of the UP, Comrade Marcy recalled that on first taking office, President Allende had promised the Christian Democratic Party there would be no purge in the government bureaucracy. This left thousands of middle echelon officials still running the affairs of

the government. "Even if they hadn't been opponents of the progressive regime," he remarked, "such a bureaucracy would not have been able to keep pace with the tempo of the masses . . . but in this case, they were hostile and downright saboteurs." Although many of the cabinet ministers were socialists, their orders were just not carried out in many instances.

Turning to the question of the military, the chairman of WWP reviewed Allende's efforts to outmaneuver the army. "He tried to coax them into defending socialist measures by raising their pay, giving them public praise, and giving them jobs and supervisory duties in the economic order.

"But in bringing them into the government, and eventually into the cabinet itself, he gave them experience in being state functionaries. They were in a powerful position to rally their forces and prepare for the coup. And they gained the experience and a taste for running the country they had not had before."

## EFFECT OF THE DETENTE

Finally, on the question of the socialist countries, Comrade Marcy pointed out that the Soviet and Chinese policies of detente with U.S. imperialism bear the brunt of responsibility for the fatal illusions held by Communists and socialists in Chile. And while some of the Maoist groups in this country have been quick to point out the mistakes since the coup, he noted that the Chinese leaders had been conspicuously silent before the coup. "Wouldn't that have

been the time to say 'Power grows out of the barrel of a gun?'" he asked.

Referring to the earlier theme of non-interference in the "internal" affairs of a bourgeois country, Comrade Marcy concluded, to prolonged applause, "The whole purpose of the Communist International was to interfere in the affairs of the bourgeoisie and overthrow them!

"Long live the struggle of the Chilean workers and peasants!"

# Houston march

Special to Workers World.

HOUSTON, Sept. 22—Sixty people, over half of them Chicano, marched today in solidarity with the heroic workers and peasants of Chile. After a picket at the headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency, the demonstrators marched two miles through Houston's downtown district to the offices of International Telephone & Telegraph, one of the main architects of the September 11 coup that overthrew Chile's Popular Unity government.

Chants of "Down with the generals! Down with the cops! The workers' revolution can't be stopped!" and "Chilean blood on Nixon's hands!" got favorable responses from the predominantly Black and Chicano Saturday shoppers.

# Norfolk rally

NORFOLK, Va., Sept. 30—In Solidarity with the workers and peasants of Chile, and with the millions of progressive people around the world who have demonstrated their opposition to the fascist rule of the military junta, the Norfolk branch of Youth Against War & Fascism held both a public forum on Thursday, September 27, and a demonstration in downtown Norfolk on Saturday, September 29.

The Thursday forum was the only event of its kind held in Virginia since the coup.

The Saturday demonstration was held at Norfolk's regal Federal building, near a downtown shopping area where hundreds of working people saw the YAWF banners and signs that read "U.S. Imperialism Out of Chile—Workers and Peasants to Power!" and "ITT, CIA, Nixon: Hands Off Chile!!" About 20 members and friends of YAWF participated in the action, which turned into a march down Granby street to Commercial Plaza, a square flanked on all four sides by multistoried bank buildings.

Several people joined the march, including two Chilean seamen on shore leave from a merchant ship unloading freight at the Norfolk docks.

# -The slaughter

(Continued from page 8)

There has been no "xenophobia" against the Wall Street "foreigners" who have been invited back in to take their property. On the other hand, diplomats from Cuba were immediately attacked with machine guns, the ambassador wounded, and a Cuban ship fired upon.

This whole bloody campaign of extermination and terror has one class objective—to put an end to the revolutionary upheaval among the workers and peasants and to put the ruling class firmly back in the saddle, in Chile after several years of mounting threats to the system of exploitation.

The Chilean proletariat stood up to demand an end to capitalist wage slavery, unemployment, poverty, disease, and all the evils of the bosses' system. But, tragically misled by the revisionist ideology of "peaceful transition" to socialism, they failed to seize the power and organize the dictatorship of the proletariat. The price is now the naked terrorism of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

But despite this terrible setback, the junta cannot rest easy in Chile. The MIR and elements within the major working class parties long anticipated the need for violent struggle against the ruling class and were prepared to resist and go underground to continue the struggle. The ruling class has failed to achieve its objective of total extermination of the vanguard.

All progressive and revolutionary people must oppose the fascist junta and come to the aid of Chilean workers and peasants and the exiles being hunted in Chile. They must give aid and look forward to the revolutionary revival of the class struggle in Chile which will surely bring the workers and peasants to power.

# -Won't see

(Continued from page 9)

Gaullist Pompidou returned to office due to rigged election procedures that give an inhabitant of the more backward French rural areas six times the votes of a worker living in the Paris suburbs.

Elleinstein says that 30 years of monopoly capitalist rule have prepared the French workers to be pro-communist, which is true. It is also true that 70 years of U.S. imperialist rule in Chile prepared the minds of the workers there to be pro-communist. But communist sentiment didn't prove to be enough in Chile. There had to be

revolutionary leadership to carry out a struggle for power. Is France going to be any different?

Elleinstein's assertion that the Catholic hierarchy in France is less reactionary than the cardinals and bishops in Chile is, of course, absurd. After all, the Church in France has even prevented a law from being passed giving women the right to abortion!

Finally, and unbelievably, Elleinstein claims the French army, the executioners of the Vietnamese and Algerian people, is neutral between capitalism and communism. The French army crushed the Paris Commune in 1871; virtually every French general went over to Hitler in 1940; the French officer corps installed DeGaulle by coup in 1958 and then revolted against him in 1961; and it finally joined him to put down the great workers' uprising of 1968. This is neutrality?!

Apparently, even after a disaster the magnitude of the Chilean counterrevolution, reformists like Elleinstein insist on clinging to the dogma of "peaceful transition." With the same mentality as the Bourbon kings of France who "learned nothing and forgot nothing," the French revisionists and their allies around the world obviously learn nothing and remember nothing.

# -Opposition

(Continued from page 7)

is he trying to arouse the Western working class or ally himself with the world liberation movement.

His dialogue is strictly confined to the ruling circles of Western imperialism, particularly the U.S. Lately, he has again been under severe pressure from Soviet authorities and threatened with prosecution. This time he went all-out to enlist the help of the entire capitalist establishment of the U.S. Not surprisingly, he got it.

Since then, there has been one of the most massive campaigns on his behalf including such illustrious defenders of intellectual freedom and civil rights as U.S. Senator Jackson, "the Senator from Boeing", Representative Wilbur Mills, and others.

So far as Sakharov is concerned, gone and forgotten is his 1968 thesis about the convergence of capitalism and socialism. In his recent statements on the proposed U.S. rapprochement with the USSR, he practically calls for the world capitalist class to converge on the USSR as the main enemy.

"Large amounts of Western

technological aid to the Soviet Union will help the Russians get rid of economic problems they cannot solve on their own," he says, "and will enable them to concentrate on accumulating strength as a result . . . the world would become helpless before this uncontrollable bureaucratic machine" (meaning the Soviet Union itself).

Thus, Sakharov is now anti-Soviet even in the simple nationalist, patriotic—or rather, unpatriotic—sense, as well as the anti-communist sense. He said to a Swedish radio correspondent a few weeks ago that he is skeptical even about "socialism"—that is, social democracy—let alone communism.

Sakharov obviously views the Soviet Union as far more dangerous than U.S. imperialism. Since 1968 when he wrote his first big theses, he has moved much further to the right. Unquestionably he has been influenced by the escalation of repression in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the fact remains that he, like Amalrik and like Solzhenitsyn, has no interest whatsoever in awakening the Soviet working class to resuscitate and revive socialist democracy and the struggle for communism throughout the world. They all bank on the good offices of Western imperialism to relieve them of the pressures exerted upon them by the bureaucracy.

Even Sakharov's 1968 thesis on the hoped-for "coming together" of the Soviet and U.S. systems, however well motivated it might have been at the time, is actually an old and hoary theme of capitalist liberalism and has absolutely nothing in common with the struggle for world socialism.

To amalgamate two irreconcilable social systems based on two irreconcilable class structures is absolutely inconceivable. All that it could mean in practice would be the liquidation of the progressive social system in the USSR and the restoration of the capitalist system.

There can be little doubt that Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn, Amalrik, and their associates represent a much larger grouping in Soviet society, a grouping of alien class forces, hostile to the proletariat. Amid all the "spiritual" phraseology of Solzhenitsyn and the political abstractions of Sakharov, there emerges the painfully concrete fact that these people and many others in the Soviet Union have considerably larger incomes than the workers and they probably consider themselves underpaid at that.

The sympathetic-to-Sakharov New York Times revealed several weeks ago that his income was about nine times that of the average Soviet worker.

