

Workers World

Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite

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Oct. 19, 1973

25 cents

U.S. out of Mideast No more Vietnams!



What's behind the war in the Middle East? See centerfold section on:

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- The history of the conflict
- Who are the Palestinians?
- Is Israel a haven for the Jewish people?
- Behind Israel—Nixon; behind Nixon—oil

See page 10 for WW editorial on:
Arab liberation and the detente

Houston cops savagely beat demonstrators protesting the U.S.-Israeli war in the Mideast. Twelve are arrested and held on quarter of a million dollars bail. See story, page 3.

Free the Houston 12!

BULLETIN: GIs arrested in war protest

On October 14, three active-duty servicemen were arrested in Jacksonville, N.C., as they collected signatures on a petition that urged Congress to forbid the introduction of U.S. forces into the current Mideast war. "We do not want this to become another senseless Vietnam," the petition read. Randy Thorman and Mark Ratlin, stationed at the Little Creek Amphibious Base in Norfolk with the Navy, and Scott Miller, an American Servicemen's Union (ASU) member in the Ft. Bragg GI Union, were arrested by an Onslow County Deputy and turned over to the local MPs. Petitions signed by about forty servicemen were confiscated from the three. Four hours later they were released without an explanation. No charges have been pressed against them as yet.

At Ft. Bragg, the 313th Army Security Agency unit has been sent to Israel. Other units at Bragg are on rotating 60-minute alert.

UFW meets: drive gains despite boss terror

After years of struggle, the United Farm Workers Union (UFW) held a Constitutional Convention at the end of September amid reports that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) had agreed to stop its union-busting campaign against them.

The Teamster leadership of Frank Fitzsimmons had been cooperating with the government and grape and lettuce growers by signing "sweetheart" contracts, never ratified by the workers, and by sending hired goons against UFW pickets. Under the reported agreement, the IBT would renounce its contracts in the lettuce, grape, and winery industries. A hopeful sign that this may be carried out is the Teamsters' previous renunciation of contracts with Delano grape growers, which account for 40 percent of California table grapes.

The Convention itself was a sign of the strength the UFW is gaining in the face of attacks against it. Over 350 delegates were present representing 60,000 workers. They drew up a 110-page constitution, encompassing the social goals of the union and providing for a democratic structure. The convention also passed a resolution condemning the fascist junta in Chile and observed a minute of silence for Salvador Allende.

The grape and lettuce boycotts and strikes are continuing and show signs of increasing success. The grape strike in the

Coachella Valley in California has cost the growers over \$3 million since April 14, when the strike started. In nine major Eastern cities, grape sales were off 28 percent, compared to 18 percent for the boycott of 1966-70. Over 60 food markets in the Cleveland area have yielded to UFW demands on scab lettuce and grapes.

The UFW has been receiving increasing

support from the AFL-CIO, affiliated unions, and other organizations. But the union's recent successes in the face of such great obstacles can be attributed mainly to the support of rank-and-file members and their willingness to struggle.

Recently, the head of the California State Farm Bureau, Alan Grant, said at a press conference held during one of their meetings that he did not believe people were willing to die for a union. This was two weeks after the deaths in the San Joaquin Valley of farmworkers Naji Daifullah and Juan de la Cruz. Bureau members had brought scab grapes to the meeting for a snack at coffee time.

Grant was confronted by UFW supporters led by José Ponce, who later dumped the scab grapes in a trash basket.



Someone is watching you: the camera on the traffic light at 43rd St. and Broadway, New York City, is always on.



Times Square: experiment in closed-circuit fascism

By JIM KOWALSKI

NEW YORK, Oct. 13—The police have electronic eyes on Times Square.

Four closed-circuit television cameras were activated on September 25. In a trailer parked at the traffic island between 43rd and 44th streets, agents of "the law" constantly scrutinize the ever-flowing crowd. By pressing a button they can send a squad car to instantly nab any suspect. "Liberal" Mayor John Lindsay has lauded the "crime-deterrent system" and he projects expansion of the coverage to other parts of the city.

Heralded by police and businessmen as pickpocket prevention, the "population-monitoring" apparatus can easily be transformed into a powerful method of controlling the people, as anticipated in futuristic tales of horror.

The equipment was paid for by businesses in the area. The banks hope to eliminate armed "withdrawals" by the most desperate poor and exploited of this

city—a city where the rich celebrate in glorious towers and the poor, as they starve, sleep on the sidewalks in rags. The poor could never get into the Shubert Theater. Instead, Shubert pays for cameras to prevent any redistribution of the wealth while the elite wait on line.

The "liberal" New York Times that pays lip service to civil liberties is one of the businesses to foot the bill for these peeping-tom devices.

The ultraright, racist proponents of a stronger police see in such devices a domestic version of the electronic battlefield. They conjure up dreams of remote control weapons, whereby the defenders of property could sit in the control room and chase a suspect from screen to screen, pressing a button to fire if the suspect ignored a faceless command to halt.

"Let me see your ID badge!" we might hear. The Eye squawk one day. (The Polaroid Corporation has already issued cards to control the Black population of the

fascist Union of South Africa.) With the video system, ID cards could be the next scheme of the billionaires to control the masses of the United States.

This kind of "1984" use of technology has, of course, grave political implications, although it has quietly been put over as a "crime-fighting" innovation. The assumption is that most "crime" takes place on the street.

But we know that the really important crimes—whereby the people are robbed of billions, are dragged into imperialist wars, and are tricked into supporting crooked politicians—happen not in the streets but in the executive suites, in the halls of Congress and the White House, and in the police stations themselves.

If there are going to be TV cameras anywhere, how about putting them in the Pentagon, in police headquarters, in the White House? And then let the people monitor what these "public servants" are really doing?

Or better yet, let's fight for a workers' government, let's do away with the police and the army as instruments of ruling class oppression, let's get the servants of the billionaires out of power—and then we can do away with all these spying, sneaking instruments of a police state.

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Cops savagely attack YAWF Mideast protesters

Special to Workers World

HOUSTON, Tex., Oct. 15—On Tuesday, October 9, the Houston police savagely attacked a demonstration held here by Youth Against War & Fascism (YAWF) protesting the U.S.-Israeli war against the Arab people. After pulling out their guns, they repeatedly clubbed 12 young men among the demonstrators, eight of whom are Mexican-Americans.

The stormtroopers of the HPD beat them again after the arrests, took them to Ben Taub Hospital, had them stitched up, beat them again on the way back, and then beat them some more in the city jail.

Relatives found them bruised and battered with black eyes and torn scalps. One, Alex Rodriguez, had a broken nose. The cops threatened them again right in front of their relatives.

The police used the old, old, lying excuse that the victims were the aggressors, charging all of them with "aggravated assault against policemen" and five with the additional count of "assault with intent to murder a policeman." And after imprisoning the twelve, they prevailed on the judge to set bail at a combined total of \$255,000.

The young men, who have already come

to be known as the Houston 12, are: José Berriga, 21; Miguel Trujillo, Jr., 22; William N. Christiansen, 26; Alex Rodriguez, 23; Roy Bartee Haile, 28; Richard Aguirre, 26; Eugenio Trujillo, 18; George Cardenas, 19; David A. Garza, 18; Timothy Rogers, 21; Larry Dybala, 23; and Rolando Rivera, 20. The first five face the heaviest charges.

Gerri Pressnal, one of the demonstrators, told newsmen at the scene of the beatings and arrests that the incident started when three officers jumped and clubbed José Berriga. More police arrived with pistols drawn, she said, and clubbed Eugenio Trujillo.

WHY THIS ATTACK?

In speculating as to the motives for the police attack, a YAWF spokesperson mentioned two important facts:

(1) While the Houston police are notoriously racist and anti-Semitic, and have no sympathy for either the Jewish or Arab people, Houston is the oil capital of the U.S. Such giants as Shell, with assets over \$5 billion, and Tenneco, \$4.8 billion, have their headquarters here. The largest enterprise in the state of Texas is Humble Oil & Refining Company, subsidiary of the global Standard Oil Company of New Jersey (Exxon), whose

gross assets (\$21.5 billion) exceed the combined revenues of 30 state governments.

Bubbling just beneath the surface of the fighting in the Mid-East lies Wall Street's empire of oil. The Arab regimes have, in various ways, been seeking greater control over their most precious resource—and this is the overriding motive for Washington's determination to manipulate with money and arms a state in the Mideast (Israel) that is hostile to the Arabs and can be used as a threat against them.

Thus, the Houston Establishment has very strong reasons to try and crush an organization fighting to expose U.S. oil imperialism in the Middle East.

(2) The police are angry over recent YAWF demonstrations exposing police brutality against the oppressed communities in Houston.

POLICE CHIEF GOES ON TV

The Houston authorities immediately began a public relations campaign to try and convict YAWF in the papers and on radio and TV.

Judy Lerma, a coordinator for Houston YAWF, told *Workers World*, "Police Chief Herman Short (George Wallace's choice for FBI chief) has already been on TV openly trying to prejudice the people of Houston and any possible jury against us. They (the cops) are promising to break heads the next time YAWF has a demonstration. "This is not New York or Chicago," Short said.

Short apparently considers the New York police, who killed 125 people last year,

and the Chicago cops, the assassins of Fred Hampton, "too soft."

One of the arrested YAWF organizers, Bartee Haile, was shot on July 26, 1970, by the CID, a terrorist branch of the Houston police, when Bartee came to the aid of Black activist Carl Hampton who had been mortally wounded by CID snipers. At that time the Houston police charged Haile with "assault with intent to murder a police officer" and "assault with intent to murder." The prosecution asked for life in prison for Bartee, but the trial ended in a hung jury.

In a leaflet issued by the newly formed Committee for the Defense of the Houston 12, those fighting this latest example of repression and racism make the following appeal:

"It is easy to be for constitutional rights when they are not being threatened; it is easy to be for equality for Mexican-Americans when nobody is beating them up or oppressing them. It is easy to be for the right of dissent when nobody is dissenting. But the time when civil liberties really count is when they are needed, when the right to dissent is being taken away. And that time is NOW.

"The progressive-minded people of all nationalities, races, and religions—Christians, Moslems, Arabs, Jews, and all others—should unite against this repression. We ask for your understanding, your help, and your solidarity on this crucial question of constitutional liberties and human rights."



Protesters had been holding a demonstration in solidarity with Palestinian people when cops in Houston staged this vicious and unprovoked attack.

Defense rallied in Chicano community for Houston 12

By BOB DOBROW

HOUSTON, Tex., Oct. 12—About 45 people gathered in the Chicano community here this evening to discuss plans for freeing the Houston 12.

Called on very quick notice, activists from YAWF, militants in the Chicano community, relatives and friends of the defendants, and other progressives met in Casa de Amigos to start to put together a defense committee for the imprisoned brothers.

David Lerma, a Chicano activist, opened the meeting by reading a statement from YAWF concerning the demonstration, those arrested, and the nature of the arrests. He proceeded to chair the meeting.

A Chicana woman, Rosemary Rangel, spoke first. She had been on the demonstration and gave an eye-witness account of what happened and the unprovoked manner in which the cops acted. She was followed by others, including the wife of one of the defendants, Gloria Rodriguez, who further recounted the events of October 9.

The rulers of Houston have tried to whip

up an hysteria against those arrested and YAWF.

Claiming that YAWF attacked the police and that the group is anti-Jewish, they are trying to arouse public sentiment against the 12. Thus the accounts at the beginning of the meeting exposed the true story of what happened.

Judy Lerma, a spokeswoman for YAWF, then took the floor to explain why the demonstration took place and the nature of police brutality. She showed how the calculated viciousness of the police was not something accidental or the result of one or two "nuts," but rather stemmed from the character of the system itself.

She showed that intimidation and terror are necessary in a system in which the rich get richer off the blood and sweat of the poor and in which the property of the millionaires is more important than decent human rights for people.

Others from the audience took the floor and gave very moving accounts of the savageness of the police. Gerri Pressnal told how Bartee Haile, a leading member of

Cut from \$255,000! Bulletin: Houston 12 bail reduced

By JULIO GHIGLIOTTY

HOUSTON, Oct. 17—Bail originally set at \$255,000 against the Houston 12 was lowered today to \$74,000 after a hearing at the Harris County Courthouse.

This morning, before the hearing began, about 30 relatives and friends of the 12 defendants held a press conference in front of the courthouse. They were protesting the unjustifiably high bail bond set by the magistrate at the initial arrest of the 12.

Holding her month-old baby and a placard reading, "My husband is innocent," Gloria Rodriguez, wife of one of the defendants and a spokesperson for the group, described the true nature of the case being woven by the police against the eight Chicanos and four whites who, after being viciously attacked and brutally beaten, were charged with "aggravated assault on a policeman." Five carry the additional charge of "assault on a policeman with intent to murder" as well!

Ms. Rodriguez pointed out that while five of the defendants had had bail set at from \$25,000 to \$45,000, Houston cop Darryl Cain was released on only \$20,000 bail recently even though he was charged with the murder of a 12-year-old Chicano boy whom he had shot to death while the

child was handcuffed and inside a police car!

Along with the many reporters present at the press conference, there were several Red Squad photographers madly taking pictures of everyone who came near the friends and relatives of the defendants—even if they were only passersby.

Afterwards, the group of supporters went to the fifth floor of the courthouse to await the beginning of the bail reduction hearing. After three-and-a-half hours of anguished waiting, they received the news.

The established media tonight aired the news in its typically prejudiced manner, running footage of the fight between the police and the demonstrators and calling them "brawlers." Police Chief Herman Short appeared on TV to say that the protesters "weren't there to socialize with the clubs they brought along." (The "clubs" were the poles to which banners were attached.)

The reduction of the bail bond is a small victory in what is shaping up to be a lengthy trial, in which the basic right of dissent of all persons is being jeopardized and victimized by fascist attacks and racist repression.

Support and help the Houston 12!

YAWF, was beaten five times after he was arrested.

One of the lawyers taking the case of the Houston 12 was also in the audience. John Sayer explained to the people what had been done legally and what was going to be done. Writs of habeas corpus had been filed in district court for reduction of bail and bond.

Vince Copeland of New York City took the floor and pointed out the reason for the attack on the picket line. It wasn't the demonstration as such, he explained, but the growing unity in the community among Black, Chicano, and poor white people, particularly noticed in struggles led by Houston YAWF, that really scared the rulers of this city. This is what they were trying to crush. And this was the unity that

would win the prisoners' freedom.

The meeting then proceeded to discuss the many things that had to be done, including raising money and publicizing the case.

Barbara Timko of YAWF reported that there is growing support across the country for the 12 and that solidarity messages pledging help have been coming in continuously.

The defense committee meeting was a first step in mobilizing and concentrating the deep anger that is felt over these arrests and police brutality. A hat was passed around the room and in five minutes \$67 was collected, mostly from the poor and working people who constituted the great majority of those at the meeting.

Scabs will dig their own graves, cemetery strikers vow

NORTH ARLINGTON, N.J., Oct. 15—For almost four weeks now, 44 cemetery workers here have been on strike for security in the elementary conditions of their lives. Above all, this means winning the right to a union shop.

The workers have united in a moving display of solidarity that cuts across language, national, and religious barriers. Most are Irish, Turkish, Puerto Rican, or Polish, and many are recent immigrants to the U.S. Their jobs are very heavy, digging graves in all kinds of weather, and their hard lives are written on their faces.

On October 6, the workers decided to sit in at one of the gates of the Holy Cross Cemetery to dramatize their plight and to build public awareness and support for their struggle. When a large group of the striking workers were arrested and taken away in police cars, their wives and children took their places in the roadway, sitting down in front of the cars in a funeral procession.

"Our families' lives are more important than the dead," the strikers said.

The workers, who are members of the Cemeteries Workers and Greens Attendants Union, Local 365 of the Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, don't like having to confront grieving families, or to face police arrests and possible prison terms. But they have been forced out on strike by the owners of the cemetery.