We should also note, however, that the

Soviet government bureaucracy, so tongue-tied in its political arguments against these "dissidents" and not even very effective in its bureaucratic methods of gagging them, is probably paid on the same scale. It has a lot to answer for.

## THE PROLETARIAN LEFT

The bourgeois opposition is not the only opposition in the Soviet Union. There is emerging, once again, a Left Opposition. This is only in very embryonic form and highly susceptible to repression, much more so than the exalted representatives of the bourgeois opposition. We only see a glimmer of it now and then through an occasional dispatch in the capitalist press, such as the one that appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of October 1.

It reads:

"The military coup in Chile has come as a greater shock here to the spirit of East-West detente than many Westerners may realize. Some of the questions from the audience at this weekend's public forum on foreign affairs here (in Moscow—SM) indicate the depth of the shock: Why don't we speak out about the U.S. role in Chile? What aid did we give to Chile? What effective answer can we give to the Chilean reaction? Doesn't our peace policy support imperialism?"

"Although the detente has nothing to do with the events in Chile, the implications were that the Soviet Union's hands were tied in some way by its negotiations for peace and trade with the West . . . ."

"One man in the audience muttered several times, 'Allende's general betrayed him.' Another said, 'Nixon crushed him.' " (The Soviet press doesn't mention Nixon in connection with Chile or go beyond blaming international imperialism—SM.) The questions and answers suggested considerable disillusionment with hopes that a Marxist society could be achieved peaceably, through democratic processes." (My emphasis—SM)

One swallow doesn't make a summer, and the proletarian left is not organized, with well-known writers and scientists to express its point of view and get a Soviet-wide, much less a worldwide hearing. But it differs—as day from night and as communism from capitalism—from the "democratic opposition" we have been describing.

In our next installment we hope to deal with the causes for the existence and rise of the bourgeois opposition and the conservative degeneration of the USSR, even while it remains a socialist country.



# More cop terror hits Black community

On August 23, Brooklyn District Attorney Eugene Gold announced the indictment of nine Black revolutionaries, allegedly leaders of the Black Liberation Army (BLA). The nine are well known for their consistent struggles for Black liberation and for this reason alone are especially harried victims of the U.S. ruling class courts.

Since that time the New York City Police Department has been engaged in a systematic effort to create a hysteria over the BLA and round up Black activists known for their records of struggle against racism and oppression. One such victim, Henry Brown, made a daring escape from prison after his capture on April 17, but was re-arrested on October 4, along with four people who are said to have helped him hide.

In addition to Brown, Gabriel Torres, Frances Torres, Anthony Bottoms, and Albert Washington (known as the New York 4) are being held on trumped-up charges of killing two policemen on May 21, 1971. And Herman Bell, called "a leader of the BLA" by the cops is being extradited to New York from New Orleans to become a fifth defendant in the New York 4 case.

In the nationwide, fascist-like dragnet now being organized to jail alleged leaders of the BLA, New Jersey state troopers recently murdered Zayd Shakur, a former defendant who was acquitted in the infamous New York Panther 21 frameup. The cops stopped the car in which he, Clark Squire (also a defendant in the New York 21 case), and Joanne Chesimard were driving on the Jersey Turnpike. Squire and Chesimard were arrested and are now added to the growing list of Black liberation fighters being charged with the assassination of police.

Following is a large excerpt from a statement written by Joanne Chesimard in prison. It was sent to WW by the National Committee for the Defense of Joanne Chesimard and Clark Squire. Contributions or aid can be directed to the defense committee at P.O. Box 1352, Harlem, New York, 10027.

## Statement of Joanne Chesimard

I am a Black revolutionary and, by definition, that makes me part of the Black Liberation Army. The pigs have used their newspapers and TV's to paint the Black Liberation Army to be vicious, brutal mad dog criminals. They have called us gangsters and gun molls and have compared us to such characters as John Dillinger and Ma Barker. It should be clear, it must be clear to anyone who can think, see, or hear, that we are the victims. The victims and not the criminals.

It should also be clear to us by now who the real criminals are. Nixon and his crime partners have murdered hundreds of thousands of Third World brothers and sisters in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Mozambique, Angola and South Africa. As was proven by the Watergate, the top law enforcement officials in this country are a lying bunch of criminals. The president, two attorney generals, the head of the FBI, the head of the CIA, and half the White House staff have been implicated in the Watergate crimes.

They call us murderers, but we did not murder over 250 unarmed Black men, women and children, and wound thousands of others in the riots they provoked during the Sixties. The rulers of this country have always considered their property more important than our lives. They call us murderers, but we were not responsible for the more than 6,000 Black people lynched by white racists. They call us murderers, but we were not responsible for the 28 brother inmates and the 9 hostages murdered at

Attica. They call us murderers, but we did not murder and wound over 30 unarmed Black students in the Orangeburg massacre. We did not shoot down and murder unarmed Black students at Jackson State or Southern State either.

They call us murderers, but we did not murder Martin Luther King, Emmet Till, Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, George Jackson, Nat Turner, James Chaney, and countless other Black Freedom Fighters. We did not bomb four Black little girls in a Sunday school. We did not murder, by shooting in the back, 16-year-old Rita Lloyd, 11-year-old Rickie Bodden, or 10-year old Clifford Glover.

They call us murderers, but we do not control or enforce a system of racism and



Sha-Sha (Henry Brown)

oppression that systematically murders Black and Third World people. Although Black people supposedly comprise about 15 percent of the total American population, at least 60 percent of murder victims are Black. For every pig that is killed in the so-called line of duty there are at least 50 Black people murdered by police.

Black life expectancy is much lower than white and they do their best to kill us before we are born. We are burned alive in fire-trap tenements. Our brothers and sisters O.D. daily from heroin and methadone. Our babies die from lead poisoning. Millions of Black people have died as a result of indecent medical care. This is murder. But they have the gall to call us murderers.

They call us kidnappers, yet Brother Clark Squire (who is accused along with me,

of murdering a New Jersey state trooper), was kidnapped on April 1, 1969, from our Black community and held on \$100,000 ransom in the New York Panther 21 conspiracy case. He was acquitted on May 13, 1971 along with all the others of all 156 counts of conspiracy by a jury that took less than two hours to deliberate. Brother Squire was innocent. Yet he was kidnapped from his community and family. Over two years of his life were stolen, but they call us kidnappers. They call us kidnappers, but we did not kidnap the thousands of Brothers and Sisters held captive in American concentration camps. Ninety percent of the prison population in this country are Black and Third World people who can afford neither bail nor lawyers.

They call us thieves and bandits. They say we steal. But it was not us who stole millions of Black people from the continent of Africa. We were robbed of our language, of our Gods, of our culture, of our human dignity, of our labor and of our lives. They call us thieves yet it is not us who rip off billions of dollars every year through tax evasions, illegal price fixing, embezzlement, consumer fraud, bribes, kickbacks and swindles. They call us bandits, yet every time most Black people pick up our paychecks we are being robbed. Every time we walk into a store in our neighborhood we are being held up. And every time we pay our rent the landlord sticks a gun into our ribs.

They call us thieves, but we did not rob and murder millions of Indians by ripping off their homeland, then call ourselves pioneers. They call us bandits, but it is not us who are robbing Africa, Asia and Latin America of their natural resources and freedom while the people are sick and starving. The rulers of this country and their flunkies have committed some of the most brutal, vicious crimes in history. They are the bandits. They are the murderers. And they should be treated as such. These maniacs are not fit to judge me, Clark Squire, or any other Black person on trial in America. Black people should, and, inevitably must, determine our destinies.

Every revolution in history has been accomplished by actions, although words are necessary. We must create shields that protect us and spears that penetrate our enemies. Black people must learn how to struggle by struggling. We must learn much by our mistakes.

I want to apologize to you, my Black brothers and sisters, for being on the New Jersey Turnpike. I should have known



Joanne Chesimard

better. The Turnpike is a check point where Black people are stopped, searched, harassed, and assaulted. Revolutionaries must never be in too much of a hurry or make careless decisions. He who runs when the sun is sleeping will stumble many times.

Every time a Black Freedom Fighter is murdered or captured the pigs try to create the impression that they have squashed the movement, destroyed our forces and put down the Black Revolution. The pigs also try to give the impression that 5 or 10 Guerrillas are responsible for every revolutionary action carried out in America. That is nonsense. That is absurd. Black revolutionaries do not drop from the moon. We are created by our conditions, shaped by our oppression. We are being manufactured in droves in ghetto streets; places like Attica, San Quentin, Bedford Hills, Leavenworth and Sing Sing. They are turning out thousands of us. Many jobless Black veterans and welfare mothers are joining our ranks. Brothers and sisters from all walks of life who are tired of suffering passively make up the BLA.

There is and always will be, until every Black man, woman and child is free, a Black Liberation Army. The main function of the Black Liberation Army at this time is to create good examples to struggle for Black freedom and to prepare for the future. We must defend ourselves and let no one disrespect us. We must gain our liberation by any means necessary.

It is our duty to fight for our freedom. It is our duty to win. We must love each other and support each other. We have nothing to lose but our chains!

In the spirit of: Ronald Carter, William Christmas, Mark Clark, Mark Essex, Frank Heavy Fields, Woody Changa Olughala Green, Fred Hampton, Lil' Bobby Hutton, George Jackson, Jonathan Jackson, James McClain, Harold Russell, Zayd Malik Shakur, and Anthony Kimu Olughala White—we must fight on!!!

**FIVE FIGHTERS  
FOR PUERTO RICAN  
INDEPENDENCE  
ARE STILL IN JAIL AFTER  
MORE THAN 20 YEARS  
SINCE THE 1950  
NATIONALIST UPRISING.  
THIS YEAR, TO COMMEMORATE  
THE EVENTS OF OCT. 30, 1950,  
AND TO DEMAND FREEDOM  
FOR THE NATIONALISTS  
IN U.S. PRISONS, THE  
UNITED FRONT PRO-DEFENSE  
OF PUERTO RICAN  
POLITICAL PRISONERS,  
WILL PROTEST AND  
COMMEMORATE OCT. 30th  
IN WASHINGTON, D.C.**

## PROTEST



For information on how to work in this campaign, write to:  
OCT. 30 UNITED FRONT  
PRO-DEFENSE OF  
PUERTO RICAN  
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BOX 3, PLANETARIUM STATION,  
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**CONCERT**

**OCTOBER 12**

**MANHATTAN CENTER  
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**\$5.00  
PROCEEDS TO THE  
UNITED FRONT**

# New-old president of Argentina Bosses close ranks behind Peron

By P. MEISNER

On the heels of the fascist coup in Chile, the election of Juan Peron back into the presidency last week raises serious problems for the Argentine working class and its allies. The most striking and perhaps puzzling fact about the election is the huge 62 percent majority received by Peron, while Campora (a loyal aide of Peron) only got 49 percent of the vote when elected president last May. But the consensus of all political opinion in Argentina (and in Washington) was that Peron's new government would shift to the right, even from the moderate government of Campora.

This move to the right was a precondition demanded by the ultra-right Argentine military and capitalist class in order for Peron to return to Argentina from exile and eventually run for the presidency. Consequently, as Campora stepped down last June, Peron began a purge of left Peronist leaders and officials within the Peronist government. The Peronist right became more clearly dominant, as Peron surrounded himself with conservative businessmen, military officials, and top right-wing labor bureaucrats.

Thus, the Argentine bourgeoisie and its military "gorillas," with the support of the Nixon government, were confident that Peron represented the best hopes for rescuing a crisis-ridden capitalist system in Argentina. (In fact, the very same U.S.-backed military brass that overthrew Peron in 1955 just reinstated his rank of general in the Argentinian army!) And it is this new and bigger capitalist support that explains Peron's unusually large electoral majority.

## OUTLAWED THE ERP

Peron's shift to reaction was made more obvious when the government of Raul Lastiri (interim Peronist president until Peron is inaugurated on October 12) outlawed the Peoples' Revolutionary Army

(ERP), a revolutionary guerrilla organization, the day after the election of Peron. Lastiri also strengthened the federal police and the army in their repression against the left by passing new laws against "terrorism" and political kidnappings.

Washington and Wall Street's policy on Peron is tantamount to threatening him with a fascist coup, Chilean style, if he dares deviate from the right-wing course prescribed for him by U.S. imperialism and the Argentine capitalist class. The "liberal" imperialist mouthpiece, The New York Times, stated it this way in a September 25 editorial:

"It will be taxing for Mr. Peron simply to hold together the disparate forces that make up his movement, let alone harnessing them behind controversial policies. If he revives the policies of economic nationalism and statism that brought Argentina to the edge of bankruptcy between 1946 and 1955, he will lose many who have backed his return as simply a lesser evil than continuation of floundering military rule."

A series of assassinations within the last few months has probably confused many workers in Argentina, and many progressives and revolutionaries around the world, as to the real nature of the class struggle in Argentina. The Peronist rightwing has deliberately blamed the ERP for the recent execution of labor bureaucrat Jose Rucci (known as the George Meany of Argentina). The bourgeois press only reported that a split organization from the ERP, and not the ERP itself, had taken credit for the killing. But whether even that is true cannot be verified.

## "THAT'S WHAT THE POLICE ARE FOR"

But Peron's rightwing faction is using the assassinations as an excuse for repressing the Argentine left, and even the Peronist left, if necessary. Peron recently removed Campora's Interior Minister for

allegedly "making the police more human and less repressive." Peron replied, "that's what the police are for: to repress."

Peron's speeches have also strongly emphasized "law and order," a slogan made popular by such law-abiding democrats as Adolph Hitler, George Wallace, and Richard (Watergate) Nixon. Peron also cynically warned the leftwing of his movement not to try anything like Allende because, "well, look what happened to him." He also attacked revolutionary Cuba simultaneously with the U.S. for their "intervention" in Chile's affairs.

It is undeniable that the contradictory (progressive and reactionary) character of Peron's earlier administrations has held back the development of a mass revolutionary party in Argentina and a corresponding revolutionary development in that country. But even before his upcoming inauguration, Peron's true reactionary policies are coming out in the open



Juan Peron

and expose his phony nationalist and anti-U.S. appeals to Argentina's working class and oppressed.

The Argentine workers and their rich tradition of fierce class struggle will soon be revived and sweep away Argentine capitalism along with its new captive, Juan Peron.

# Cops graduate with dishonor

Special to Workers World

By BARTEE HAILE

HOUSTON, Sept. 28—Chants of "HPD! Out of our communities!" and "We don't need more racist cops!" echoed off the walls of the Music Hall, an auditorium in downtown Houston. A few feet from a massive line of police a banner demanded "Stop Cop Brutality! End the Racist Terror!"

It was the graduation ceremonies for the Houston Police Academy. Twenty-six more white racists were being given a gun and a license to harass, brutalize, and murder. But as a local television station later reported, "Youth Against War & Fascism was there to reward the new graduates, showing what they can expect as Houston police officers. The demonstrators demanded that the police get out of town."

With only three days' notice, YAWF mobilized for the most militant action in many months against the Houston Police Department. Other groups and individuals in the local left failed to show up, and several condemned the demonstration as "adventurous." But 20 members and supporters of YAWF, more than half of them Chicano, turned out to confront Chief Herman Short's gang of trigger-happy stormtroopers.

Short and the cop force he commands have been a burning issue in this city for years. An open and aggressive racist, Herman Short is a law-and-order metropolitan police chief in the tradition of Philadelphia's ultra-reactionary Frank Rizzo. During his 1968 campaign for President, George Wallace announced that Short was his choice for Director of the FBI. With an inner-city population of over 40 percent Black and Chicano, Short has maintained a cop force more than 90 percent white and filled with recruits from the Ku Klux Klan strongholds of East Texas and Louisiana. Whenever one of his boys is exposed for yet another beating or murder, Short backs him wholeheartedly—and the City Council politicians back Short.

Complaints against the HPD are made constantly by Chicanos, Blacks, and whites. Protests against cop brutality have been voiced at many of the City Council's weekly public meetings in the past six months. The politicians' response? They reaffirmed that such charges must be handled by the police themselves as an "internal matter" and then passed a resolution which subjects all charges of cop misconduct raised with the council to prosecution for perjury by the grand jury.

But the growing opposition to the Houston cops' campaign of terror has not been intimidated nor silenced.

The Houston police recently received national notoriety with their handling of the

alleged mass slaying of 27 young men by "a homosexual murder ring." The news media cooperated enthusiastically with Short in a scheme to shift public attention away from the cops' daily violence and frameups with lurid stories designed to create an anti-homosexual hysteria. But this vicious sensationalism has not sidetracked poor and working people, especially those in Houston's barrios and ghettos.

YAWF's demonstration coincides with the final stage of the campaign for mayor. After a decade of corrupt rule, Louie Welch is stepping down, and four different representatives of big business are fighting it out for City Hall. Each candidate is frantically trying to prove he is the strongest advocate of racist law and order.

Leading this race to the right is Fred Hofheinz, son of the owner of the Astrodome. In 1970 Hofheinz, who lost in a runoff with incumbent Welch, posed as a liberal savior and exploited the mass anger against the cops with a mountain of rhetoric about removing Short from his post, building a "modern" (like New York or Chicago, maybe?) force, and in general leashing the barbarians in blue.