And the irony is that these workers, who are almost all Catholic, work for the Catholic Church, and it is the church that they must fight to win a better life and a union shop.

The men feel that while the church talks about giving and compassion on Sundays, the rest of the week it is acting just like any other boss towards the workers it employs.

Monsignor Doyle and the Newark Diocese have refused to accept the union shop even though all other contracts recently negotiated in the New York area, including those with the workers of the New

York and Brooklyn Catholic Diocese cemeteries, have gone along with this demand of the cemetery workers.

As Sam Cimaglia, President of Local 365, stated in a recent "Message to the Public" distributed by the union men, "Monsignor Doyle knew his employees would not accept an open shop, which is a threat to their future security, . . . (he) is hoping that he will starve his employees into submission. . . . No other employer of cemeteries, whether Catholic, Jewish, or nonsectarian, ever hired scabs or cut off Health and Welfare benefits of their employees. . . . Our Lord had a word for religious leaders who didn't practice what they preached, and he heaped eight woes on their heads."

Cimaglia, who is unusual among contemporary union leaders for his fighting rank-and-file spirit, was arrested in this strike for sitting down alongside the striking workers, although he is still facing a jail term for earlier labor militance.

Since March of last year, the Newark Diocese has spent thousands of dollars trying to break the union of the workers at Holy Cross Cemetery. It has placed ads for scabs in the local newspapers. (Only a half dozen have been recruited.) While the church collects the quarters and dollars of the very oppressed workers who live in this area of northern New Jersey, supposedly for its "charitable" works, the Catholic Charities have denied any assistance to the families of the striking diggers.

At the same time, local ordinances prevent the strikers from canvassing their neighborhoods for contributions to build up the strike fund.

But the spirit of the men and their families remains strong. This morning a scab truck bringing cement to the cemetery had its tires deflated. "We need our daily bread," chant the workers as they picket in front of the graveyard. And then, to make even a stronger point:

"Scab workers will dig their own graves!"



Cemetery workers on strike for a union shop.

WW photo: Cheryl

Welfare cut, childcare payments ended in Wisc.

By SUE BREITENBACH

MILWAUKEE, Oct. 12—Starting September 1, the Wisconsin State Legislature drastically cut the welfare budget. All special needs and supplements have been ruthlessly eliminated. At the same time, the legislature voted to stop all childcare payments made by the state to working mothers.

This latter move affects 450 families in Milwaukee County alone. Working mothers with low-paying jobs will no longer have childcare and will be forced out of work and onto welfare. This is nothing short of a declared war against women who must support families.

Some of the special needs eliminated under the new welfare ruling include: school and winter clothing, layettes for babies, bedding linens, household goods, furniture, appliances, special diets (for medical reasons), school books, supplies and fees, security deposits, moving expenses, and babysitting expenses while a mother is hospitalized. You are now supposed to be able to provide all these items out of your regular monthly welfare check.

However, the basic allowance for a

family of four is \$371 a month. How can a mother manage on a lousy \$371 a month, particularly during the month of September, with school clothes for three children, plus books, supplies, locker, and gym fees?

I am a mother of two, I am pregnant, and I am on welfare. My baby is due in two months, and because of the recent changes I will get no money for a crib, baby clothes, or any of the other things necessary to care for a baby. I am forced to attempt to buy one or two things out of each check. I'm scared that the baby may come early and that I won't have any clothes for her or him to wear home from the hospital.

The real reason behind the elimination of special needs is that the Wisconsin legislature is only carrying out the program laid out by the Nixon administration—to deny welfare recipients an adequate living. At the same time that welfare budgets are cut, and Nixon has vetoed the latest minimum wage bill, the people in this country are faced with the highest rise in food prices in 37 years!

Poor people are fed up with this kind of treatment, and we are starting to fight back!

Racist child-beaters go free in NYC

By CAL BONNER

NEW YORK, Oct. 14—An example of raw racist injustice took place here this week.

On October 11, an all-white jury acquitted two white men of throwing oil and steel pipes at a bus full of Black and Puerto Rican junior high school students. The youngsters, ten of whom sustained injuries during the attack, were being bused to a school in a predominantly white neighborhood.

This latest acquittal of "brave" white attackers of nonwhite 12- and 13-year-olds didn't occur in a Lamar, South Carolina, or a Grenada, Mississippi, courtroom (both towns sites of similar attacks on school

buses during the 1960s). This was New York-style "justice" at the Queens Criminal Court.

The two child-fighters admitted to having attacked the school bus, yet they went to trial with little to fear. Both small businessmen, they pleaded "self-defense," and pictured the children as a "gang of hoodlums." The "prosecutor" for the city helped the attackers get off by calling some of the children "bad eggs."

Under a new procedure, there were only six jurors, making it easier for the defense to get an all-white jury. They deliberated all of 2½ hours before acquitting the two. And what ingrates we are to insist that there is no justice in U.S. courts!

Expanding Empire

by VINCENT COPELAND

"The basic cause of the U.S. invasion of Vietnam lies deep within the social and economic system of the United States, itself. The aggression was

built in, and the Asian war was predetermined before Lyndon Johnson was born."

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The racists who attacked these children have been freed by the courts.

Gerald Ford: 'Money is the name of the game'

By ANDY STAPP

On Friday, October 12, Nixon announced a replacement for his grafting buddy Spiro Agnew.

"I pondered this decision last night and early this morning in the quiet beauty of Camp David," Nixon began, in a grotesque attempt to give the shabby affair some air of "statesmanship." Then, shifting his style to that of Burt Parks announcing the winner of the Miss America Contest, Nixon got to his wind up: "Our distinguished guests and my fellow Americans, I proudly present to you the man I will submit to the Congress of the United States for confirmation as the Vice President of the United States, Congressman Gerald Ford of Michigan!"

If Agnew was watching his TV, he must have been laughing through the tears. Agnew and all the other hack politicians know that Gerald Ford—besides being a member of the Warren Commission that whitewashed the Kennedy assassination, a racist supporter of Nixon's Supreme Court nominees Carswell and Hainesworth, a white-supremacist foe of "busing," and an ardent advocate of even larger Pentagon budgets—is even more on the take than Agnew was.

In fact, so much "dirty money" has been laid on Ford's ever-open hands that the \$100,000 that Agnew tucked away for himself looks like a child's weekly allowance in comparison.

(The seamy career of Gerald Ford has long been public knowledge, and is documented in such books as *Who Runs Congress?* (a Nader report), *The Case Against Congress* by Drew Pearson, and the book cited below by lobbyist Winter-Berger.)

Ford got his start in politics with the financial backing of the Westons, one of the wealthiest families in western Michigan. Ford gets very upset about even the most half-hearted moves to cut back corruption in government. When Manhattan's U.S. Attorney Robert Morgenthau indicted and convicted Nathan Voloshen and Martin Sweig, aides to Democratic Speaker of the House of Representatives John McCormack, on charges of fraud and conspiracy, Ford exploded: "Morgenthau is attacking the Establishment. This is something I can't condone. I'll never forgive Morgenthau for this."

Up to his chin in Voloshen-Sweig type rakeoffs himself, Ford naturally identified with them, even though they were in the rival party. His own corruption is a matter of record.

BRIBED BY GE

ITEM: He took a large bribe right in his Washington office and in front of witnesses from a GE lobbyist in return for using his influence as GOP House minority leader to get GE executive Thomas O. Paine an appointment as Deputy Director of NASA. Shortly after Paine's appointment, GE got \$50 million from the federal government for contracts on the NASA satellite program.

ITEM: One of Ford's college football coaches, Earl Blaik, later became a lobbyist for AVCO, a division of Philco-Ford. One day when Blaik was visiting the hotel suite of Fred Black, a lobbyist for North American Aviation, he had a phone conversation with Ford. As it turned out, the FBI had a tap on the phone. The monitored conversation showed that Blaik had enlisted Ford's help in preventing an investigation of an AVCO defense contract. The matter was covered up and Ford was never indicted.

A BANKERS' BANKER

ITEM: On January 22, 1968, Ford was named a director to the Old Kent Bank & Trust Company of Grand Rapids, the largest bank in Ford's district and, with assets of \$500 million, one of the most powerful in the state.

All banks have a tremendous interest in banking legislation, and it certainly doesn't hurt to have the House minority leader on the board. Moreover, Old Kent Bank & Trust

did a tremendous amount of business with federal projects in the Grand Rapids area and, with Ford as a director, has a big advantage over rival banks in getting government business. The bank was also one of the largest developers in the federal "urban renewal" program for downtown Grand Rapids.

When public objections to Ford's connection with the bank (which is a violation of U.S. law) began to be voiced, he told reporters, "I don't see any ethical problems whatsoever." Ford's "salary": \$1,000 for

each bank board meeting he attended!

ITEM: Ford ran for reelection in November 1970. In February 1971, the AP disclosed that Ford had failed to report \$11,000 given him in November by "stockbrokers, an oil man, bankers, doctors," and others.

WASHINGTON PAY-OFF

Robert Winter-Berger, a former lobbyist, writes in his book *The Washington Pay-Off* about an encounter he had with Ford when Winter-Berger was trying to buy

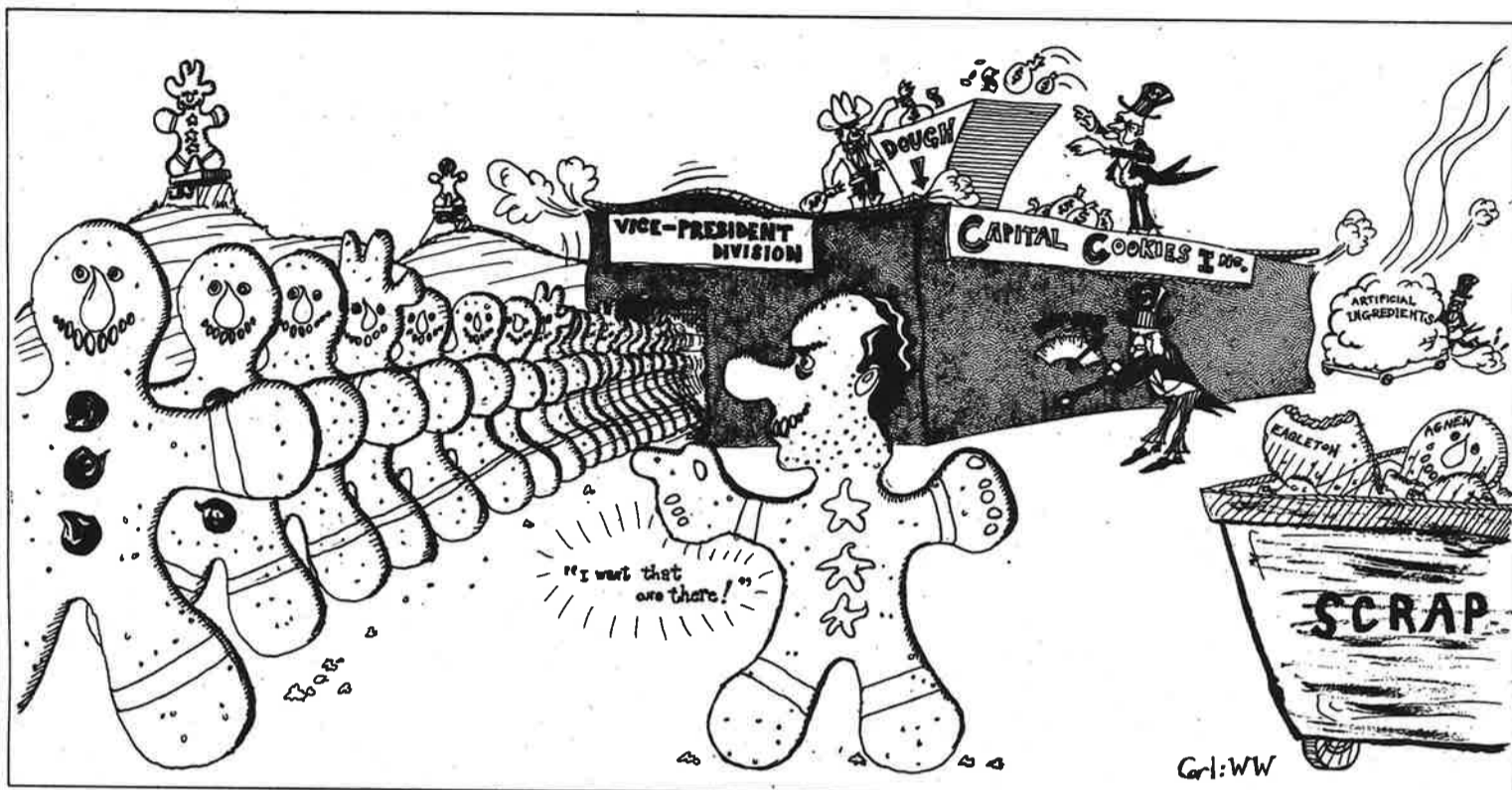
an ambassadorship for Francis Kellogg, President and major stockholder of the International Mining Corporation of New York.

"I (Winter-Berger) said: 'He's willing to give another thirty thousand to the National Committee.'

"Without changing his tone or expression, Ford said: 'He is? Tell him he can see me whenever he wants.'

" 'Thanks.' I turned and headed for the door. Before I got there, I was hit by that wave of nausea I had often carried out of a Democrat's office. I stopped and looked back at Ford, and I guess my feelings showed. I said, 'Jerry, this is a hell of a note.'

" 'Don't let it bother you, Bob,' he said. 'Money is the name of the game.'"



The meaning of Buchanan's fascist Watergate testimony

In his testimony before the Senate Watergate committee, White House speech writer and neo-fascist ideologist Patrick Buchanan painted a drastically different portrait of the Chief Executive he has served so long and the American people have come to despise so heartily. Now we have—not the Nixon who rode to victory on a \$60 million tidal wave, not Nixon the former Wall Street corporation lawyer, not Nixon the wage freezer—but Nixon the enemy of monopoly capitalism!

Buchanan, jowls aquiver and storming at the Senate committee with all the righteous indignation of a syndicate lawyer defending a mobster client against a charge of axe murder, depicted Nixon as the innocent victim of a diabolical frameup.

In Buchanan's demonology the spider at the center of the web of subversive organizations out to undermine the country and destroy the President, the arch-enemy plotting Nixon's doom, is none less than... the Ford Foundation!

Accusing the Ford Foundation of "unbalancing the political process," Buchanan stated that after he "did an investigation and read every article that was written on the Ford Foundation," he had "proof" that the organization was engaged in "illegal" activities which ranged from promoting the political fortunes of the Kennedy family to subsidizing a "leftist" newspaper.

Buchanan told the committee that he favored "something analogous to anti-trust action" to break up the Ford Foundation (but not, of course, ITT!).

Now, some people might dismiss this obsession of Buchanan's as the ravings of a rightwinger against a powerful liberal institution. But that would be incorrect. The man who pulls the strings at the Ford Foundation, Henry Ford II, Yale dropout

and billionaire chairman of the Ford Motor Company, could not by the wildest flight of imagination be considered a liberal.

Only last September 26, Henry II made headlines in the English press with his vicious slander against the 3,500 workers of the Ford Dagenham plant, calling it the "cesspool of the world."

Besides Ford himself, the other capitalist luminaries who decorate the board of the \$3.7 billion Ford Foundation include Vietnam war criminal and former National Security Advisor to Lyndon Johnson, McGeorge Bundy, the scion of wealthy Boston Brahmins; John J. McCloy, former chairman of the board of the Rockefeller Chase Manhattan Bank and special advisor to Johnson who urged the air attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1966; David Bell, President Kennedy's Budget Director and Ford Foundation's chief of "Eastern European activities"; and finally Robert McNamara, architect of the Indochina war and present head of the World Bank.

If these men are "liberals," who needs fascists?

How do these directors and their predecessors on the Board of the Ford Foundation operate the organization? A December 19, 1964, New York Times article explained, "The Ford Foundation is reported to have assured the government of Premier Antonio de Oliveira Salazar that it would be consulted before any future grants were given to African areas of particular interest to Portugal." Could there be a clearer statement of the Ford Foundation's support for Portuguese fascist colonialism?

Why then does Buchanan, who is also an ardent supporter of Portuguese imperialism, denounce the Ford Foundation with such vehemence?

It is true that, like many other big

capitalists, Henry Ford II gave a great deal of money to Johnson's campaign against Goldwater in 1964, an act Nixon-stooge Buchanan considers close to treason. Buchanan's factional hatred of the Democrats was underscored by a White House memo he had authored that said, "We ought to go down to the kennels and turn all the dogs loose on Ecology Ed (Muskie)."

But all this ranting by a Nixon spokesman against a powerful member of the ruling class like Henry Ford II (his personal assets are \$4 billion) should not, however, be taken at face value. Fascists like Buchanan or Wallace always bait the rich to gain popularity from the masses while simultaneously (and often secretly) soliciting funds from big money-men. The super-rich monopolists then grudgingly cough up the required loot to these ultra-rightist politicians, all in the interest of "fighting communism."

Buchanan's counterpart in the German Nazi regime, propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels, said in a 1928 speech, "A few individuals should not have the right to use the national economy against the nation! But in reality a few monopolies dominate, a few individuals have amassed enormous fortunes." Winking at this "anti-capitalist" rhetoric, the big German bourgeoisie poured cash into the Hitler movement, and after the Nazi victory the profits of the German bosses soared to an all-time high.

Likewise in the U.S., while Nixon bully-boy Buchanan denounces the Fords on national TV, Henry Ford II, who was a top contributor to Nixon's 1972 reelection campaign, continues to grow richer than ever. Under Nixon's wage freeze, 1973 sales of the Ford Motor Company rose 17 percent over their second-quarter mark of a year ago to a mind-boggling \$5,400,000. In the same period, Ford stockholders (largely members of the Ford family) received a 46 percent raise in their dividends.

While Buchanan accuses the Fords of "unbalancing the political process," the truth is that under capitalism Henry Ford and his fellow billionaires don't "unbalance" U.S. politics—they own it—from Nixon right on down to the grafting neighborhood ward heelers.

Two Octobers

In September 1917 the world was a pretty sad place to live in. The vast masses of humanity, the hundreds of millions of poor and landless peasants spread across the continental farmlands from Asia to the Americas, barely lived from harvest to harvest. They ate roots and the leaves of trees (while rice and wheat filled the landlords' granaries), sold their children or watched them starve, and died early of overwork, disease, or despair, many never having learned to read or write or to find out about the world beyond their own community.

And the workers of the world, crammed by the millions into stinking tenements or wretched hovels, jammed one against the other in endless rows along dirty gray streets—were their lives much better?

Suffering 12 to 15 hours a day of back-breaking work in huge, unheated factories in Birmingham or Petrograd, or in stuffy, dimly lit sweatshops in New York City, they never had money left over for the fine things they saw in the shop windows they passed on their way to work. Their lives were haunted by superstition, economic insecurity, and the gnawing fear of the future that pervades the lives of poor people without hope.

For the workers of Europe, the torture of World War I was the last straw. A generation was wiped out; whole towns and the fields around them were plowed under by the machines of war. But while the workers bled and died, capitalism prospered.

This was the misery from the midst of which blazed the glory of the October Revolution of 1917. The American journalist John Reed was to name it "ten days that shook the world," and that world historic event deserves no lesser acclaim. Out of the pain and suffering, the exploitation and hopelessness of the Russian masses, the Bolshevik Party led a monumental class struggle which, for the first time in history, thrust into power the producing classes as rulers of one-sixth of the earth's surface.

No longer could the socialist and communist ideas which were avidly debated in working class circles be dismissed as "idealistic" or "utopian." Working class power was a fact! That was the meaning of October in 1917.

Thirty-two winters came and went, and

the world working class movement, so proud and optimistic in October 1917, had suffered many defeats. Thirty-two years is a very short time in the life of a class, but in the lives of struggling individuals it is long.

Then on October 1, 1949, one-fourth of humanity proclaimed its victory over imperialism, capitalism, and feudalism. No more landlords, no more famine, no more illiteracy, no more bound feet, malnourished children, class privilege, or parasitism. We will have doctors, they said, and land for the peasants, and workers' control, and free education.

The Chinese Revolution, culminating in October, was a new spring for the workers and oppressed people of the world. It shook U.S. imperialism to its foundations, as had the Russian October before it, and stampered the U.S. imperialists into the debacle of Korea, their first military defeat at the hands of the new social organism.

The poets have often found sadness in the coming of the autumn months. For the workers and oppressed peoples, however, it need not be so. Two Octobers have brought light, not darkness, and there are many more Octobers to come.

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Two Octobers: In 1949, Chinese women march triumphantly past the Soong Bank, owned by Chiang Kai Shek's family. . . .



. . . And in 1917 steel workers take up arms to join the Red Army in the victorious struggle.

DECLINE & FALL

Pundit exposed as pig

New York Post, September 18:

"The four Cubans who were caught inside the Watergate in the crime that has rocked the nation have written some poignant letters from prison.

"Perhaps the most fascinating reference was in a letter by Watergate prisoner Frank Sturgis concerning columnist William Buckley.

"I don't know if I told you before," Sturgis wrote to his wife, "but William F. Buckley used to work for the CIA and I don't know if he still does. When he found out that Howard (Hunt) was going to work in the White House, he told Howard it was good that he could be so close to the President but Howard told him that he was there to take orders and not to influence anyone."

"Reached for comment, Buckley frankly admitted he was a 'deep cover agent' for the CIA from July, 1951, to 1952, but said he had not worked for them since. He declined to say what his CIA role was."

Capitalism: from the

Belfast, October 1 (AP)

"The British army says it has put 28 children, all believed to be under 15, on its

danger list of suspected terrorists. Two of the children are reported to be 9 years old."

. . . to the grave

Shreveport, La., September 21 (AP):

"Henry Stewart, 100 years old, was shot to death by policemen who said he had fired at them with a rifle."

The Klan in blue

Detroit News, September 30:

"A Detroit policeman and a former police cadet face examination next Friday in the fire-bombing six days ago of the northeast Detroit home of a black family who moved into an all-white neighborhood.

"Free on \$2,500 bond each are Patrolman Craig Brooks, 22, who is assigned to the 15th Precinct, and the former cadet, Larry Weisburg, 22.

"Brooks and Weisburg are charged with tossing three fire bombs at the home of Sidney Freeman, 18452 Albion, in the McNichols-Hoover area.

"One of the fire bombs which failed to explode contained Brooks' and Weisburg's fingerprints.

"One other bomb exploded in the Freeman's garage and a second against the back of the house setting fire to curtains in an open window."



"Protectors of organized crime."

The precinct connection

The New York Times, October 1:

"Three police sergeants and 13 police officers received prison sentences yesterday for systematically extorting \$20,000 a month from gamblers in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn.

"Brooklyn District Attorney, Eugene

Gold, told the court that the 16 had not only been found guilty of taking bribes but also of 'being the protectors of organized crime.'

"Though more policemen were indicted as a result of the Harry Gross bookie-graft scandal of the early fifties, the criminal cases fell apart when the bookmaker, Gross, changed his mind and refused to testify against the police in an open courtroom."

Let's try it on Reagan first

Time, October 8:

"Governor Ronald Reagan last week signed a bill imposing a mandatory death penalty on those convicted of eleven specific kinds of murder. The California law, which will take effect January 1, is designed to get around the Supreme Court's objections to the arbitrary and capricious use of capital punishment. If the bill passes constitutional muster, California will again use the gas chamber.

"'Being a former farmer and horse raiser,' Reagan said, 'I know what it's like to eliminate an injured horse by shooting him. Now you call the veterinarian and the vet gives it a shot and the horse goes to sleep—that's it. I myself have wondered if maybe this isn't part of our problem (with capital punishment), if maybe we should review and see if there aren't even more humane methods now—the simple shot or tranquilizer. I think maybe there should be more study on this to find out, is there a more humane way, can we still improve our humanity?'"

After 56 years of Soviet power, why a Sakharov?

By SAM MARCY

As we have shown in the previous installment (*Workers World*, October 5), the political content of the writings of Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov, and Amalrik make it abundantly clear that they have completely abandoned (assuming they ever had one) a working class or a socialist perspective in their attack against the Soviet regime.

That, however, is not what is really at issue.

The most important question to emerge is: How is it possible for such a formidable bourgeois political current to arise in the strongest and most developed of the socialist countries more than half a century after the victorious October socialist revolution?

It will do no good to say that the Solzhenitsyn-Sakharov-Amalrik grouping merely represents a tiny number of dissident intellectuals in the Soviet Union. In the first place, this is not so. In the second place, it is not their organized numerical strength that is at issue, but the fact that they are representative of a broad political current in the USSR and are symptomatic of a deep and abiding social malaise in the country that up until recently was universally referred to as the leader of the socialist camp.

Many CPs throughout the world have taken their cue from the Soviet press and have explained that this political current arose either through the machinations of the CIA, imperialist influence, bribery, corruption, or disloyalty. More often than not, the dissidents have been pictured as accidental figures, parasitic elements, or antisocial individuals incapable of adjusting to a socialist society, but all too eager to partake of its benefits.

If that were all that were involved, however, the Soviet government wouldn't go to the extent of visiting such heavy pressure on their followers, meting out such severe penalties to them, and, in general, subjecting them to a campaign of political repression.

IF THEY AREN'T SYMPTOMATIC, WHY THE REPRESSION?

If, in fact, this political tendency were weak and small, if nothing were involved of a more fundamental character, wouldn't the Soviet leaders have permitted them to say freely what they have to say more or less surreptitiously? The stubborn fact is that the Solzhenitsyn-Sakharov-Amalrik tendency wields considerable influence, and it is precisely among the various strata of the Soviet intelligentsia and certain levels of the Soviet bureaucracy itself. What these bureaucrats won't admit publicly is that they have a close affinity to the ideology manifested in the writings of Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn, and the others.

By all accounts, and especially by the admission of Amalrik, this grouping has no influence in the Soviet working class. It is a product of the bureaucratic deformation of the USSR and the bourgeois degeneration of the Soviet bureaucracy. It is the result of the perversion of Leninist proletarian democracy and its conversion into an autocratic and absolutist rule by a privileged social grouping which brooks no contention of ideas, no socialist criticism, and no participation by the masses or the use of their creative energies in the formation of political policy.

It is the end product of years of socialist construction in which the element of material incentive has been utilized to widen inequality between the social groupings in the Soviet Union and to undermine working class solidarity and socialist harmony in the population. The tremendous industrial progress made by the Soviet Union, its spectacular achievements in science, technology, industry, and many other fields is vitiated by the spirit of self-aggrandizement, material privileges, and exorbitant, although hidden, income of the

entire managerial grouping in the Soviet Union.

GREAT PROGRESS— BUT WIDENING GAP

The vast improvement in the material conditions of the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union, in comparison to the Czarist regime, is astonishing. But the gap between the vast mass of the workers, peasants, and rural poor and the Soviet bureaucracy as a whole acts as a terrible brake on the further socialist evolution of the USSR. In order to maintain its enormous privileges, the bureaucracy must necessarily stifle all political dissent for fear of opening up an avenue for revolutionary, socialist reconstruction of the Soviet state. The Solzhenitsyns, Sakharovs, and Amalriks are fighting for democratic rights so as to reestablish a bourgeois regime. The bureaucracy, on the other hand, finds itself incapable of reestablishing even a modicum of socialist proletarian democracy, for fear that it will open the road to what it fears most—a working class and revolutionary communist opposition.

The bourgeois opposition, like the bourgeois liberals in the West to whom they appeal, resort to demagoguery in order to rally some support from the masses. At this stage of the struggle in the USSR, the bourgeois opposition have confined themselves, to a large extent, to exposing the severe repression and the absence of democratic rights.

In this they have been effective. But

their flagrant and open appeal to the imperialist bourgeoisie has, at least for the time being, discounted them as a factor so far as the vast mass of the working class in the USSR is concerned.

DON'T SPEAK FOR WORKERS

The tremendous publicity which they have received in the Western capitalist press conveys the impression that they speak for the Soviet people as a whole. But this is a falsification of their role. They are, in reality, spokesmen for that privileged section of the Soviet bureaucracy which has ideologically, or at least in spirit, gone over to the bourgeoisie.

The Soviet bureaucracy as a whole, however, is rooted in the nationalized property forms in the USSR and in the vast achievements which have strengthened the socialist mode of production in the country.

On the one hand, the bourgeois way of life of the Soviet bureaucracy and the privileged strata in the USSR as a whole pushes them in the direction of further degeneration and accommodation with the imperialist bourgeoisie. On the other hand, as representatives of a powerful workers' state based on socialized ownership of the means of production and a constantly expanding socialist base in the Soviet Union, they must act as defenders of the Soviet Union against openly bourgeois elements in the country, and must maintain a strong posture of defense against the imperialist powers.

The Soviet bureaucracy is a monumental social contradiction. Its

existence is possible merely as a transitional element. Either the socialist class consciousness of the Soviet proletariat will assert itself and cast the bureaucracy into the dustbin of history, or the further bourgeois degeneration of the bureaucracy will open the road to all-out counterrevolution. The Solzhenitsyn-Sakharov-Amalrik tendency is a harbinger of what might come.

CAPITALISM NO ALTERNATIVE

Unfortunately for the restorationists, the world bourgeois social order is everywhere under attack, and its obsolescence as a viable social system is becoming more and more apparent to the millions of super-exploited and oppressed people throughout the world. Its imperialist wars, unbridled reaction, and fascist dictatorship, not to speak of racism and economic strangulation of underdeveloped countries, make the bourgeois social order a poor alternative. The further decay of imperialism and the accentuation of its contradictions are bound to act as a damper and demoralizing influence on the bourgeois opposition in the USSR.

We further look to a reaffirmation of the socialist class consciousness of the workers in the USSR, as they become more aware of their tremendous weight and latent power. It will not be too long before this will manifest itself in a political challenge to the old, decrepit, privileged, and entrenched bureaucracy.

10 underground union leaders face 20 years for strike in Spain



Spanish miners' struggle for union rights is illegal under the fascist regime.

By MARK DORAN

Ten trade union leaders in Spain are due to be tried this month in the first political trial since that of the Basque Nationalists three years ago. They are known as the Carabanchel Ten, and they face sentences of 12-20 years.

The ten are Francisco Acosta, Luis Fernandez Costilla, Pedro Santiesteban, Miguel Angel Anton, Eduardo Saborido, Nicolas Sartorius, Juan Muniz Zapico, Marcelino Camacho, Francisco Garcia Salve, and Fernando Soto. They are charged with being leaders of the movement of Workers Commissions, the illegal trade union organizations in Spain.

The Workers Commissions were born during a strike by Asturian miners in 1962, the first strike of any kind in Spain since Franco took power 34 years ago. In this strike the workers won their demands and Workers Commissions spread throughout

Spain.

Trade unions have been illegal throughout Franco's rule, and the government has attempted to replace them with "vertical syndicates" controlled by the fascist Falange party. The immense size and scope of the Workers Commissions show the workers have rejected the vertical syndicates and are waging all their struggles through the Commissions.

The Workers Commissions have been so successful that they have drawn in peasant and students, making the Commissions the axis of anti-Franco activity throughout Spain. The government is using this trial to break the threat to anti-labor, dictatorial rule in Spain.

The government offensive took a new turn last June when lawyers for the Ten were refused permission to see their clients. When permission was finally obtained, the lawyers were accompanied by prison of-

ficials able to listen in on conversations.

Behind the Franco regime lies the real enemy, the U.S., which not only has conducted frameup trials of Black people and antiwar fighters here at home but is the main prop for the fascist dictatorship in Spain.

Massive military, economic, and diplomatic support is given by the U.S. to the government which crushed the heroic workers' revolution during the 1930s and which has consistently blocked with the U.S. in its cold-war activities.