Today, his only criticism of Herman Short is that he refuses to accept federal funds! Short has sworn he won't serve under Hofheinz. So Hofheinz has promised he will appoint a qualified fascist from the ranks of Short's vigilantes.

But neither funds from Washington, nor whether Short is replaced as chief of police, is the real issue. The issue is that the Houston Police Department is the hired army of the rich, enforcing the laws of the rich to protect the wealth and the power of the rich! This army's escalating bloody terror makes this issue an increasingly explosive one.

Tonight the cops themselves saw just how short the fuse really is on this powder keg. In an auditorium adjacent to the one where the new cops were being baptized Friday evening wrestling matches were scheduled. Instead of going inside, about 200 working people, mostly Black and Chicano, stayed to watch the demonstration. When 50 cops lined up in readiness for an attack on YAWF, the crowd made it clear which side they were on. Words of support for the demonstrators were heard, and fists of solidarity were raised.

Suddenly the cops realized they were caught in the middle of two forces prepared to fight if they moved against the picket line. One cop looked over his shoulder at the hostile crowd. His eagerness to crack some skulls vanished, and it was fear instead that obviously filled his mind. The power of the people makes the pigs' blood run cold! One day that great power will freeze them!

# 'I can't fight for this system'

NEW YORK, Sept. 26—Gary Smith, a petty officer (E-4) in the U.S. Navy, returned to the Navy today after giving himself an extended leave to work as an organizer in the New York national headquarters of the American Servicemen's Union. Previous to this unauthorized absence from "duty," Gary Smith had been stationed at the NATO Command Headquarters of the U.S. Navy in Norfolk, Va.

While in Norfolk, Gary had been very active as an ASU member in organizing support from fellow sailors for the Camp Allen 14, Black sailors held in the Camp Allen brig who were being framed up on mutiny charges.

The ASU is a militant organization of servicemen and women on active duty and veterans. The organization fights against racism, imperialist war, and for veterans' rights against the bosses and the state.

A representative from the ASU accompanied Gary when he returned to military control at the Brooklyn Naval Base. Gary is presently restricted to that base.

His statement follows:

I, Gary L. Smith, OS3, USN, 399-42-2102, am requesting an undesirable discharge in lieu of court-martial proceedings against me because I no longer feel that there is a place in the Navy for me. I have seen racism and oppression of Black and other minorities in the Navy. I have seen lower ranking enlisted personnel suffer grave injustices at the whim of the officers. My observations of these inequities in the Navy as well as the knowledge of far greater crimes committed during the war against Southeast Asia led me to join the American Servicemen's Union to do what I could to

help the veterans of that unjust war and to help oppressed enlisted personnel.

For the above reasons I am certain that I am not rehabilitative material and can no longer serve in a military that practices what I believe are imperialistic gains in their attempt to dominate other nations. I cannot live within, defend or work for a system of government that I feel is morally and ethically wrong. I will not and cannot train myself or any other personnel to fight for this system. I will not face dying for this form of life.

I believe in a way of life where all men and women are truly equal in their rights, moral and political beliefs—A way of life where there is no racism against Black, Latin, Native American, other minorities, and all poor people by the government or the ruling corporations. I support morally and believe in a form of life where there is: no rich and poor, no bosses and workers, no officers and enlisted personnel, no elite with life and death control over their subordinates. I believe that it is morally and ethically wrong for a select few of the world to be living so comfortably while most others suffer so much to the point of starving to death. It is wrong, so very wrong for a privileged class to have so much and the masses of the world's people to have so little or nothing at all.

I shall continue to work with the American Servicemen's Union in any capacity to continue the struggle to help the veterans of the Southeast Asian war and to correct the insane injustices committed against enlisted personnel.

I feel the Navy would not benefit by causing me to sin against my personal beliefs. I do not believe that my moral devotion to my ideas would permit me to serve the Navy in any way.



# Guinea-Bissau wins its independence

By CAL BONNER

In an official announcement issued on Monday, September 24, at one of the original bases captured by the liberation forces from the Portuguese fascists and colonialists, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (the PAIGC) declared the independence of that former Portuguese colony. The PAIGC communique said that after completing the job of wresting the remaining 20 percent of the country from the imperialists in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, they would expel the 200,000-man Portuguese occupation forces from the rest of Africa.

The PAIGC's 120-person National Peoples Assembly emphasized, in the declaration, its intent to carry on armed struggle in a joint liberation policy with other Portuguese colonies. Many progressive countries have already recognized the revolutionary government and more are expected to do so. This development will facilitate the movement of economic and military supplies directly to the PAIGC liberation forces, aiding them greatly and speeding up the process by which colonialism and imperialism will be wiped out of southern Africa.

The announcement is, indeed, a natural consequence of the heroic years-long

fighting by the liberation forces which this year alone scored spectacular victories. In March of this year, for example, the PAIGC could count some 18-20 planes shot down from what the Portuguese had previously considered their invincible position in the skies over Guinea. And the regular guerrilla army (FARP) has carried out major offensives against enemy posts, having recently seized some large and strategically important military bases from the retreating Portuguese troops.

One such success was the capture this May of the Guiledje military base, located near the border with Guinea (Conakry) on the southern front. This was an unprecedented blow at the Portuguese colonial forces in Guinea-Bissau by the liberation forces and showed the world the power of that liberation movement.

During the operation, the Guinean patriots seized substantial quantities of military documents and war material, including heavy trucks and cannons.

With the forces of Portugal and U.S. imperialism challenged on many fronts, the people of Guinea-Bissau are in an excellent position to continue to improve their standards of health and education and accomplish the socialist revolution with the help and guidance of the PAIGC.



After Portuguese troops looted their village, Guinean women talk about supplies provided by PAIGC: "I don't want to thank the party for this cloth because it is not necessary. The party is my mother and father." photo: LNS

## Saw strength of PAIGC

George M. Houser, Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa, visited Guinea-Bissau this summer. Below are excerpts from a report on his trip.

"This summer I was fortunate enough to be able to go inside Guinea-Bissau with the PAIGC (the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde), the movement which has led the struggle for freedom. I was struck by the strength and efficiency of the movement which for some time has been operating effectively as a government for the majority of the people in that country.

"The new government is not in exile. The PAIGC has had external quarters in both its southern and northern neighbors. But the real movement is in the country. It was the first meeting of the popularly elected National People's Assembly which, on Monday the 24th of September at a place called Medina Boe, in the eastern region of Guinea-Bissau, proclaimed the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The PAIGC has established a network of administrative institutions inside the borders of their country—schools, hospitals, teaching centers, a court system, etc. which are serving the needs of the people.

"1973 has been a tragic and testing year for the PAIGC. On January 20, Amilcar

Cabral, who was a founder and the inspired leader of the PAIGC was cruelly assassinated in a Portuguese plot to split the party and destroy the liberation struggle. My visit confirmed my conviction that the Portuguese plan had misfired badly and had in fact led to an intensification of the people's struggle. The movement, its leaders, and its people were inspired by the necessity to redouble their efforts in order to make up for their tremendous loss.

"I even visited what had been an important Portuguese military base in the southern region, a place called Guiledje which the PAIGC captured in late May.

"Formed in 1956, the PAIGC worked in the few towns of Guinea-Bissau until it was driven underground after the brutal Portuguese killing of fifty striking workers on the docks at Pidjiguiti in the capital of Bissau in 1959. The movement then embarked on a careful campaign to win the adherence of the mass of Guinea people who are peasants. A training center was established and about 1,000 people, under the tutelage of Cabral, were prepared for an active struggle for freedom over a two year period. In 1962, mass sabotage of Portuguese installations began. In 1963 the armed struggle was initiated.

"By 1968 virtually two thirds of the

# Belfast Ten test case in Irish struggle

By MARK DORAN

SEPTEMBER 29—Ten members of the Provisional Irish Republican Army, held five months in England's Brixton jail, have finally gone to trial. The trial of the Belfast Ten opened last week amidst a bombing hysteria in Britain and a total news blackout in the U.S. While the reactionary London Daily Mail blames the recent London bombings on the Provisional IRA, the prosecution itself made it clear that the Ten are on trial because they are "staff officers of the IRA."

The Belfast Ten were arrested at London's Heathrow Airport on March 10 as they were booking flights to Dublin and Belfast. They are: Roisin McNeary, William McLarnon, Robert Walsh, Gerard Kelly, Martin Brady, William Armstrong, Hugh Feeny, Dolores Price, Marion Price, and Paul Holmes.

These arrests took place as the renegade Liam Cosgrave, President of the Irish Republic, was in London for "consultations" with Britain's Prime Minister Heath. The timing was intended to show those fighting for the freedom of the six Northern counties that the government in Dublin would collaborate with British imperialism in the repression of Irish revolutionaries.

The Ten were immediately whisked off to Ealing where they were held for four days without formal charges being brought against them. During that time they were stripped, thrown into empty cells, and subjected to intense interrogation by British police. The press ran front-page headlines on the "IRA bombers."

After their transfer to Brixton jail, they were repeatedly denied bail. The sole reason given for this was their alleged membership in the IRA.

When Bernadette (Devlin) McAliskey, Mid-Ulster M.P., attempted to raise the issue of the Ten's detention conditions in Parliament, the other members barred discussion of the subject.

On May 15, the prosecution broke up the Ten in an attempt to make an organized defense impossible. Then they added the tactic of "leaks" of "confessions" by certain defendants. But by June all of the defendants had denounced these confessions as lies.

The trial of the Belfast Ten is a test case for the liberation struggle in Ireland. The events leading up to the trial have shown that they cannot receive a fair trial in the courts of British imperialist domination. Only the active intervention of the masses can free them.

## Israel attacks E. Germany, recognizes Chile fascists

By ANDY STAPP

The violent objection voiced by the Israeli delegate to the UN against the recent admission of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) to the UN must set a new low in hypocrisy and deceit.

Now, the delegates to the United Nations have heard some pretty weird stuff before, such as Adlai Stevenson's charge of "Indian imperialism" against the Nehru government when the Portuguese imperialists were forcibly evicted from Indian Goa, or Henry Cabot Lodge's charge of "Soviet racism in reverse" during the Congo crisis when the Soviet Union condemned the use of Canadian NATO troops against the Lumumba government.

But the attack by Israeli representative Yosef Tekoah against the motion to admit the GDR on the grounds that he could not "pass in silence" over the GDR's supposedly anti-Jewish policy writes a new page in cynicism. Tekoah praised West Germany while saying that the GDR "has been fanning the flames of hostility against Israel."

It is, of course, well known that the West German government is a haven for "former Nazi" while the leaders of the GDR are anti-Nazi Germans who spent the Hitler years either in exile or in fascist concentration camps. Tekoah's outburst against the socialist GDR has nothing at all to do with combatting anti-Semitism. It is rather a simple reflection of the Israeli capitalist ruling class' anti-communism and pro-imperialism.

This can be easily proved by the Israeli attitude to the fascist and anti-Jewish junta in Chile. The junta has ordered the arrest of a number of prominent Jewish leaders of the former Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende, including Jaime Faivovich, Mayor of Santiago; Dr. Enrique Testa, head of the Defense Council; Daniel Silberman, director of Chile's Copper

Mining Corporation; Volodia Teitelboim, a Communist Party senator; and others.

El Mercurio, one of the two daily papers now being published with the sanction of the junta, ran a piece after the September 11 counterrevolution that said, "the Jewish communist conspiracy has to be destroyed. There should be a Jew hanging from every lamp post...."

What has been the reaction of the Israeli rulers to these brutal manifestations of anti-semitism in Chile? Have they told their UN delegate Tekoah to stand up before the nations of the world and condemn this Nazi-like junta with the same vigor that he attacked the anti-Nazi GDR?

On the contrary. Israel was one of the first countries in the world to give legitimacy to the Chilean junta by extending diplomatic recognition to this gang of fascist butchers. At the very moment when hundreds of Jewish communists and socialists are being tortured and executed by the junta's firing squads, the Israeli delegate was presenting his credentials to these hangmen in Santiago.

Like the Chilean junta, the Israeli white settler state fronts for U.S. imperialism. The problems of the world's Jewish population are merely used by the Golda Meir regime in a demagogic way to cover up the fact that, like every other capitalist state, Israel works in the interest of the millionaires in Tel Aviv and Wall Street.

In the "Jewish homeland," Jewish communists fare little better than their comrades in Santiago. Israel's Shata Prison holds many Jewish revolutionary socialists like Dan Vered, who fought to unite Jew and Arab against the exploiting Zionist regime.

The Israeli regime no more represents the real needs of the world's Jewish people than does the Nixon administration represent the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free" who fled European feudalism and militarism.

country was under the control of the PAIGC. Now only the few larger towns and heavily militarized bases in scattered parts of the country are still controlled by the Portuguese. In 1972 the PAIGC organized the

first election in which the people of Guinea-Bissau had ever had a chance to participate and a National Assembly of 120 members was chosen. This is the legislative body which just met to proclaim independence."

# political prisoners

## New York's drug law

On September 1, 1973, a new drug law (Penal Law, Article 220) considered to be the toughest drug law in the country went into effect into New York State. While many people might welcome a genuine people's campaign to rid their communities of the scourge of drugs, this law will only set the stage for the government to intensify its attacks on the oppressed and poor people who are the victims of the drug trade.

What is the government really trying to do with this law, which provides for mandatory minimum prison sentences of up to 15 years with parole for life, and penalties of 15 years to life, with restrictions on plea-bargaining in more serious cases? In addition to giving the cops an excuse for carrying out illegal raids on homes and harassing people in the oppressed communities, the ruling class has been trying to get all those already on drugs into so-called "drug rehabilitation programs," specifically the methadone maintenance programs. These programs have sprung up all over the country, and particularly in the major cities. Nevertheless, contrary to what the government would have us believe, this is not an attempt to solve the drug problem. It is more of a move to make better use of the drug weapon.

The whole drug scene, including the so-called "drug rehabilitation programs," and especially the methadone maintenance programs, are nothing more than a "pacification program." The capitalist

class knows that keeping the masses of people stupefied on drugs will serve to minimize the chance of those people rebelling against the system of exploitation and the social injustices perpetrated upon them. New York State's new law will throw as many people as possible into jail (excluding the really big pushers, of course) and make others methadone addicts. The methadone addict will not have to steal for his or her habit; methadone will be supplied free of charge. In this way, those complaining of drug-related crimes will be somewhat pacified and the ruling class can keep the drug weapon.

The fact that methadone is under the control of the government makes it that much easier for the ruling class to control and manipulate those addicted to methadone. And what many people don't realize until it's too late, is that methadone is a very potent and addictive drug, which in my opinion (as a former heroin and methadone addict) is a much harder drug to kick. (This is not meant to criticize those on the methadone programs, nor the workers in those programs who may be genuinely attempting to help drug addicts, but the way the government uses these programs is another question.)

While the new drug law will be used against the addict, nothing is being done to the manufacturers of barbituates and other habit-forming drugs, who make a fortune by selling huge quantities of these drugs. But then, the aim of the law is not really to rid the communities of drugs. For example, when an oppressed community seems to be getting ready to explode in rebellion against the social conditions under which they are forced to live, the government, through the police often makes drugs readily available.

I have seen this happen in communities

in which I've lived, where social conditions and injustices have brought the people to the point of rebelling, and suddenly, seemingly out of nowhere, the community is flooded with five times the amount of drugs usually available. This tactic is even more important for the bourgeoisie today, at a time of rising class consciousness among poor and working people, and of continuing crises at home and abroad.

Another very sad and vicious byproduct of the new law, as recently reported in the bourgeois press, is the fact that because the new law exempts juveniles (16 years or under) from criminal prosecution, narcotics traffickers have reportedly begun recruiting juveniles as their new pushers. The effect that may have on our young brothers and sisters can be devastating.

Tougher and tougher legislation is not the answer to the drug problem. It will only serve to create more problems and repression for our class than it will eliminate. Nor in the final analysis, will the answer be more and ever-expanding drug programs. For how successful can these programs be, if they can't give the addict an alternative. The fact is that if we don't become conscious of who our real enemy is, and resolve ourselves to fighting the capitalist class itself, how will we be able to keep from falling back into the drug trap? Our only hope lies in our struggling to destroy the capitalist system. Cuba did it; China did it. These two countries were once plagued with drugs, but now they have no drug problem. We, the working and oppressed people, must reach out to each and every one of our fellow workers, and make them come to this realization. When we smash the ruling class, we will be taking a big step toward eliminating the drug problem.

## RNA railroaded

BILOXI, Miss., Sept. 25 (SCEF)—Seven citizens of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) were convicted in U.S. District Court on charges stemming from a shootout at RNA headquarters in Jackson, Mississippi, in August, 1971.

The charges against the two women and five men included conspiracy to assault federal officers, conspiracy to possess weapons, and assault on a federal officer.

In addition, one of the defendants, Offagga Quadduss, was convicted on a charge of possession of a machine gun, even though the FBI's firearms chief was unable to fire the AR 180 rifle automatically in a demonstration for the judge and jury on the Gulf of Mexico beach.

Defense witnesses testified that the defendants had been beaten and kicked by police and FBI agents after the shooting. The RNA charged that the house where the shooting took place had been attacked by police and FBI agents.