The trial comes at a time when the Franco regime is shaking from internal struggles among the rightwing Catholic Opus Dei, the Falange party, and the Carlists. The Carabanchel Ten deserve the support of every progressive worker so the movement they represent can bring Franco to the same ignominious end as his friends, Hitler and Mussolini.

What started the fighting?

The present outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East is not a new war, but merely a new battle in a war already over a quarter of a century old.

It is not being fought on Israeli territory, but on territory that was captured from Egypt and Syria in June 1967. This fact is being obscured and deliberately distorted by the U.S. press and by official Israeli pronouncements.

In her speech to the nation immediately after the fighting began on October 6, Israeli Premier Golda Meir started out with this statement: "At about 2 o'clock this afternoon the armies of Egypt and Syria attacked Israel. They launched a series of offensives from the air, by armored forces, and by artillery in Sinai and on the Golan Heights."

Thus, in these two sentences, the Israeli Premier formally annexed the territory in the Sinai and on the Golan Heights which had been occupied by Israeli troops since the June 1967 war. By declaring these vast areas to be Israel, she had changed the map of the Middle East.

The armed forces of Syria and the United Arab Republic (Egypt) are fighting against an occupying army, the army Israel has kept in their two countries for over six years.

Thus, it is absurd to say that Syria and the UAR are "aggressors." Syria could not aggress against Syrian land in the Golan Heights. Nor could the UAR aggress against its own territory in the Sinai. The U.S. and Israel are the aggressors. The Arab people are fighting for their national liberation.

The history of the conflict

Whenever the struggle in the Middle East is brought up in the U.S. capitalist media, it is described in terms of a conflict between Arabs and Jews. The idea that the war in the Mideast has been caused by religious hatreds, however, only serves to confuse the issue and hide the real forces at work in the Middle East today. (The Arab lands were the only place to welcome Jews during the Inquisition, for example, when anti-Semitic hysteria was at its highest throughout Europe.)

In order to understand why there have been four full-scale wars in the area in the last 25 years, it is necessary to review the history of Israel as a state and the basis on which it was founded.

Since the very beginning of the 20th century, Zionism has been allied with imperialism—first the British and then the U.S. In 1917 the British government put forward the idea of establishing a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine in the Balfour Declaration. This was done despite the fact that Britain had no right to decide what would be done with Palestine, nor had anyone consulted the Palestinian people on how they felt about the plan. But the idea of a Jewish homeland in the Mideast had very little to do with the rights of the Arab or Jewish people as far as British imperialism (and later U.S. imperialism) was concerned.

Here is what William Yale, a Standard Oil official and a U.S. agent then in the Mideast, said of the Balfour Declaration: "The creation of a state in Palestine, which would probably in the future grow to be an almost purely Jewish state, would introduce a new element in the East, another Power in opposition to Islam, a power that would be a protection to the Suez Canal, a people under eternal obligation to the British."

This same U.S. oil man realized a couple of years later, in 1919, that a Jewish state

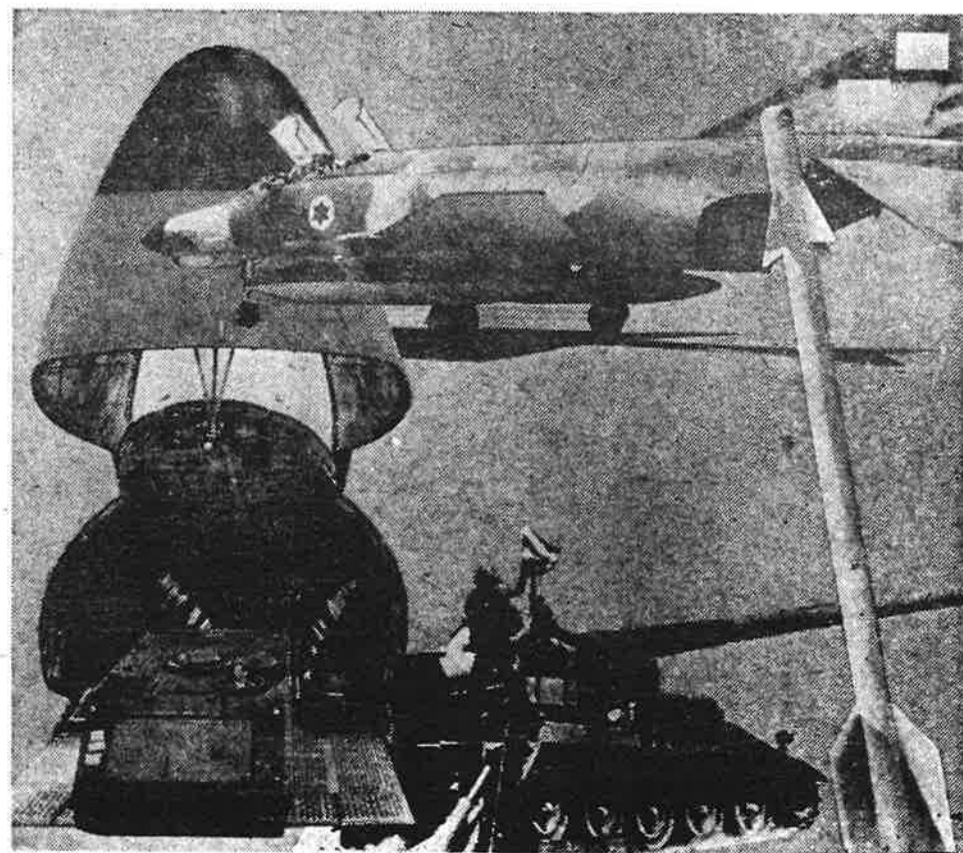
would "develop into an (American) outpost in the Orient." Yale's words were to come true, but only after U.S. imperialism had subjugated its British and French rivals at the end of World War II. Meanwhile, in all this plotting over the fate of Palestine, the leaders of the Zionist movement were quite happy to ally themselves with the colonial oppressors of the Arab masses, instead of appealing to the Palestinian people themselves.

U.S. INDIFFERENCE TO REFUGEES

The slaughter of 6 million Jews during World War II was cynically used by the imperialist powers, particularly the U.S., to again raise the idea of a Jewish homeland in the Mideast. In fact, the U.S. government, with the cooperation of European Zionist leaders, made use of the terrible plight of Jewish refugees to further their aims. Both the Roosevelt and Truman administrations refused to allow any significant number of refugees into this country. That the government had an official policy of indifference to the European refugees and even went to the lengths of suppressing news of planned Nazi genocide is well established in Arthur Morse's book, *While Six Million Died*. This policy was part of their plan to send Jews to the Mideast to set up a garrison state for the U.S. oil monopolies.

U.S. policy in the Mideast was carried out by the UN after U.S. officials and businessmen bribed or blackmailed every government they could into voting for partition. The carving up of Palestine was accomplished at the UN on November 29, 1947. Even before the May 14, 1948 expiration of the British Mandate there, Israeli forces were moving to oust the Palestinians from their homeland. The U.S. recognized the state of Israel on May 14, the very day it came into existence.

Systematic massacres of the Arab population followed the UN partition vote as a way to insure the solely Jewish nature of the state of Israel and its dependence on its U.S. sponsor. On April 9, 1948, Irgunists (Zionist terrorists) slaughtered the entire population of Deir Yassin. Afterwards, Haganah (Zionist army) trucks with loudspeakers cruised the streets of Jerusalem blaring this message: flee to Jericho or suffer the fate of Deir Yassin. In



this manner, 650,000 refugees were forced to flee their homes and land. The Israelis quickly confiscated all their property and forbade their return.

Meanwhile, the U.S. moved to consolidate its financial hold on Israel. In 1949 the Ex-Im Bank gave Israel \$100 million in credit, which tied Israel to U.S. exports. Since that time Israel has been the top per capita recipient of U.S. aid, having received government loans averaging \$30 million yearly and at least \$650 million in direct aid in one 10-year period.

While the U.S. was maneuvering to create a beachhead in the Arab world, the

What's behind the war

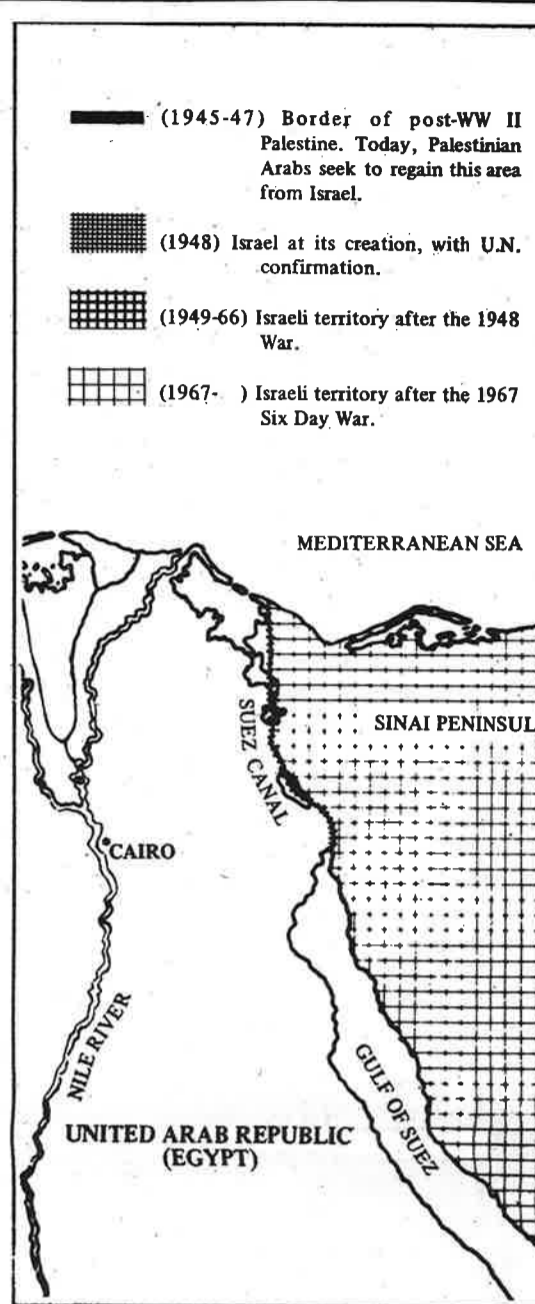
Soviet Union unfortunately also voted for partition in the UN. In this way, Stalin hoped to gain influence in what he mistakenly thought could be a pro-Soviet state. Such unprincipled maneuvering, of course, not only didn't work, but caused terrible confusion for revolutionaries everywhere. In the Arab world, this total disregard for the rights of the Palestinian people was to prove disastrous for Marxist organizations for years to come.

ISRAEL AND OIL

Israel itself, it is often pointed out, has no oil and is not a prime target for foreign investments in the Mideast. This is true. But that is not Israel's function as far as imperialism is concerned. Israel was created to be their watchdog over the billions of dollars they have invested in oil in the Arab countries. It is the military outpost from which the oil monopolists can strike down the Arab revolution and crush attempts by the Arab people to take back the oil which is rightfully theirs.

Israel's role as imperialism's watchdog was clearly illustrated in the war of 1956. In the summer of that year President Nasser of Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal, seizing it from an Anglo-French company. The French and British governments, anxious to regain control of the canal and overthrow the nationalist regime that threatened their property, proposed that Israel invade the Sinai, seize the canal, and overthrow Nasser. France and Britain would then step in as the arbiters of the dispute and regain "their" property. In October of that year, Israel carried out the invasion of the Sinai.

The imperialist plot did not work because the U.S. opposed the plan, seeing it as a threat to its own plans for domination in the area. But the war of 1956 left no doubt as to the role Israel would play in the Mideast. In 1967 Israel struck again, just at a time when revolutionary sentiment was on the



Who are the Palestinians?

Suppose someone came and threw you and your family out of your home and into the street. Suppose they told you that your house or apartment, which you had paid for with your hard-earned wages, belonged to them! And what if they said that you could never return to your home and that if you ever dared try, they would shoot you down as a terrorist or a criminal.

Wouldn't you fight to get back your home for yourself and your family?

This is what has happened to the Palestinian people, and this is why they have been fighting in the Palestine liberation movement.

They fled Israel after 1948 not because they were "tricked" with false promises by the Arab countries, as the Israelis claim, but for the reason that people become refugees everywhere: they could no longer stand the persecution, the threats, the actual terror visited against them in their homeland. And so they became refugees.

The Israeli leaders claim there is no such thing as a Palestinian people. On what basis? Because the British imperialists, who dominated the land before it became Israel, wouldn't recognize the Palestinians either. Is this surprising? Don't the U.S. imperialists deny there's a separate nation called Puerto Rico in the Caribbean? But the lies of the imperialists haven't convinced the Puerto Rican people that they don't exist.

The Palestinian people, although they had lived there from time immemorial,

War in the Middle East?



organizations are all united around a program to build a secular state of Palestine, where Arabs and Jews can live together in peace and harmony.

Is Israel a haven for the Jewish people?

It is often argued that there has to be a Jewish state of Israel because the Jewish people have been so oppressed and persecuted that they must have a haven.

There can be no doubt that the Jews, as a people, suffered the cruelest persecution and near-genocide at the hands of the Nazis in World War II. And before and since, anti-Semitism has been an ominous and persistent threat in Europe and America. But fair-minded people must ask themselves two questions: (1) Does the fact that a people are persecuted give them the right to oppress and displace other people who are also oppressed? (2) Is Israel really a haven for Jewish people?

What kind of a life do Jewish people find in Israel? For the non-European Jews, there is poverty and gross discrimination. These Oriental Jews are forced to rebel in much the same way Black people have in the U.S.

A typical example occurred in 1966 when Oriental Jews spilled out of their slum neighborhood, Wadi Salib in Haifa, and rioted in protest in the streets of the more fashionable European district. It is notorious that Israel's national poet Bialik sneered that he did not like the dark-skinned Jews "because they remind me of Arabs."

Oriental Jews comprise 60 percent of Israel's Jewish population, and a group of them has formed an organization called the "Black Panthers" in emulation of the Black liberation struggle in the U.S.

didn't have the same rights as recent Jewish immigrants after the state of Israel was formed. Those with property were forced to abandon it; the poor not only remained poor, but now faced doubled oppression because they were Arab. Yet even then, it took systematic massacres by the Zionist forces, like that at Deir Yassin, to make them finally flee by the tens of thousands.

For 25 years, the Palestinians have led the life of homeless refugees. Any progressive person will sympathize with the displaced and homeless survivors of Nazi oppression who were shunted around Europe for several years after the war. But they found homes (many in Israel!) years ago. The Palestinians, who were driven from their homes only three years after World War II ended, are still living in refugee camps, often just tents set up on the desert. They lack adequate housing, sanitation, food, jobs—any of the requirements of a normal existence.

Israeli Arabs are officially "Class B" citizens. When Israel occupied the Gaza Strip, where many Palestinian refugees had settled, Israeli "Green Berets" herded thousands of Palestinians into barbed-wire detention camps, where they were held without charges or trial.

The camps and villages where the Palestinians live have many times been the target of Israeli air attack. And only a few years ago, the Palestinians fought for their very lives against King Hussein of Jordan, a reactionary pro-U.S. monarch who, although forced by mass pressure to nominally support the Arab cause at the present time, has again and again tried to crush the really revolutionary forces of the Arab liberation struggle.

The Palestinian people have been the vanguard of this struggle. But, even though they regard Palestine as their homeland, their program is not to "annihilate" the Jews who have come there, or to oppress them in turn. The Palestinian liberation

The Israeli government's own National Insurance Authority admits 20 percent of the Jewish families living in Israel and 25 percent of the Jewish city population beneath the poverty level." This includes 23,000 Jewish children.

While these children go hungry, Israel boasts of 200 millionaires, a \$2,700,000,000 military budget for last year (more than 70 percent of the state income), and great banks whose profits rose 83 percent over last year.