Sentences for the seven ranged from 3 to 22 years. Judge Walter L. Nixon, Jr. set the appeal bonds at amounts ranging from \$5,000 to \$25,000.

In state trials last year, four RNA citizens were convicted on charges stemming from the same incident. Three were sentenced to life, and one received two ten-year sentences.

Following the convictions in Federal court, RNA President Imari Abubakari Obadele I, one of the defendants, told the judge that there never was a conspiracy and said, "We are not bent on destruction but on building a new and better society for ourselves."

Another defendant, Addis Ababa, told

## An interview with Carlos

Carlos Feliciano, a well-known fighter for Puerto Rican independence, was convicted September 19 of several charges of possessing explosives, but was acquitted of more serious charges of bombing the General Electric building in Manhattan. He had earlier won acquittal on similar charges in the Bronx. In the following interview with Workers World, Carlos explains the carefully planned conspiracy by federal agencies to frame him up, and why they have been so anxious to get a conviction.

Q: Carlos, why were you framed?

A: My background has a lot to do with this. I am a Puerto Rican and believe in the freedom of my country. Since I was very active while in Puerto Rico, the U.S. government still sees me as some kind of threat to their interests. They never forget you. The U.S. government has been in Puerto Rico for 75 years controlling everything, even our lives. But today they see groups and parties in Puerto Rico growing and continuing the struggle for independence. At home they see that Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and even many white workers are in the struggle for a better life. So they are afraid and they have a reason to be. They believe that if they find me guilty they can stop the Puerto Rican liberation movement.

Q: What happened in your first trial in the Bronx?

A: Well, they charged me with "attempted bombing of government buildings" and "possession of bombs." They arrested me in the Bronx, brought me to Manhattan and after questioning me, John Fine, Hogan's Assistant D.A., said we have to indict him in the Bronx because we have no case against him. Fine said no jury would acquit me, especially with all cops testifying. Well, I was acquitted of all the

charges. One of the cops, Zimmerman, changed his testimony and the frameup came through. This made them very mad and so they pressed for a second trial, this time in Manhattan, charging me with "attempted bombing of the G.E. Building" and other felonies. They never quit.

I was never questioned about these crimes I supposedly committed on February 9, 1970. It's ironic that they let a "mad bomber" walk the streets for two months before arresting me. I wasn't arrested for this until May 16, 1970. In this case, the frameup left only the naive in doubt. Sergeant Dunn testified that my case was put together by BOSS (Bureau of Special Services), the U.S. Security Department, the CIA, FBI, and the CIC, which is the Puerto Rican CIA. They based their whole case on police testimony. The judge would not let us call any of the witnesses we had planned to in order to show this was a government conspiracy.

The key to their case was one fingerprint which wasn't identified until one month after they found it. Everything else they say was in my apartment for making bombs had absolutely no fingerprints at all. The judge would not even allow us to tell the jury that this fingerprint expert had made a misidentification once before.

Even so, many people felt we would win.

Q: Were you surprised at the verdict?

A: No, I knew the type of people we were dealing with.

Q: What about the selection of Judge Arnold Fraiman?

A: Well, this was no accident or coincidence, I don't think. They brought him in. (Fraiman was the State's D.A. in the case when five armed Puerto Rican Nationalists stormed the House of Representatives in an attempt to bring Puerto Rico's case for



Carlos Feliciano with his family.

independence to the American people in 1950.) Even with this I was acquitted of the two major charges against me. Three times the jury came out "hung" but Fraiman sent them back, to reach a verdict. A "hung jury" would have meant I was a free man.

I also think it bothered them that I wouldn't make any deals with them.

Q: Since the time of your first arrest, what developments in the course of the struggle for independence has the Puerto Rican movement taken? Has it progressed?

A: Oh, yes. They have always tried to put us in jail hoping to silence us. It is true they have even killed many of us. Today, Collazo, Lebron, Miranda, Flores, and Cordero and people like Pancho Cruz are still in jail. But the thing that is so important is that we have so many more people out in the struggle, perhaps maybe five or ten times more.

Q: Regardless of what happens on the 12th (the date of Carlos' sentencing), what do you see as the future of Puerto Rico?

A: The outcome will not affect the struggle at all in so far as stopping it. I think

my case will be used to continue the struggle as more Puerto Ricans now see what is happening to them. Puerto Ricans will learn the lesson to stick together.

My only crime is being Puerto Rican and fighting for the liberation of my land. There are no jails that can stop us. Of everything else I am 100 percent innocent. The U.S. government cannot stop our struggle, we will continue it till the end when we get the freedom of our own land.

Q: Carlos, how can the people help you from now until you go back to court?

A: We have seen from experience that the only justice comes from the people, by that I mean the people who have packed the courtroom day after day as well as all the people on the outside. These are the real people.

We will have a big rally at 9:15 a.m. on October 12 at Foley Square and then we want to pack the courtroom.

Que viva Puerto Rico libre!  
Que viva Albizu Campos!  
FREE Carlos Feliciano!



the court, "We are innocent of any conspiracy and you know it. We were railroaded by this unjust court, but you can't stop the struggle. You can jail us, beat us, even kill us, but Black people will be free."



## Prisoners Letterbox

Leavenworth, Kans., Sept. 13: Since the news of the U.S. imperialist backed coup in Chile, and Allende's "suicide", I've been listening intently to my radio in hopes of piecing together a picture of the crisis—but hoping mostly to hear of a counter-offensive by the workers and peasants.

Although is a little early to throw in the towel, what has developed, or more correctly what hasn't developed, has disturbed me very much, as I'm sure it has you. Many questions have crossed my mind concerning the Chilean struggle, but because of a lack of particulars I'm unable to answer them all to my satisfaction. At the risk of oversimplification I'd have to conclude from my observations and the lessons of history that the failure, to this date, of the working class to attack to defend their revolutionary gains can be attributed to the lack of resolute revolutionary leadership and with it a lack of arms for the workers.

Aren't the major questions in the life of nations still decided by force? Aren't the reactionary classes themselves usually the first to resort to violence, to civil war, aren't they, as Lenin wrote, the first to "place the bayonet on the agenda"?

Why is there still so much talk of socialism by parliamentary measures? Parliamentary means are no better a midwife for socialism than they ever were. What ever happened to the good old fashioned methods: attack; extermination of the enemy; smashing of the state; and establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat!!!

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Penna. State Prison, Huntingdon, Pa.

I am a Sunni (Orthodox) Muslim and I am writing you because of a case in this state (Pa.) that has been virtually unrecognized and unsupported. I will try to be as brief as possible because I am hoping that you will print this "call to support" letter in your paper.

Two Sunni Muslims are being held in maximum security (the hole) for allegedly killing the warden and deputy warden at the infamous Holmesburg Prison in Philadelphia. They are Frederick Burton and Joseph Bowen.

Burton, prior to the Holmesburg incident, was convicted of first-degree murder in the killing of a park-guard sergeant along with four others whom fascist mayor Rizzo called "the revolutionaries." Bowen has been waiting two-and-a-half years to go to trial for the killing of a cop.

Now both have two additional murders and the Rizzo regime and company are crying "bring back the electric chair."

We cannot let them burn the brothers. A defense committee has been recently formed in Philadelphia but it needs the people's help and support.

It was the people who helped save Bobby Seale, the Soledad Brothers, Angela Davis, and other cases not in the public eye but equally important. It can be the people again to help save Frederick Burton and Joseph Bowen.

Support the Holmesburg Brothers. Contributions can be sent to: Black United Liberation Front, 1928 W. Columbia Ave., Phila., Pa. 19121.

A Sunni Brother

## Ruchell Magee

SAN QUENTIN PRISON, Calif., Sept. 7—Today marks the 30th day since RUCHELL MAGEE commenced a solitary fast and starvation strike in his cell in the notorious "Adjustment Center," demanding that court orders in his favor be enforced. His weight is now down to 133 pounds.

Ruchell served personal notice on the warden of San Quentin that he is liable for helping engineer a conspiracy to keep Ruchell isolated and incommunicado to prevent him from pursuing his legal defense.

Ruchell is demanding access to the press to answer false stories put out by the state, contact with two investigators of his own choosing, no interference with his mail, and visits from friends and family.

Ruchell's just demands are normal requests within his legal rights, but he is being persecuted for his leading position in the prison struggle as a jailhouse lawyer, as a participant in the San Rafael courtroom rebellion that left Jonathan Jackson shot dead by cops, and in the San Quentin battle that left George Jackson murdered by guards.

Ruchell asks the people to support him by writing and sending telegrams to warden Louis S. Nelson, San Quentin Prison, Tamal, Calif. 94964, or phoning (415) 454-1460.

## Prison library

Three prisoners at the Comstock, N.Y., Great Meadows Correctional Facility are engaged in efforts to make the prison law library more accessible and useful to the prisoners.

LARRY CATANZARO 28676, EDUARDO "PANCHO" CRUZ 29338, and CHARLES PARKER 30933, who assist the greater majority of the inmates at Comstock with legal and personal writing, have sent a detailed letter to Victor Zuckerman, Supervising Attorney of the Office of Counsel of the N.Y. State Department of Correctional Services.

The letter calls for immediate reform of law library practices, pointing out that "the Memorandum dated June 25, 1972, emanating from your office has NOT BEEN IMPLEMENTED, adhered to, and has been given an ambiguous interpretation by the Superintendent here at GMCF."

The Comstock prison officials closely restrict the supply of law books, the hours of the library, and make the room so small that only 16 inmates at a time can squeeze in.

All three prisoners were themselves railroaded into long prison sentences. They have dedicated themselves to providing the best possible legal support for prisoners against the concentration camp system of frame-ups for poor and Third World people.

## Rodney Haymes

Prisoner RODNEY HAYMES, Danemora concentration camp, has submitted an affidavit and motion pursuant to title 28 USCA, Section 144, to disqualify Judge Foley (U.S. District Court, Northern District of N.Y.) from handling his and all prisoners' civil rights cases.

In his brief, Rodney lays it on the line and exposes Judge Foley for systematically and summarily dismissing and excluding prisoners' rights cases from his court. He establishes that Foley, who during the last five years has used personal bias, prejudicial practices, and outright violation of established federal rules, procedures and constitutional safeguards pertaining to such cases, is unqualified to act on any such prisoner's motion.

We support this motion and hope to see many more like it. This challenge to a reactionary, racist judge points out once again whose side the courts are really on, and reminds us that a judge is merely a hack in black robes. Any prisoner, ex-prisoner, or anyone who could help Rodney and who has the goods on Foley, please contact the Buffalo Prisoners Solidarity Committee, 730 Main Street, Buffalo, N.Y. 14202.



## Brothers vow to remember Attica...

Great Meadow, Comstock, N.Y., Sept. 6:

As you know, this coming September 13 is the second "anniversary" since the Attica rebellion. We have requested the facility to allow us to observe this day in memory of all those killed at Attica, but in vain. This facility through its Superintendent J.L. Casscles has denied us permission to do so.

However, they have requested us to allow them to have their annual "Clambake dinner" for September 13. We refused. They then asked to have September 14 as their "Clambake dinner." We agreed. They wanted us to lock in our cells at 5:30 p.m. instead of the usual 7:00 p.m., and we said okay, provided they would allow us to observe September 13 as Attica Day. They refused.

Now here is the crisis. Many if not all of the men at this facility will refuse to go to their cells come September 14, if we are not allowed to observe September 13, and will stay out in the yard come what may, until the regular lock in time of 7:00 p.m. This is a serious matter, as Superintendent Casscles said we would lock in at 5:30, the Liaison Committee said no we won't, and population will support this statement.

Superintendent Casscles is deliberately making this crisis: It was explained to him very, very clear, and fully, that population wants to have September 13 observed, and without any compassion whatsoever, he denied it. Population will not accept this, and in fact, he expelled one of the Liaison

Committee members from further meetings. He is now, as he has been doing in the past, denying us proper representation of our choice. The full Liaison Committee supports the observance of September 13, and will not go along with Casscles' denial.

It is an insult to injury and outright attack, to request that the Annual Clambake Dinner for the Officers be celebrated on the 14, and their original request to have it celebrated on the 13 was obnoxious in the fullest extent of the word.

We will not allow anyone to force us to forget our brothers who died at Attica, be they Black, White, Puerto Rican, or whatever, and we will observe September 13, each and every year, in memory of those who shed their lives at Attica to better the conditions we are forced to exist under. Their deaths will not have been in vain, they were the vanguard in the fight for existence within these hell holes, they were the vanguard for all time to come.

As stated previously, we will object peacefully; we desire to observe Attica Day, we will observe Attica Day come September 13. We have no objection to what the officers or Casscles wish to celebrate, that is their prerogative; if they wish to celebrate the death of officers at a Clambake Dinner, all power to them, but we will not allow them to deny us to observe the deaths of our fellow inmates by their lack of concern or compassion.

## ...despite keep-lock and the box

WW note: On the 13th, the inmates at Comstock gathered in the yard to carry out a peaceful memorial for the Attica brothers murdered by Rockefeller's troopers two years ago. While one of the men was reading the last letters of Sam Melville, one of the Attica martyrs, the Comstock guards closed the yard and surrounded the men who remained. At the same time, the guards in the towers displayed their rifles and shotguns.

Writes a brother, "Finally the Chairman of the Memorial delegation stood up and closed the memorial as the officials were repeatedly stating again and again that the yard was closed. Many brothers were openly crying or rather shedding tears for their brothers who died in the attempt to alleviate the intolerable conditions which we are being subjected to, which they label rehabilitation."

Although there were no incidents of violence of any kind, the members of the Memorial Committee, the Inmates Liaison

Committee and other men considered leaders of the population (about 50 all together) were immediately placed under keep-lock (locked in their cells). Two days later, eleven men were sent to the "box" (euphemistically called "Special Housing Unit F-Block") and were subsequently charged with a conspiracy to riot and cause disturbances.

The eleven are: Lorenzo Catanzaro, Christopher Escobar, Louis Martinez, Richard Moore, George Nieves, Michael Oben, Robin Palmer, Charles Rabb Parker, Samuel Sprague, David Wheeler, and James Abeeka Young.

After an administrative hearing without any legal rights to defend themselves, the men were given sentences in the box of from 20 to 60 days.

These brave brothers deserve the greatest support. They have sacrificed dearly to keep the spirit of Attica alive in the very dungeons themselves!

## PSC wires support of memorial

The following statement was issued on September 11 by the Prisoners Solidarity Committee, and sent to Governor Rockefeller, Commissioner Montagne and Superintendent Casscles.

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It has come to our attention that the just and reasonable request of the prisoners at Great Meadows Correctional Facility to be allowed to observe September 13 in memory of the prisoners murdered at Attica Correctional Facility, has been denied. Not only has the prison administration denied this just request of the inmates, but they are having a "party-clambake dinner" on

September 14 for themselves, and intend to lock-in the prisoners at 5:30 p.m. instead of the usual 7 p.m., with or without the prisoners' cooperation.

The prisoners as well as ourselves see this as a blatant insult to their heroic brothers who died fighting for the right to be treated as human beings, and as a blatant provocation which could have serious consequences.

We of the PSC demand that the prisoners at Comstock be allowed to commemorate September 13, in memory of the heroic Attica brothers, and that no actions be taken against them because of it.



# Las lecciones de Chile

por Sam Marcy

(traslado por Zulma Zayas)

Lo que sigue es un resumen preparado por este periódico de comentarios hechos por Sam Marcy, presidente del Partido "Workers World" a una reunión conjunta del "National Field Staff" y del "City Committee" de la local de New York. Esta plática fue ofrecida el 12 de septiembre—como 18 horas después de las primeras noticias sobre el golpe militar en Chile.

Primero, que nada tenemos que expresar nuestra solidaridad a todos aquellos que están peleando en Chile contra el golpe militar fascista el cual ha sido financiado y organizado por los imperialistas de los Estados Unidos. En la lucha contra el fascismo militar y el imperialismo de EEUU nosotros consistentemente hemos demostrado nuestro apoyo al gobierno de Allende mediante manifestaciones y propaganda.

Aunque en estos momentos (el 12 de septiembre) no hay una victoria decisiva para la contra-revolución es sin embargo posible entender los amplios contornos de los eventos y clarificar la tarea de nuestro partido.

Mientras aquí seguimos en la lucha y con las mas hondas simpatías para con todas las víctimas del golpe, es también la responsabilidad de los líderes de la clase trabajadora explicar a los elementos mas avanzados las desastrosas consecuencias de la política de Allende y de los partidos en la coalición Unida Popular particularmente el Partido Comunista.

Estas políticas pueden ser resumidas como sigue.

## Transición Pacífica

Después de Allende salir elegido a través de unas elecciones burguesas, algunas secciones de la Unión Popular alegaban que ya la clase trabajadora estaba o podría en el futuro llegar al poder pacíficamente sin violencia revolucionaria o guerra civil.

Nosotros estamos por una transición pacífica hacia el socialismo—si se prueba que eso es posible. Nosotros no somos adherentes dogmáticos de violencia. Pero en mas de 100 años de experiencia del proletariado por la lucha de clases comenzando con la Comuna de París no ha habido ninguna instancia en que la burguesía ha abandonado el poder pacíficamente. Y también se debe recordar que la burguesía no llegó al poder sin una lucha armada.