Long before Israel became a state, way back in the 1920s when British imperialism was encouraging Jews to migrate to Palestine, revolutionists and progressives (many of them Jewish) warned that an Israeli state would be a death trap for the Jewish masses.

But the Zionist leaders consciously saw their role as providing troops for imperialism and against Arab liberation.

In 1934, a leader of the Mapai (Ben Gurion's party) announced:

"England needs the Jews in order to prevent the Arabs from becoming too strong, and in order to have an added protection against an Arab movement which aims at the emancipation of the united Arab 'middle orient' from English domination."

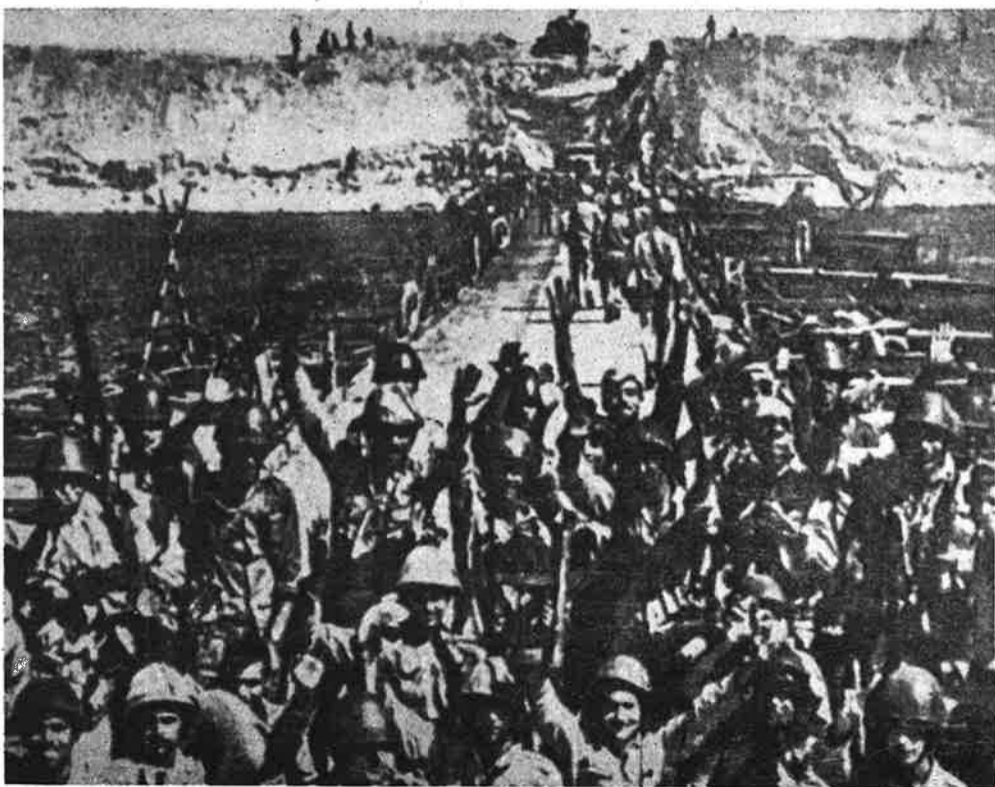
The future leaders of Israel were willing to go along with Britain's age-old policy of "divide and conquer."

While more than 200,000 homeless Jews remained in European displaced persons camps after the war, and tens of thousands more survived in hopeless poverty in devastated Europe, Truman allowed only slightly more than 6,000 Jewish immigrants into the U.S. in 1946.

Though many Jews in the U.S. bitterly protested, only 39,000 more Jewish immigrants were admitted to this most prosperous of all countries in the two years 1947-48.

On May 5, 1948, The New York Times published a London dispatch revealing that 80 percent of Jewish refugees in Western Europe had stated that they desired to go to America and that they specifically added that they did not wish to go to Palestine. The reasons given were the "chaos and uncertain future of Palestine."

Then came the creation of Israel, and the whole problem was supposedly "solved" by creating a Jewish state in the Middle East—where Jewish people would have to fight Palestinians, Syrians, Jordanians, Egyptians, and eventually the whole Arab



On March 14, 1967, shortly before Israel unleashed the June War, The New York Times reported that 10,000 Jewish "rioters protesting growing unemployment in Israel stoned city hall tonight, smashing windows and damaging vehicles in the parking lot. The disturbance followed an orderly demonstration of several thousand workers organized by trade union committees in the Tel Aviv area. Some marchers said they were unemployed, but most attended as contingents from factories. They chanted, 'Bread and work' and 'We are against dismissals.'"

world to carve out a state where non-Jews would face much of the same oppression, persecution, and violence that Jews had suffered in Europe!

Naturally, the Arab people can't accept this. And, in fact, Israel never was a "haven" in the first place. The criminal thing is that the imperialist powers who set it up knew that, as did many of the Zionist leaders themselves.

The tragic predicament of the Israeli Jews has been likened to that of a man who jumped from a burning building—only to land on another man's back.

Behind Israel —Nixon; behind Nixon —oil

Why has the U.S. so persistently promoted the fortunes of the Israeli state from the years of the Truman presidency right up to the present? Why are giant C-5A transport planes landing every fifteen minutes in Tel Aviv with loads of the latest military hardware?

Certainly not because the U.S. imperialists have any feeling for the problems of the Jewish people. After all, in his 1972 election, Nixon employed members of the American Nazi Party in Florida and California to help defeat his opponents.

Certainly not because "the U.S. Congress is controlled by the Zionist lobby," as Senator William Fulbright asserts. The Jewish people are a small minority in the U.S., and in any case the overwhelming proportion of millionaires and billionaires who really run the Congress are not Jewish at all, and in fact many are anti-Semitic.

The real reason the U.S. sponsors Zionism lies in the fact that Israel, like the reactionary governments of South Africa, Rhodesia, Greece, South Vietnam, South Korea, Brazil, Iran, and Indonesia, is a puppet of Wall Street bankers and other super-rich bosses. This is especially true of the gigantic oil firms that rely on Israel to act as their cop in keeping the oil-producing Arab countries in line.

The American oil companies have a \$6 billion stake in Mideast oil and gas. The latest figures available (Jan. 1, 1972) show that in the Mideast U.S. oil monopolies own \$3,385,000,000 in crude oil and natural gas-producing facilities; \$240,000,000 in natural gas-liquids plants; \$985,000,000 in pipelines; \$770,000,000 in refineries; \$50,000,000 in chemical plants; \$550,000,000 in marketing facilities; and \$435,000,000 in other petroleum-related investments. Over half of all profits made by U.S. companies overseas come from the exploitation of Mideast oil.

Both liberal and conservative varieties of politicians are in overall agreement that the Arab people must be kept intimidated in order to insure maximum profits for the oil firms. And the imperialists will support any reactionary Arab governments for this purpose, just as they support Israel. The Nuri Said government of Iraq, a puppet of English and U.S. imperialism, earned an unsavory reputation as one of the most brutal dictatorships in the world.

But when, on July 14, 1958, the Iraqi people overthrew it and proclaimed a republic, what was the reaction of the "liberal" New York Times? "The Iraqi revolution," The New York Times warned, "may further weaken the insecure hold the West has on the vast oil resources of the Middle East." President Eisenhower punctuated The New York Times editorial by sending 10,000 Marines to Lebanon to prevent the flames of the Iraqi revolt from spreading to that country. Israel fully approved of this imperialist invasion and is today attacking Iraqi troops that were recently sent to Syria to defend Damascus.

Besides the enormous amount of oil in the Middle East, the U.S. has another vital imperialist interest in the region. The Middle East is a strategic bridge between Europe, Asia, and Africa. From a military point of view, control of the Middle East has always been the goal of the imperialist powers. Before World War II, France and England divided the Middle East between them. After the war the U.S. became the dominant power in the area, but now the rise of anti-imperialist governments in Syria, the UAR, Algeria, South Yemen, and Iraq, combined with the struggle of the Palestinian people and other Arab people still living under reactionary regimes, threatens to break the stranglehold of U.S. imperialism and its client state Israel in this part of the globe.

Arab liberation and the detente

Oct. 18—As we go to press, U.S. imperialism is rushing planes, materiel, and Marines to the Middle East to reinforce its puppet Israel and try to re-secure the occupation of Arab territories. Washington has announced that it has already spent two billion dollars just in the first ten days of this war. That equals the cost of over a month's fighting at the height of the Vietnam War, which was until now unparalleled in the amount of weaponry and firepower used by the U.S.

Two billion dollars could rebuild one of the many American cities falling into ruin and decay! Two billion dollars could provide 80,000 families with new homes worth \$25,000 each!

At the same time, Washington is engaged in another war—a diplomatic war in which it is trying to secure the same objectives through secret negotiations.

In particular, U.S. imperialism is putting every pressure to bear on the Soviet leaders to abandon their support for the Arab liberation struggle, or face a collapse of the "detente." What Washington wants Moscow to do, and they make no bones about it, is to pressure Egypt and Syria to accept a ceasefire without regaining the territories lost in 1967. If the Soviet leaders fail to do this, says the U.S., then the detente is off and the cold war—or even a hot war—is on.

The New York Times spelled this all out in their editorial of October 16. First they chide the Soviet leaders, and then hold out the carrot: "Flying straight in the face of all the mutual assurances exchanged between the heads of the Soviet and United States Governments in May of last year, the Russians have now stated their 'determination to assist in every way the liberation of all Arab territories occupied by Israel.'" (In the eyes of The Times, this is a monstrous crime!)

"Faced with the need for a concrete choice between harvesting the fancied advantages of an active pro-Arab policy in the Mideast or gaining the trade, technological and other benefits of cooperation with this country, Moscow is opting for the Arabs."

"OVERLOOK U.S. AGGRESSION . . . OR NO DETENTE"

Then, these cynical publicists for imperialism go even further to explain what they mean by the detente: "Inevitably, the question arises of why Moscow moved so recklessly. Politburo Secretary General Brezhnev, in particular, had based his hopes on detente. A year and a half ago he even decided to 'overlook' the United States mining of Haiphong and other North Vietnamese harbors and to receive President Nixon in Moscow, rather than abandon detente."

As Workers World has point out before, this is what Nixon and the U.S. ruling class have meant by detente all along. They want an agreement with the Soviet leaders as follows: "You stifle the class struggle and the struggles for national liberation, and we will confer on you economic and political benefits such as technological cooperation, extension of credit, a relaxation of tensions in Europe, etc."

Washington has carefully calculated each move to show that this is exactly what they are demanding. When the Soviet leaders failed to cancel Nixon's visit to Moscow to discuss the detente, even after the U.S. had mined Haiphong harbor, the U.S. rulers felt that the Soviet leaders had acquiesced in spirit to their terms.

And likewise, when the Chinese leaders continued to pursue their policy of accommodation with the U.S., and received Nixon in Peking right after the massive bombing of North Vietnam had begun, they also were encouraging the U.S. to believe that imperialism could go ahead with its monstrous attacks against the liberation struggles without risking anything.

U.S. imperialism has one main objective in the Middle East, and throughout

the world—to keep the masses of people enslaved to its profit system. It has all along viewed the detente in this context.

But the Soviet leaders have explained the detente as a genuine "relaxation of tensions" between socialism and capitalism, and have observed with satisfaction that imperialism has been forced to accept a new relationship with the socialist countries because of the predominant strength of the "peace-loving forces" in the world.

DETENTE SPELLS DEFEAT

Is this really what is happening? Didn't U.S. imperialism take savage advantage of this idea to crush the Popular Unity government and the Chilean workers' movement in blood? The imperialists demand that the CPs confine the struggle to peaceful means, but resort to the most virulent forms of fascist terror themselves. Has the detente prevented imperialism from continuing its aggression against the Cambodian people? Wasn't it only the heroic determination of the Vietnamese people to fight for another 20 years if necessary that caused the withdrawal of U.S. combat troops from Vietnam—and doesn't the U.S. continue to wage war on the Vietnamese people through the Thieu regime, threatening to reescalate the war if their puppet is ever overthrown?

But imperialism goes even further. Not only is it demanding a free hand to maintain the status quo—that is, to keep the oppressed nations oppressed and the workers in wage slavery—but it even demands of the Soviet leaders that it be permitted to encourage a counterrevolutionary bourgeois opposition within the USSR!

Thus, in the same editorial discussing the detente and the Middle East war, The Times brings up the question of Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov. And in Congress economic benefits of the detente for the USSR are held up while pressure is put on the Soviet Union to give this group greater freedom. (Part II of a series of articles by Sam Marcy analyzing this opposition in the USSR appears in this issue of WW.)

A year and a half ago, U.S. imperialism was reeling from its defeats in Indochina and the rising anti-imperialist movements at home and abroad. Today, despite Watergate and the Agnew scandal, despite the dollar crisis and a worsening economic situation at home, the imperialists are emboldened to make the strongest demands of the socialist countries and the oppressed people.

This is why Workers World has consistently warned of the danger of such a detente. It is not that we oppose the normalization of diplomatic relations between the socialist countries and imperialism. Nor does anyone urge the Soviet Union into military adventures. It is the political effects of the whole spirit of "detente" that drag down the liberation struggles and disorient the workers' movements.

NO PERMANENT PEACE UNDER CAPITALISM

Capitalism and socialism are irreconcilable social systems. In the long run, one or the other must prevail. Monopoly capitalism has built into its very nature the need to constantly expand, to conquer new markets and exploit ever greater numbers of workers.

The whole history of imperialism shows that it has existed in an almost constant state of war, in which periods of "peace" have in reality only been interludes in which the imperialists have prepared for new wars—either against rival imperialist powers or against the liberation struggles of oppressed nations and socialist countries.

The policy of detente, far from having pacified the aggressive and insatiable nature of monopoly capitalism, has sharpened its appetite for conquest and emboldened its most aggressive elements.

Rumors are now flying that Premier Kosygin is in Egypt urging President Sadat

to accept a compromise ceasefire. At the same time, Secretary of State Kissinger and Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin are having daily meetings in Washington.

Revolutionists around the world want to believe that these rumors are lies, and that the leaders of the Soviet Union will act in the interests of the oppressed Arab people of the Middle East. But if a bilateral agreement is worked out between the Soviet leaders and the U.S. imperialists over the heads of the Arab people and at their expense, then it will be the responsibility of every progressive person to condemn and expose such a deal as collusion and capitulation to imperialist blackmail.

The extension of aid and assistance to the just struggles of the Arab people, or any other oppressed people, must not be used as a lever in the negotiations for detente between the Soviet leaders and U.S. imperialism.

Likewise, any settlement that negates the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination would also be a setback for the entire liberation struggle.

TWO FALSE CONCEPTS: "SOCIAL IMPERIALISM" . . .

We reject the concept, however, that the struggle in the Middle East can be characterized as an interimperialist war between U.S. imperialism and "Soviet social imperialism." Such a concept confuses and demoralizes the working class and oppressed peoples, and objectively aids imperialism.

It is in the class interests of the Soviet Union, which rests upon socialist property relations, to give assistance to the progressive struggle of the oppressed Arab nations against imperialism. This assistance is given in spite of the revisionist policies of the leaders, and shows how the

socialist base laid down by the great October Revolution continually asserts itself, despite the bureaucratic deformation of the superstructure.

We support the military and economic aid given to the Arab people by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Just as in the Vietnam War, such aid is wholly progressive and is of great assistance in the struggle against imperialism. Without it, the oppressed nations would be up against the most modern technology devised by the Pentagon, and have only the meager resources left them after centuries of exploitation.

. . . AND "SUPERPOWERS"

We also reject the concept that a basic contradiction in the world today is that "between large and small nations." What is basic is the class character of each struggle. Holland is a small country, yet it held the 3,000 islands of Indonesia in bondage for almost four centuries. Belgium is a small country, yet it ruthlessly exploited and murdered the people of the Congo. And Israel is a small country, but its alliance with U.S. imperialism makes it a partner in the oppression of 100 million Arabs.

It is the prosecution of the class struggle by the workers and oppressed in every country, large or small, that will sap the strength of imperialism, and win a world where international cooperation and solidarity will replace national oppression and imperialist domination.

This is the first and foremost task of the workers in the industrially advanced and imperialist countries: to conduct the struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie, the main enemy of humankind. It is our task, here in the very heart of the monster. We must expose Washington's aggression in the Middle East to the workers here, support the just struggle of the oppressed Arab peoples for liberation, and lay bare the crucial role of the oil monopolies. The same oil billionaires who run the U.S., with its racism, corruption, and class oppression, have launched yet another war. Let this one be their last!

YAWF calls for support of Arab liberation

On Wednesday, October 24 at 5:30 p.m., the Middle East Committee of Youth Against War & Fascism (YAWF) will hold a demonstration in New York City at Times Square and 42nd Street-Broadway in support of the Arab peoples' struggle against U.S.-Israeli colonialism and aggression.

Youth Against War & Fascism has already held a number of actions in support of the Arab struggle for self-determination; in Buffalo, N.Y. in front of the Chase Manhattan Bank, in New York City as part of a coalition of other anti-imperialist groups, and in Houston, Texas. In Houston, the cops brutally attacked the YAWF demonstration, arrested twelve people, and charged five of them with "assault with intent to murder a policeman." (See article on page 3.) YAWF also participated with

against inhuman conditions inside the jails; fought for GIs against war and racism inside the military; and supported women's and gay liberation.

YAWF was also the first North American organization to demonstrate against the June, 1967 U.S.-Israeli war of aggression against the Arab people at a June 10, 1967 action at the U.S. Mission to the UN in New York.

Since 1967 the Middle East Committee of YAWF has organized numerous demonstrations to raise the issue of self-determination for the Palestinian and Arab peoples in Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Wilmington (Del.), Detroit, Houston, Washington (D.C.), Philadelphia, Milwaukee, New York City, Rochester (N.Y.), and other cities.

The Middle East Committee of YAWF condemns any and all anti-Semitism, which still exists widely inside the United States, and defends the democratic rights of the Jewish people. It feels, however, that at this time it is most necessary to protest the fact that the Israeli state is being used by the U.S. oil monopolies to crush the Arab people, and points out that the Middle East conflict has never been basically a matter of religion or a question of Arab versus Jew.

The Committee unconditionally supports the just struggle of the Palestinian and Arab peoples to gain control of their land and resources in the oil-rich Middle East and to build a free Palestine, where all its people, Arabs and Jews, can live in peace and justice.

If you can help in this struggle, or want more information, contact: Middle East Committee of YAWF, 46 W. 21st Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10010; phone (212) 255-0352 or 989-3932.

U.S. out of Middle East! Demonstrate—Times Square Wednesday, Oct. 24, 5:30 p.m.

other groups in an anti-imperialist action on the Mideast war in Washington, D.C.

YAWF is an organization of poor and working people and militant youth of all races and nationalities. The organization has been active since 1962 in every aspect of the struggle in the United States to defend the rights, interests, and struggles of workers and oppressed peoples here at home and around the world.

Over the years, YAWF has initiated activities that demonstrated solidarity with rebellions of Black, Latin, Chicano, and Native American peoples against racism, poverty, and police brutality in the ghettos; defended the struggles of prisoners

Demonstrations across U.S. condemn Chile fascism

A wave of demonstrations, rallies, picket lines, and solidarity meetings has spread throughout the U.S. during the last three weeks, supporting the heroic resistance struggle of the Chilean people and denouncing the U.S.-backed fascist military junta.

In New York, over 500 people protested the appearance of the junta's foreign minister, Ismael Huerta, before the UN's General Assembly. Demonstrations were held on October 8, 9, and 10 and were sponsored by many organizations, which included Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH), the Chile Solidarity Committee, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and Youth Against War & Fascism (YAWF).

When another fascist representative of the junta spoke on October 10 at the UN, his vile defense of the bloody U.S.-puppet regime and his wild accusations against Revolutionary Cuba provoked the Cuban delegation to the UN, led by Foreign Minister Dr. Raul Roa, to rush the podium and warn the fascist Chilean delegate to halt his vicious lies and slanders.

In Milwaukee, a YAWF solidarity

meeting with the Cuban revolution was dedicated to all those fighting the counter-revolution in Chile. The meeting was held in the Latin community on October 1 and included speakers from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Venceremos Brigade, and YAWF.

On October 6, over 125 demonstrators picketed the ITT-owned Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel in Cleveland. The protesters then marched through a busy downtown shopping area chanting, "ITT, Anaconda, Hands off Chile!" and "Down with the junta, Up with the workers!" The demonstration, led by YAWF and co-sponsored by almost all other local left organizations, ended with a rally at Public Square, which included speakers from YWLL, USLA, and YAWF.

In Detroit, YAWF held a solidarity meeting and forum on October 7 on the Chile events, which featured as its main speaker Deirdre Griswold, editor of *Workers World*. A week of activities on Chile in the Washington, D.C. area included a support meeting and forum held by Washington, D.C.-Maryland YAWF on October 13. The meeting was held in the loft of the Community Bookshop, where Pierre Meisner,



Members of YAWF in Cleveland participate in a demonstration of solidarity with the Chilean people. WW photo: Alan

member of the editorial staff of *Workers World*, gave a political analysis of the counterrevolution in Chile.

In New York, an audience of over 1,500 heard Ms. Fernanda Navarro, personal representative of Mrs. Hortensia Bussi de

Allende (the widow of Salvador Allende), speak at a memorial meeting in Town Hall for Salvador Allende and Pablo Neruda. Mrs. Allende, unable to attend herself, sent a solidarity greeting message which was read to the audience (see below).

Beatriz Allende describes her father's last fight

Beatriz Allende Bussi, the daughter of Chile's President Salvador Allende who was killed by the fascist junta on the afternoon of the coup, spoke on September 28 to a mass rally in Havana, where she has sought political asylum.

Contrary to the propaganda spread by the junta and U.S. imperialism, she explained, President Allende died fighting the forces of the junta and did not commit suicide. She described the last hours of President Allende and the defense of the Moneda Palace. Below are excerpts from her speech.

I'm here to tell you about the attitude, the line of action, and the thinking process of Comrade President Salvador Allende when confronted with the attack of the treacherous and fascist military men.

The Cuban people, of course, know the truth, but in many other countries the campaign of lies started by the fascist junta and backed by agencies of U.S. imperialism tries to cover up the events which took place at the La Moneda, President Allende's battle trench.

I'm here to confirm for you that the President of Chile fought with arms in hand to the end; that he defended to the last breath the mandate his people had given him—a mandate for the Chilean revolution, a mandate for socialism.

We were able to reach the La Moneda at approximately ten minutes to nine. There was the usual Carabineer guard inside, whose duty it was to protect the Palace. Nevertheless, before entering the building, we had seen Carabineers in the vicinity who were giving up, yielding to the coup.

Inside the building, preparations for fighting were under way. The President was flanked by a larger-than-usual group of bodyguards, who had taken up fighting positions. The few heavy weapons had been distributed. In addition, there was a group of men from the Investigations Service who had always worked in coordination with the bodyguards.

Also present was a group of ministers, under-secretaries, former ministers, technicians and radio and newspapermen, as well as doctors, male nurses, and the La Moneda administrative personnel, those

who didn't want to leave and had decided instead to fight at Allende's side. Last of all, there were his closest co-workers, eleven of them women.

Soon the infantry fire, the tank and artillery attack on the Presidential Palace by the coup forces would begin. Our comrades fired back.

We learned early that day that the military coup men were repeatedly urging the President to give up, but he always refused to accept in a blunt and irrevocable way the ultimatums made by them.

I also learned that morning that he had received visits and would continue to receive calls from the parties of People's Unity and the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, supporting his decision to fight.

The President was taking measures to

(Continued on page 16)

Allende's widow: people should have been armed

Following is the message sent by Hortensia Bussi de Allende, widow of the murdered President of Chile, Salvador Allende, to a meeting at Town Hall in New York City on October 15.

My dear Companeros and Companeras of the United States:

I was deeply touched to receive your invitation for this memorial meeting. I would have liked to be there, but owing to other commitments, that has not been possible. That is why I have sent this message addressed to the people of the United States.

President Allende and I have always made a distinction between the people of the United States and political power represented by the Government and the transnational corporations.

It is not my intention to speak here tonight of personal tragedy. This is not the

time for tears. I wish only to say that when in the future, we speak of "democracy" at universities and colleges, when a definition is sought by researchers probing the history of democracy, when politicians use their banners at conventions, promising the people freedom and happiness, the conscious student, intellectual and worker will recall a name—Chile; a symbol—Salvador Allende.

A man who had never before taken up a weapon, except at the sublime hour of defending the mandate his people had legally bestowed upon him; a man who preserved the pure ideals acquired from the University; a man who never used his position as deputy or senator for personal gain, but who proposed legislation for the overburdened mother, abandoned child, exploited worker; a man who on becoming Head of State did not betray his vows, and kept peace and social justice, legality, respect for the dignity of man; a figure who made Jefferson's dream reality, was elected President.

But in spite of all, this people and this man were massacred. The violence, which both the people and the man abhorred, was mercilessly unleashed against both. That man and that people were assassinated.

When in the future, on college and university campuses, "democracy" is spoken of, and when the case of Chile is discussed; when students and professors see that it was in that tranquil and happy corner of the world that "democracy" was assassinated, the sinister figures of international capitalism and its foreign and domestic henchmen will emerge from the shadows. You will recognize them by their blood-stained hands, hands stained by the blood of students, workers, peasants.

Then, my friends, recalling Chile and Salvador Allende, you will recognize the real enemies of the people—my people and your people—and at the same time you will understand the true path that leads to a better society.

• • •

MEXICO CITY, September 21, 1973 (Hsinhua)—It is not enough to achieve power through election. The people should

(Continued on page 16)

Comandante Pepe

By P. MEISNER

Progressives and revolutionaries around the world as well as in Chile were saddened by the capture and execution of Jose Gregorio Liendo, more popularly known as "Comandante Pepe." The fascist military junta announced on September 20 that Liendo had been taken prisoner in the town of Panguipulli, more than 500 miles south of Santiago. On October 4, the U.S.-backed butchers of the Chilean military executed him.

Comandante Pepe was a popular leader of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) who helped the landless peasants, especially the Mapuche Indians, seize large farms from rich landlords. Although he organized peasants in the south of Chile, Comandante Pepe was almost legendary throughout Chile, especially among peasants, workers, and students.

The murder of Comandante Pepe is another in the long list of crimes committed by the junta, including the assassinations of Salvador Allende and Pablo Neruda. Still

more progressives and revolutionaries face execution, as the fascist terror unleashed by the Washington-sponsored puppets in Santiago continues unabated. The leaders of the two largest workers' parties, Luis Corvalan of the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Party (SP) head Carlos Altamirano are in grave danger of being assassinated at the hands of the junta.

It is almost inconceivable that any progressive person or organization would slander the name of Jose Gregorio Liendo, right after his capture, even if they had political differences with him. But this is how the *Daily World*, organ of the U.S. Communist Party, reported his capture in their paper of September 22:

"The junta announced Thursday the capture of Jose Gregorio Liendo and 16 others who had been operating 500 miles south of Santiago. Liendo is an extreme leftist, who had caused trouble for the Popular Unity government."

This is in the same paper that exactly

(Continued on page 16)

The 'school crisis': a class analysis

By B. LAPIDES

Every institution in class society reflects the larger contradictions of that society, the opposing interests of ruling class and working class. And it must always be remembered that the institutions controlled by the capitalist establishment in the U.S. are, without exception, designed to meet the needs of the capitalists, not those of the people.

This reality explains why public education in America is not merely inadequate but destructive. It explains why there are few of us who were not brain-damaged by those years we sat in school, waiting out the years of boredom and weeks of humiliation, the mindless busy work and countless deceptions. Whatever truths, values, and strengths we have won have generally been learned after school and in spite of the schoolmasters. This view may seem extreme. But as a salaried teacher for ten years, the present writer has seen that the pattern of U.S. education is too universal and too well-defined to be an accidental failure.

Ask students to characterize school, and they give three of the clearest images of oppression in a capitalist society: the prison, the factory, the crazy house. They don't often know how right they are. These images correspond to the three major lessons the capitalist establishment, serving its own interests, seeks to teach working people: discipline, skills, and false consciousness.

In his book *Soledad Brother*, George Jackson explains what is meant by "No confession, no parole." He writes, "if a man gets a parole from these prisons, it means that he crawled into that (board) room. . . . And you can't fake it, resignation, defeat, it must be stamped clearly across the face." Like prison, concerned chiefly with repressing its captives into surrender, school attempts to rob youths of their dignity, train them to be disciplined workers, and intimidate them into conformity. In prison, rebels don't usually make it to graduation. And all those years of Be on time, Don't cut class, Be silent, Agree with the teacher take their toll. Dare to struggle? School teaches submissiveness.

Like the capitalist factory, concerned much less with the quality of its finished products than with the profit margin those products will achieve, the schools controlled by the capitalist establishment teach those skills capitalists find it profitable for workers to have. Not that students can't reappropriate their education. A growing number, sometimes with help from independent teachers, put two and two together, snatch their lessons from the assembly line, and then later, on their own, learn to divide a false unity into its opposing parts. But the curriculum designed for the good of the student is rare.

As to the vicious tracking system (a plan in which youngsters in the early grades are permanently directed into slower or faster tracks, often according to social class, race, and sex), even those students who benefit from it should understand that, as elsewhere, the more the capitalists invest, the greater the return they expect. Generally, the more kids learn in school, the more efficient is their exploitation later.

The third major lesson is bourgeois ideology. Like a diabolical madhouse, refusing to give its inmates the perspective and tools of analysis that would free them from the contradictions that oppress them, school does all it can to lock students into their confusion. American history elevates capitalist politicians to the status of demigods and celebrates the crimes of the oppressors. Economics glorifies the profit motive and spends most of its time pushing intricate formulas; fundamental concepts like social class and exploitation are

unheard of. Geography is taught so as to encourage racism and chauvinism. Literature is presented so as to instill reverence for the past and for aristocratic experience. Teachers who introduce reality into the curriculum, pointing out in what ways the interests of ordinary people are distinct from those of the ruling class, are not usually welcome.

DOUBLE-EDGED CUTBACKS

With all this in mind, it seems curious that the bourgeoisie would let the growing urban crisis extend to education. But by the fall of 1971, the financial problems facing city schools were so widespread that a National Education Association survey showed 41 of the 63 largest school systems in the U.S. to be operating under "crisis conditions." Last year, 325,000 teachers—one out of every ten in the country—were out of work and looking for jobs. And this year too, there have been wide cutbacks in every city.

School officials offer superficial explanations. With the flight of personal and corporate wealth from the cities, the property tax (the mainstay of school financing in most areas) can no longer bring in needed revenues. "Not our fault," the officials shrug. Yet these same shruggers have gone to court in a number of cases to defend the use of property taxes for school financing, with the Nixon Supreme Court ruling in their favor earlier this year.

But the best and the obvious explanation for the cutbacks is rooted in the changing nature of the cities, which have become not only increasingly working class but also great concentration centers for the oppressed communities. As the conditions of the ghetto slum encompass the entire city, the establishment has had to reconsider the value of its schools as urban pacification programs.

The liberal section of the ruling class, with more of an economic base and greater political interests in the city than the right-wing, is willing to supplement inadequate property tax financing with federal and state aid. If city classrooms can dull the consciousness of young people while providing them with skills necessary for their exploitation, why not support the schools? The rightwing answers that such a course is no longer feasible in today's faltering economy. Let the schools rot with the rest of the city, they say, and expand the police force. But the carrot and stick options of the past have frozen into a dilemma for the establishment.

The extreme deprivation Blacks, Latins, and other oppressed communities have suffered in school has gone on for generations. Their experience, therefore, indicates where the cutbacks may lead. The establishment's dilemma is that they will very likely cut two ways.