Cuando Allende tomó su puesto (no poder del estado!), los partidos reformistas sembraron ilusiones entre los oprimidos que era posible evitar los sacrificios necesarios para la revolución. Pero Marxismo no es meramente un sueño de socialismo—es el realístico aprecio de cientos de años de lucha.

La ideología pacifista de la burguesía sobre transición pacífica fue explotada por la Revolución Rusa. Está probado que el camino para el poder de los trabajadores estriba en estar preparado para contrarrestar la violencia organizada de la burguesía.

Pero después de la derrota de la clase obrera alemana por Hitler en 1933, la vieja teoría desacreditada fue revivida por Stalin. Anterior al triunfo del fascismo, Stalin había seguido una posición ultrazquierdista, rehusando llamar a un frente unido de todos los partidos de la clase obrera basándose en que los "Fascistas Sociales" (Demócratas Sociales) eran igual de malos que los Hitlerianos. El triunfo del fascismo causó tal pánico en los partidos comunistas que la línea fue completamente invertida y el diz que llamado "frente popular" fue acosado a los trabajadores de Francia y España.

En el frente popular los trabajadores entraron en una coalición con la sección "democrática" de la burguesía—fue esa la primera vez que táctica tal fuese adaptada



por el movimiento comunista. Esta alianza política con una sección de la burguesía contra la ala fascista fue presentada a los trabajadores como la sola esperanza—y como un medio para la transición pacífica hacia el socialismo debido al "rompimiento" de la clase dominante. Sin embargo el frente popular subordinó las demandas de los obreros a la unidad de la coalición, y al final solamente aligeró el camino para la derrota de los trabajadores como ahora de nueva ha sucedido en Chile.

## Mayoría Electoral

Otras de las asunciones fatales hechas en Chile por la Unión Popular fue que la clase obrera tiene que ganar una mayoría parlamentaria absoluta para poder dominar.

Como mejor una elección es un barómetro del conocimiento de clase obrera. Es utópico asumir que la maquinaria legal y electoral desarrollada para facilitar el dominio capitalista pueda ser instrumento para la clase obrera asumir el poder. (En Chile de una población de 10 millones solamente 2 1-2 millones de personas votaron en las pasadas elecciones presidenciales.)

Mientras Allende tomó oficina por pluralidad (36 por ciento del voto) se hizo claro en las luchas subsiguientes que los trabajadores y los campesinos estaban solidamente detrás del programa de los partidos de trabajadores. Los Cristianos Demócratas y otros partidos burgueses por el contrario representaban los intereses de los terratenientes y los capitalistas. Ellos ganaron el favor de grandes sectores de la pequeña burguesía después que los partidos de obreros fallaron de obrar en una manera revolucionaria para resolver la crisis.

## Coalición con la Burguesía

El gobierno de Allende representó una coalición entre representantes de la clase obrera y la burguesía.

Una coalición de partidos representando las clases desposeídas es válida en la lucha por socialismo—una coalición como la de organizaciones de obrera y campesinos. Por otro lado la alianza de partidos obreros (Partido Comunista, Partido Socialista y grupos pequeños) en la Unión Popular puede servir para adelantar sus intereses de clase.

Pero es otra cosa cuando los representantes de trabajadores hacen alianza con representantes de la burguesía en el gabinete—sin importar si han sido nombrados por un presidente socialista o por un presidente burgués. La asunción

hecha por tal coalición es que la burguesía le ayudará en la transición hacia socialismo y facilitará el curso de la revolución.

Ya que el mismo Allende se basó el mismo en afinidad parlamentarias en vez de afinidad de clase el se sintió obligado a traer la burguesía (y eventualmente su brazo militar) al gabinete. En esa situación una clase o otra tiene que renunciar a sus intereses para poder mantener la coalición. Viendo el golpe, está claro que intereses de clase fueron renunciados.

Este tiene que distinguirse entre el añadir un representante de la burguesía a un gobierno de los trabajadores después que este tenga el poder del estado, como así ocurrió en los comienzos de la República del Pueblo Chino. En ese caso los representantes capitalistas no tenían ningún poder de clase independiente y simbolizaban la actitud humana asumida por el gobierno con individuos simpatéticos a la revolución.

## Sabotaje de la Economía

Se asumió que porque la burguesía era parte del gobierno, no iba a sabotear su propio sistema económico.

Sin embargo esa fue una de las primeras tácticas de los capitalistas chilenos con el apoyo estamos seguros del imperialismo estadounidense. Fueron tan lejos como paralizar la economía con la huelga de los camioneros, volaron líneas telefónicas y eléctricas y estimularon la inflación, todo esto para que el pueblo se revintara de cansancio.

La única respuesta que tiene los obreros para tal sabotaje es la completa derrocamiento del estado burgués, la expropiación de los medios de producción (no solamente los que están en manos de extranjeros) y la institución de una economía planeada.

## El Ejército "Neutral"

Una y otra vez se argumentó por los reformistas que el ejército chileno permanecería "neutral" en la lucha de clase por su larga historia de adherencia a la Constitución.

Mientras las relaciones de clase estén estabilizadas en un país, el ejército no tiene que intervenir. Esa es la razón para los 40 y algo mas años de gobierno constitucional en Chile (que verdaderamente no es tanto). Pero el ejército ha sido entrenado y enseñado en el espíritu de guerra de clase. ¿Qué otra cosa tiene que hacer los militares—especialmente los militares retirados. Debe ser el ABC de todos marxistas y leninistas el entender el carácter de clase del estado burgués.

(Antes de tomar Hitler el poder en Alemania se argumentó que muchos en la policía eran Demócratas Sociales y Comunistas y que nunca iban a ser usados para suprimir los trabajadores.

## El Rol de la Clase Media

La Unidad Popular confió en que la pequeña burguesía se iría al lado de trabajadores y campesinos.

La historia ha enseñado que la pequeña burguesía siempre ha vacilado en momentos de seria lucha de clases. La pequeña burguesía no tiene un destino separado pero siempre en medio de las dos grandes clases.

Hasta que punto se puede considerar a los camioneros como pequeños burgueses es cuestionable. En un país pobre como Chile el poseer un camión es controlar una cantidad substancial de propiedad. Ciertamente fueron apoyados en toda forma posible por la burguesía durante la huelga.

## Rol de la Burguesía Nacional

La izquierda calculó mal el rol de la burguesía nacional.

La burguesía nacional en un país subdesarrollado puede jugar un rol progresista en relación al imperialismo—por instancias, al estar por la nacionalización de propiedad de EEUU. Pero lo hace solamente por sus propios intereses. Como clase explotadora desea ver libre de manos extranjeras los recursos naturales para poder ellos explotarlos. Nunca ha existido una burguesía que halla jugado un rol progresista en relación a las demandas de la clase trabajadora. Ellos pelearon hasta la muerte contra obreros y campesinos por los medios de producción.

El hecho de que la burguesía nacional sea mas pobre que los imperialistas no quiere decir que en casa sean progresistas. Como apuntó Marx, muchas veces un pequeño patrono tiene que explotar mas a los obreros y los antagonismos de clase en un pequeño taller son hasta mas agudos.

## La Unión Soviética y China

Los partidos comunistas de la Unión Soviética y China fallaron en no darle guía viendo esta política tan desastrosa.

No hubo crítica constructiva o alguna guía de los partidos fraternales de la Unión Soviética o China, aunque la historia muchas veces ha enseñado las desastrosas consecuencias de ese tipo de política. Los bolcheviques consideraron su deber explicar una y otra vez las lecciones revolucionarias de su experiencia para beneficio de los trabajadores de otros países. Hasta hace uno años, el liderato chino también acosó el resurgimiento de tácticas revolucionarias y expuso ideología reformista, revisionista.

Con la "detente" sin embargo ambos poderosos países socialistas han prometido a Nixon no interferir en los "asuntos internos" de países bajo la dominación del imperialismo. Verdaderos comunistas deben rechazar este ilusión el cual permite reinado libre a los imperialistas en su subversión económica y militar de los oprimidos mientras hace ata a los países socialistas a una estracha perspectiva nacional. Aceptar la doctrina de "no interferencia en asuntos internos" de países capitalistas es renunciar formalmente al internacionalismo proletariado y dejar cada clase trabajadora en su propia lucha contra el imperialismo y la dominación capitalista.

Los cuadros revolucionarios en Chile deben de reconstruir, reconstituirse ellos mismos y crear una transición hacia el socialismo basada en la realidad, en la clase obrera armada. Nosotros miramos adelante y nos comprometemos a edificar un movimiento de solidaridad con el movimiento de resistencia en Chile. En las entrañas de los culpritos imperialistas, ese es nuestro deber.