Students in ghetto schools get less than their share of the three R's. But the three S's—submissiveness, skills, scrambled consciousness—are even less successful in these schools (which is why the school masters refer to them as "problem schools"). The contempt with which perhaps most white teachers approach Third World students has made the question of discipline into a war the teachers now always lose. With a minimum of jobs awaiting the most oppressed, these schools don't teach many skills. And the contradictions between ideology and reality are too crystal clear for minds to be fogged.

Not that the destructiveness of these schools is a thing of the past. The wasting of energy, the suppression of talent continue. The demoralization is criminal. But what everyone learns in these worst schools is the nature of school itself. And in developing consciousness about the nature

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Theme: Our School



Doing to our school
is an education in itself
which is not to be
confused with actually
getting an education.



Education, not detention!

By KEN OXTOBY, High School YAWF

Autumn for U.S. high school students means a return to school. But for poor, working class, and Third World youth, it is more like serving a sentence in prison. The schools have meaningless courses, which are useless to students trying to survive in capitalist society; not only that, but they are also boring and irrelevant.

We are given math and science courses that are meaningless to the majority of us, for only a certain number of scientists and mathematicians are allowed in this capitalist economy. Our history courses are a farce; we are told about "great men" (there are never any women mentioned) like Andrew Carnegie, John Rockefeller, and other industrialists. But we're never told of the wholesale thievery, beatings, and murders these robber barons perpetrated on both their capitalist class competitors and, more specifically, on the union organizing struggles of the American working class. They tell us about the "great" American presidents, and some foreign leaders, like the Czars of Russia, the monarchs of England and Germany; but they always seem to neglect both the lives and works of revolutionaries like Karl Marx and V.I. Lenin.

But the United States educational system is failing even in its minimal role of supplying obedient and able-bodied workers for the factories and assembly lines of the capitalist economy. For when students realize the oppression they face in school, and the prospect of oppression from capitalist bosses, they are driven to rebellion.

As Lenin said, "The more cultured the bourgeois state, the more subtly it lies when declaring that education could stand above politics and serve society as a whole." This is very true in the U.S. school system. Schools in the inner city are allowed to decay. Armed police patrol the halls; bars and locked doors greet the students every day. The students are all working class and Third World.

Youth will not sit back any longer in the inner-city schools. Just as they were the

vanguard in the struggle against the oppressive Vietnam War, both in their solidarity with their Vietnamese brothers and sisters, and the realization that they were the ones Wall St. planned to use as the cannonfodder, they will be in the vanguard against the repression now coming down on all progressives. Despite the repression and harassment brought down on high school students as a group, we are not going to be intimidated. Students are beginning to develop a class consciousness, in their solidarity with the American working class, and with liberation struggles both abroad and at home.

This can be pointed out in the solidarity of over 2,800 out of 3,000 students at Clifton High School, in Clifton, New Jersey, with their teachers who had gone out on strike for decent wages, and in Detroit and countless other cities and towns. Students are gaining the consciousness that all teachers are not the enemy, but we will continue to fight the racist elements who collaborate with the repressive administrators. Also, there have been countless actions supporting political prisoners, raising money for the American Indian Movement last spring, supporting international student movements, even demanding rollbacks of recent price hikes in the subsidized lunch programs (none of which are either very healthy or very tasty).

What is needed is a revolutionary change in the educational system in this country, going hand in hand with a revolutionary change in the form of government and distribution of wealth in this country. This would include ridding the educational system of its racist and sexist elements; setting up equal, free education for all children of both sexes in general and technical courses (production theoretically and in practice); combining productive social work and the education of older children, and the provision of all food, clothing, books, and other materials to the students at the expense of the government.

High school youth will struggle for and win a decent educational system!

Education, not detention!

ACTION is the national publication of H.S. YAWF. We want ACTION to become the voice of students.

If you would like more information about H.S. YAWF, or would like to distribute ACTION at your school, contact us at:

HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH AGAINST WAR & FASCISM
46 WEST 21 STREET NEW YORK, NEW YORK

HIGH SCHOOL
ACTION

of the capitalist establishment in whose interest the schools are run, the worst schools are the best.

Should the establishment cut back significantly on urban education, it runs the political risk of having all schools in the now largely proletarian city become "problem

schools." Yet if it continues its support, the real gains the oppressed have made—for example, in their demands for community control—will spread. As time goes on, however, and the larger crisis of capitalism deepens, the rising level of class struggle outside the schools will make the establishment's decision on education academic.

A tour of Quang Tri: PRG builds new society on ashes left by U.S.

Arthur H. Westing, a biologist and authority on the ecology of Vietnam, visited the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for the Scientists' Institute for Public Information this summer. While there, he and E.W. Pfeiffer, of the University of Montana, were asked by the PRG to make a preliminary assessment of the scientific needs of South Vietnam, thereby being the first Americans to have been invited into that portion of South Vietnam liberated by the PRG. Below are some of his impressions, reprinted from the Vermont Freeman, of three days of travel in Quang Tri, a region that "may well be the most brutally punished of any in the long history of warfare."

Despite a year of frontline combat experience in Korea, and despite three previous trips to Indochina to study the war zones of Cambodia and South Vietnam, I was unprepared for the utter devastation that confronted us wherever we turned in this province.

Our tour took us through much of the lowland region and some of the central hilly region. Never were we out of sight of a seemingly endless panorama of crater fields. As far as we could determine not a single permanent building, urban or rural, remained intact: no private dwellings, no schools, no libraries, no churches or pagodas, and no hospitals. Moreover, every last bridge and even culvert had been bombed to bits. The one rail line through the province was, of course, also obliterated.

The two largest cities—Quang Tri (which we observed from across the Thach Han River) and Dong Ha—were endless scenes of rubble with only a fragment of original wall standing here and there. But buildings and bridges were not the only target: hardly a rice paddy could be found without its disruptive craters, large and small.

The vagaries of modern history have not been kind to the land and people of Quang Tri Province. The damage we observed can be traced in part to the French, in part to the Vietnamese themselves, and in part to U.S. naval and ground activities (including, for example, more than 6,000 acres razed by Rome-plow-equipped tractors). However, the overwhelming cause of the vast devastation was the U.S. Air Force.

A brief description of one typical village we visited, Cam Chinh in the hills of Cam Lo District, will suggest the nature and extent of rural damage.

Cam Chinh Village, covering some 37,000 acres and with a population of about 4200 has been a center of continuing resistance: first against the French, then against the Diem regime, and finally against the U.S. In 1966 it was temporarily overrun by a U.S. "search and destroy" mission in which most of the houses were burned and the crops destroyed (the latter tactic referred to by our troops as an "ecology adjustment mission").

In 1967 and again in 1968 the rebuilt village was aerially sprayed with herbicides, not only killing the crops but also destroying the fruit trees and the pepper and tea plantations. To this day the most prominent feature of the region is the thousands of gaunt tree skeletons. (Throughout Quang Tri Province, over a third of the forests had been sprayed at one time or another.)

UNEXPLODED BOMBS EVERYWHERE

Finally in 1972 the village was subjected to massive aerial assault with high explosive fragmentation bombs as well as a bizarre variety of antipersonnel bombs. We found the mother-bomb casings of CBU's (cluster bomb units) everywhere, some being used as water troughs, others as fence posts, road markers, etc. There was little difficulty in locating shrapnel, flechettes (tiny steel arrows), unexploded guava bomblets, and so forth. Indeed, a major problem in the reclamation of this war-torn

land is the plethora of unexploded ordnance (bombs, shells, mortars, bomblets, and mines) randomly distributed almost everywhere, usually just below the surface.

The physical details of present-day Quang Tri Province are grim, but the picture changes somewhat when the human dimension is considered. It soon became evident that the Vietnamese people have a love for their land and an unyielding determination to restore and rebuild what has been laid waste. Everywhere we turned teams of people were working together—building, repairing, and filling in. Mud and thatch shelters are springing up all over as temporary dwellings.

In Long Ha we were put in a just-completed provincial guest house which provided us with pleasant though spartan accommodations. The people everywhere, both young and old, appeared healthy, cheerful, and hardworking; the sounds of reconstruction woke us up well before five each morning.

Most interesting to me was the carefully balanced plan by the PRG for restoring a normal life out of the ashes of war. The human resource, despite its depletion by the war, had been allocated not merely among the formidable and diverse tasks of material reconstruction, but for health, economics, and education as well. Even culture has not been neglected. I recall the pleasant evening of entertainment by traditional and modern music, poetry, and song by the recently established provincial cultural team.

HEALTH SERVICE RESTORED

The provincial health service was rapidly being restored. The major emphasis at present appears to be on sanitation and preventive medicine. We were told that there is now a trained sanitarian in each village and an infirmary in each of the six districts; a hospital is planned for the capital.

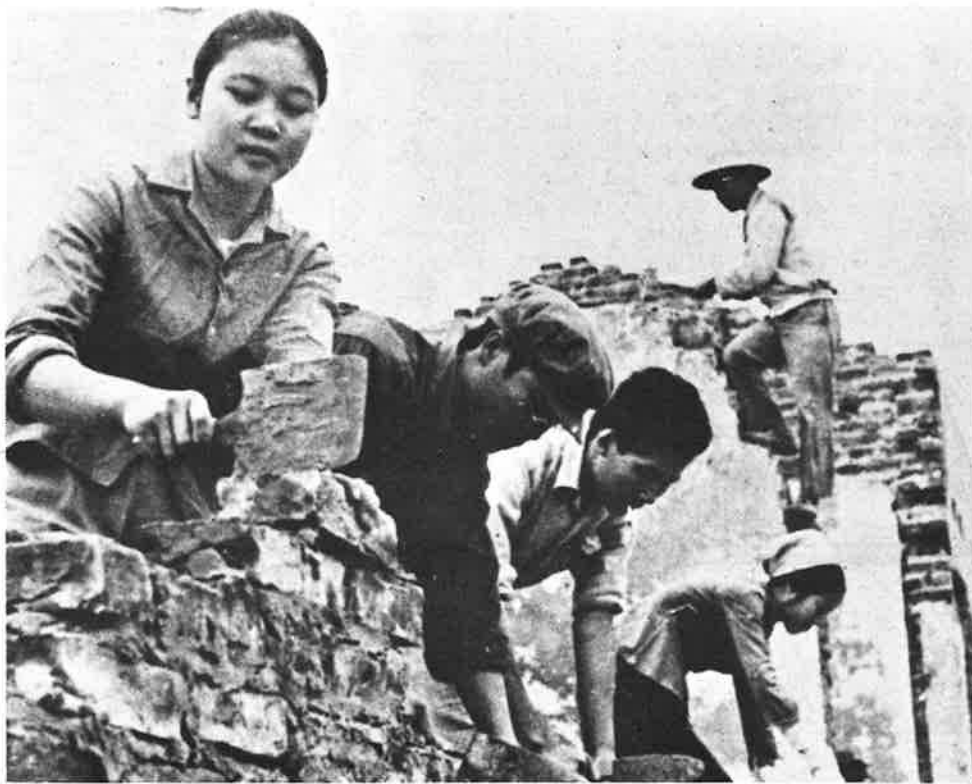
We visited the Trieu Phong District infirmary, in Gia Do Village, newly enlarged to fifty beds. Its two locally trained doctors, six assistant doctors, ten nurses, three pharmacists, and an assortment of midwives and technicians were responsible

for the health of some 50,000 people. The patients we saw in our inspection of the wards included several recent severe injuries from previously unexploded munitions, a continuing problem.

Our brief visit to one of the provincial markets, the Cau Market in Gio Linh District, was heartening in view of the terrible war damage in that district. The animated scene of color and confusion and the fairly wide selection of comestibles and other goods were similar to small outdoor markets anywhere in Indochina.

SCHOOLS REBUILT

In the area of education, primary schools have in recent months been re-established in each village, and secondary schools in most of the districts. A college is even in the plans for the provincial capital. It is particularly noteworthy that a number



In Hai Phong, the people begin the task of rebuilding brick by brick. Now reconstruction has begun in liberated areas of the South. Photo: Giai Phong (Liberation) Press Agency

Fidel hailed in Vietnam: visits liberated territories

By BOB McCUBBIN

A delegation of Cuban leaders, including Major Fidel Castro Ruz, arrived in Hanoi for a five-day visit on September 12 at the express invitation of their Vietnamese comrades. The Cuban delegation had just left the Fourth Conference of Nonaligned Nations in Algeria where Fidel had called for each nation represented to make a contribution toward the reconstruction of Vietnam.

In Hanoi, the Cubans were greeted by tumultuous crowds waving Vietnamese and Cuban flags and cheering Cuba and Fidel in Spanish. In their remarks at the Hanoi reception in honor of the Cuban delegation, both Fidel and Le Duan, First Secretary of the Workers' Party of Vietnam, made references to the seizure of power in Chile by the fascist junta, which had just occurred, and cited the U.S. imperialists as the architects and organizers of it.

On the second day of the visit, the Cubans were shown President Ho Chi Minh's house. North Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong spoke of the victory attained by the people of Hanoi during Nixon's Bloody Christmas last year, "If we hadn't won that battle, Hanoi would have disappeared, and, even though the struggle would have continued, the Paris Agreements would not have come about."

Concerning Ho Chi Minh, Pham Van Dong told Fidel that "His greatest dream

was to go to the South. We told him that it was impossible (his health had been poor for some time—ed.), but he tried to go there, anyway. We explained to him that we were going to do everything possible to enable him to go to the South and that we were going to prepare the conditions so he could do so. Then, President Ho told us, 'I want to go now to join the fighters in the battle.' The last report he heard on the eve of his death was a report on the situation in the South. Now we are building a mausoleum to house his body, and we are going to preserve it forever."

FIDEL SPEAKS FROM HILL 241

On September 15 the Cuban leaders toured several liberated areas of South Vietnam. In a speech on Hill 241 in South Vietnam, Fidel remarked that Cuba was the first country to recognize the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam, the first to send a diplomatic representation to the liberated territory, and "today, Cuba is honored by being the first country whose Party and Government have sent an official delegation to the liberated territory of South Vietnam."

Fidel also remarked on the valuable present given him by the South Vietnamese liberation fighters: an M-48 tank. Fidel vowed that when the tank was delivered to Cuba the Cubans would study it carefully so

of schools for adult education have been started.

Thus are the peasants of Quang Tri, the worst damaged province of Indochina, slowly reweaving the torn fabric of their society. To date they have been able to reclaim almost half of their once arable lands—an astonishing achievement in the light of the enormous difficulties to be overcome. They must contend with the unexploded munitions, and do so without the aid of electronic detection equipment. They must make do with a water buffalo herd (the prime mover in Vietnamese agriculture) which has been depleted by the bombing from more than 72,000 to less than 4000. They must rebuild a severely disrupted intricate irrigation system. And they must fill in by hand or work around an infinity of gaping bomb craters.

We left Quang Tri Province aghast at the realization that the strategy employed here by the U.S. was one of systematic aerial destruction of a region inhabited by tens of thousands of inexorably enmeshed civilians. We also left with a renewed faith in the ability of these same Vietnamese eventually to overcome even this overwhelming insult to themselves and their land.

that "if the imperialists ever invade our country, we can do what you have done and destroy many of these M-48 tanks."

The Cubans visited many areas in Quang Tri Province, including the former U.S. base at Khe Sanh, and spoke with many liberation fighters. They witnessed the utter devastation produced by U.S. saturation bombing which had destroyed everything except the Vietnamese people's will to struggle.

On the return trip, the Cubans saw firsthand the continuing effects of the genocidal U.S. terror war. The jeep in which the Cubans were riding came upon four people who had just been wounded by an antipersonnel mine. Luckily, Cuban doctors traveling with the party were able to treat them, probably saving the life of one.

In Quang Binh Province, before a crowd of 3,000 cheering patriots, the Cubans were presented with several handfuls of Quang Binh earth. They promised to take the earth back to Cuba to mix it with the soil of Cuba "just as our revolutionary ideas and our hearts are mixed."

At the conclusion of the Cubans' visit, Le Duan described Fidel's visit to the liberated areas as a very important political event. Le Duan concluded his remarks by saying, "Vietnamese-Cuban friendship based on proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism has been tested in the flames of the revolution of our two countries."

political prisoners

Ruchell Magee

RUCHELL MAGEE is facing retrial on charges of murder and kidnapping, in retaliation for the heroic armed rebellion led by Jonathan Jackson in the Marin County Courthouse (California) on August 7, 1970.

As of September 20, Magee had fasted for 123 meals to press his demands for unrestricted mail and access to the press, for investigators of his choice, and for visits from friends and family. Send messages of support to Warden Louis Nelson, San Quentin State Prison, Tamal, California 94964.

Following are excerpts from a letter written by Ruchell Magee to Workers World:

LETTER FROM RUCHELL

Since I broke the fetters of my suppression and surfaced through the wound inflicted by Jonathan Jackson in the belly of the beast, the establishment has become more desperate in its plot to isolate and murder me to hide its crimes.

The recent San Francisco County trial show was one of the worst lynch-law proceedings ever recorded in this country. It left me still held unlawfully in prison as it found me in the San Quentin hole, overpowered by the pig lawyer Robert Carrow and the Klan judge Morton Colvin.

It ended in a mistrial, where one Black juror, Moses Shepherd, apparently saw the frame-up for what it is worth—racism. It was he who refused to lip me guilty for the pigs.

Once I encountered hate for those other eleven-jurors, but no more. Because if I weren't the victim of this rotten mess, it would be hard for me to believe that this would be happening.

I have been in this prison for ten years on known (undisputable) false evidence. It is a robbery-kidnap conviction where the Los Angeles County Superior Court used its court-appointed agents to make false guilty pleas to twelve whites in my name, over my objections.

This happened in a May 1963 closed-door (secret) court. I don't know if the 12 whites were registered jurors or just plain state police. But I know that they hid behind closed doors and said I was guilty as charged upon the District Attorney instructing them to find me guilty on the agent's guilty plea. To the contrary, the

record will show that I pleaded not guilty and testified to the frame-up.

The pig judge thereafter sentenced me to life imprisonment.

The L.A. pigs went on to suppress the court records, and falsified some records with my name on them to use as a substitute for the records suppressed. The judge knows that if they follow the law in allowing me the right to be heard, the Attorney General cannot disprove the facts of wrongfully imprisoning me. Their failure to answer could only be taken as an admission of guilt, or a plea of nolo contendere on their part.

I have filed suit in the U.S. Central District court in Los Angeles. It is before Judge Lylick. One of the main persons



Ruchell Magee

named in the suit as defendant is Ellsberg trial judge William Matthews Byrne. This Judge Byrne deliberately intercepted many of my legal documents and stole my funds only to falsely maintain jurisdiction over the case, conceal evidence, block appeals, and subject me to injuries.

It is easy for me to see why Judge Byrne was hand-picked by Richard Nixon in the Ellsberg case, because Judge Byrne is a vicious evidence suppressor.

Angola 4

By CAL BONNER

Angola State Penitentiary is a former plantation of 25,000 acres situated 60 miles northwest of the Louisiana state capital of Baton Rouge. A Black Louisiana state representative two years ago called it

Attica trial, buck work. We will have a massive work stoppage to show solidarity and support of the Attica Brothers.

I want to write in Workers World because it is one of the few papers that tries to break the majority out of their prisons of conditioned ignorance.

A Prisoner

+++

Leavenworth, Kansas

I will attempt to cover the present situation since the riot of August 1, when one guard was killed and several injured.

Some 30-40 men were charged with inciting a riot and carried to court downtown for more time.

No one has been directly charged with murder yet, only an investigation. The four hostages held by inmates were released unharmed and nothing the warden promised was ever taken seriously, as who in the government keeps their word.

Food is terrible and filthy conditions are evident everywhere. Censorship on our minority group culture classes and the papers we publish are stopping our expression of the Real Thing (the Truth). The Indian Culture Class, which did publish "Drumbeat," was told not to print anything on Wounded Knee or Indian Movements outside.

"among the worst prisons in the country, if not the world."

A few years ago, after the prisoners invited progressive individuals from outside to inspect the prison, the world was exposed for the first time to the utter physical dilapidation of the 70 percent Black-inhabited concentration camp. And progressive humanity was shocked at the accounts of brutality and degradation the prisoners had to endure. Located only spitting distance from the Mississippi River, the prison seemed totally devoid of any program of hygiene. Swarms of disease-bearing mosquitos infested the area, and prisoners were often forced to drink water from commodes when thirsty.

After a visit to the prison by the only Black state representative at that time, Dorothy Taylor, some promises of reform were made by the candidate for governor, Edwin Edwards. Two years have passed and Edwards is now governor, but conditions at the prison are still far from adequate. Four inmates now face death because a killing occurred when guards attacked prisoners complaining about these conditions.

Herman Wallace, Gilbert Montegut, Chester Jackson, and Albert Woodfox have been charged in the April, 1972, murder of Brent Miller, an Angola State Penitentiary guard. All are from New Orleans.

Woodfox was tried separately and found guilty by an all-white jury. His case is now on appeal in the State Supreme Court.

The Angola Four charge that they are being singled out for prosecution because of their "involvement in educating other inmates about racism and economic exploitation at the prison."

The killing occurred in one of the inmate dorms 20 minutes after armed guards broke up a peaceful petition drive by inmates seeking to speak to the warden. The petition drive was the second attempt by inmates in two weeks to protest grievances.

The petitions centered on such grievances as a 96-hour work week at 2 cents per hour and inedible prison food.

After the murder was discovered, inmates were herded into a yard, stripped, and searched for weapons. It was here that the three young black organizers were singled out for the murder charge. Later a fourth inmate, also active in prison organizing, was charged with the killing.

Supporters of the Four argue that "the evidence against the Angola Four has from the very beginning been both flimsy and questionable. Even the then District At-

Our 1st Amendment rights and other rights are being violated just to shut down the truth about the officials and our own beliefs.

I would say each person's health is in jeopardy because of the food and medical conditions, and with the commissary selling nothing but what you wouldn't need, at high prices.

I and other persons who express themselves are being denied the right to earn good time or money on a job that other respected inmates ("cooperative type") receive.

The main objective is to keep all radical and left-wing persons locked up and any other kind of minority group leader.

A Gay Prisoner

++

Napanoch, New York

The population of this concentration camp is 642. Thus, 642 individuals are being drugged, possibly with saltpeter, lethean, lithium, thorazine, etc. These drugs have the external effects of passivity and exhaustion. Those, we emphasize, are only the external effects.

On April 27, our diary notes that the inmates on each of the three cell galleries sleep very frequently. At 6:30 in the morning, when the administration turns on the

torney, Richard Kilbourne, at first protested the indictments for lack of evidence."

Hescow Brown, the state's chief witness, claims that he was within a foot or two of the four defendants as he watched them kill the guard. Earlier he had testified that he was at the prison's blood plasma center at the time of the killing. The defense has two witnesses to place him at the plasma center as he had originally stated.

Woodfox's attorney, Charles Garretson, pointed out during his trial that the bloody fingerprints found close to where the guard was killed fit neither Woodfox, the slain guard, nor any of the other defendants.

Supporters also argue that the state has gone along with the indictments in order to "crush any inmate movement in Angola."

Attorneys for Wallace, Montegut, and Jackson have been successful in getting the trial moved from the small rural parish of West Feliciana to Baton Rouge. Trial is expected to begin in late November or December.

In the meantime a Committee to Free the Angola Four has been formed, and is in urgent need of funds. It is composed of mothers of the defendants and their supporters. Dennis Walsh, coordinator for the group stated that "protests will continue until the charges are dropped and until the right to speak, to organize, and to petition is returned to the inmates."

For further information contact the Committee to Free the Angola Four, 1719 Polymnia St., New Orleans, La. 70130.

Charlotte 3

Supporters filled the courtroom as the appeal of the Charlotte 3 was argued before the North Carolina Court of Criminal Appeals in Raleigh, on September 14.

JIM GRANT, T. J. REDDY, and CHARLES PARKER were convicted in Charlotte, North Carolina, in July 1972 and sentenced to a total of 55 years in prison on frameup charges of burning a stable.

These charges are part of a series of charges brought against activists in Charlotte in an attempt to break the Black liberation movement in North Carolina.

Grant is in the U.S. Penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia, on a federal charge resulting from his organizing work. An appeal of this sentence is expected to be heard in the U.S. Supreme Court this fall. Grant is a reporter and organizer for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), based in Louisville, Kentucky.

radio, although it is loud enough, very few inmates are awakened by it. We also notice that right after lunch, many individuals on each gallery run to get undressed and go back to sleep, even though we will remain there for only a half hour.

On May 9, our diary reads: "For several days now, the water in the mess hall has been tasting quite funny. Brother Tate went to take the pitcher up to the sink to exchange the water, he was quickly stopped. An officer insisted he would get the water. But this officer did not go to the sink, but into the back of the mess hall. When he came back, Brother Tate found the water to taste the same."

On May 21, 6 brothers, including Brother Hicks, fainted.

On June 29, we asked a number of people if they felt different here than at another facility. Everyone said they felt a little strange and were sleeping more than usual.

On July 7, several individuals went on a fast to see if they would be able to annihilate whatever it was that was affecting their systems. They did not feel tired or exhausted as they were while they were eating in the mess hall, and are losing weight rapidly.

Three Brothers



Prisoners Letterbox

Rustburg, Virginia

As you probably know, the Attica Brothers will be going to trial soon. We all know that Rocky and his paid henchmen should be facing charges of murder. But in this decadent society the innocent will have to go to court. There is much we can do to help the Attica Brothers.

Support the Attica Defense Fund with the money you can give, or at least your moral support. Send petitions around for the masses to sign to show support of the Attica Brothers.

This is what you, the prisoners of America can do. On the first day of the



credit: Pamoja Venceremos

New York 5

Comrades: Greetings and Solidarity

Needless to say, it's saddening to know that we're communicating with you from behind bars. At the moment we'd love to embrace you. Since at this time it isn't possible, we'll rest assured with the knowledge that every communication, regardless of manner or form, brings us closer.

Presently, as you hopefully well know, we are being charged with the assassination of two police officers. Also it is alleged that we are members of the Black Liberation Army.

It is known that we are outspoken in our beliefs and have no fears about letting our aspirations be known. When we speak about our aspirations, we're not speaking about us the "New York Five" as individuals but of the aspirations of our people. As alleged members of the BLA, we are accused of being cop-haters. We do not hate cops, but we hate those who willfully and indiscriminately attack and commit violence against poor and oppressed peoples.

We do not see the police as oppressors but as agents of the oppressors, who carry out the wishes and demands of the rich. We do not hate cops, that is, those who conscientiously serve the community—those who recognize that their function is to serve and protect our communities. Unfortunately, they're few.

In our everyday living we find them more of an occupying force to contain the ghetto residents. Facts prove and have proven time and time again that the police are not out to protect our communities but to control. Are they protecting us?

At a time when drug-related crimes are on the increase, we find the police responsible for an increase of these very drugs in our communities. A few weeks ago they were acting as drunks flashing money at our people in a poor section of Jamaica and were robbed as they desired. This was an act of provocation, in order to trap the poor who have nothing. Which is the bigger crime? To take in order to live, or to tempt those who don't have?

Right here in Harlem, an Amsterdam News reporter was brutally beaten by the police for investigating an alleged arrest. The precinct which should be a refuge for those in need in our communities is nothing more than a torture chamber, a place where gun-wielding bigots gather to plot out further brutalities. We must never forget who the police really work for.

If we want to live free and determine the future of our own lives, then we must come together and help support each other.

We're accused of killing two of the enemy. In fact we take responsibility for any acts against the forces at whatever level, that oppress or exploit us as a people. And again we ask that we come together as one, for we are one, and resist our oppressors for the sake of survival by any means necessary and know always that we shall resist and resist and resist, any acts of genocide.

Life to the People!

New York Five: Francisco Torres, Al Washington, Gabriel Torres, Herman Bell, Anthony L. Bottom.

Reply to: The New York Five, c-o Bernice Jones, 2026 Seventh Ave., Harlem, N.Y. 10027. Tel.: (212) 864-8951.

Carlos Feliciano appealing 4-year sentence

By JULIO GHIGLIOTTY

NEW YORK, Oct. 12—Carlos Feliciano, a Puerto Rican nationalist, was sentenced today to four years' imprisonment on frameup charges of attempted bombing.

Although Judge Fraiman denied the motion of Assistant District Attorney Patton to raise the class D felony to a class B, which would have increased the sentence to from 9 to 25 years, he also denied a defense motion to drop the charges of possession of a bomb and possession of explosives because of lack of evidence.

One hundred and fifteen militant supporters of Feliciano packed the courtroom during the sentencing, while about 50 more waited outside and another 100 demonstrated in front of the courthouse at 100 Centre Street. The courtroom was tense, as the audience expressed its outrage at this mockery of justice whenever Patton spoke. Outside, the picket line was maintained throughout the proceedings, which lasted from 8:30 in the morning until 1:00 in the afternoon.

Defense attorney William Kunstler called six character witnesses to the stand to show that the case against Carlos was a case against Puerto Rican independence. These six were Bishop Parrella, Titular Bishop of Puerto Rico, Jacinto Rivera Perez, President of the Nationalist Party in Puerto Rico, Dr. Franklin Apsel, director of the detoxification program at Lincoln Hospital, and three ex-addicts who went through this program, Mr. and Mrs. Luis William Rodriguez and Luis Vega.

Bishop Parrella stated that the independentistas were trying to liberate Puerto Rico, and that the Nationalist Party is "a school of patriotism and honor." He

testified that the case against Carlos was meant to destroy a Puerto Rican patriot. He traced the history of the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico to the present day and even defended the 1954 attack on the U.S. Congress by Puerto Rican nationalists. Bishop Parrella received a standing ovation.

Jacinto Perez, President of the Nationalist Party, was accusing and defiant of the U.S. government, declaring that Puerto Rico has been at war with the U.S. government since 1898 when the U.S. invaded the island without even declaring war. He made it a point to differentiate between the U.S. government and the people, saying that for 75 years it has been the government of the U.S. which has tried to take over "our lives, our culture—everything that is Puerto Rican."

He cited Oscar Collazo and Lolita Lebron (who are still in U.S. prisons because of the 1954 uprising) as patriots who tried to bring the case of Puerto Rico to the American people. "We have never abandoned peaceful means to gain independence, but the U.S. government is not a peaceful government. Carlos is willing to give his life, as any nationalist would, for freedom of Puerto Rico."

Dr. Franklin Apsel is the director of the detoxification program at Lincoln Hospital where Carlos Feliciano has worked helping drug addicts kick the habit at an 83 percent success rate—higher than any other in the city. He introduced a letter signed by 150 staff members of the hospital demanding that Carlos receive a suspended sentence, time served as sentence.

The three ex-addicts counseled by Carlos, Luis Vega and Mr. and Mrs. Luis

William Rodriguez, added weight to that testimony by confirming his effectiveness in the drug program.

After the character witnesses testified, Carlos Feliciano read his statement to the court. In it he said, "I proclaim my complete innocence and I say that I never have participated in any of the actions I was accused of. The 18 months I have served in jail were because I love my country and its freedom. You and I are both affected by historical forces. The colonial forces have tried to take everything from us. In 1917, they even made me a citizen. I consider this illegal. I am a Puerto Rican. It is in this context that I'm being tried. I'm for the independence of my country—I want my country free. The conspiracy in this case is not necessarily against me, but against my people."

Then the judge passed sentence—four years for the charges of possession of a bomb and possession of explosives; three years for possession of a blasting cap; and one year for possession of a pistol. These sentences are to be served concurrently. Since Carlos has already served 18 months, he could get out after a year. The judge later admitted that his decision was influenced by the presence of so many supporters at the trial and at the sentencing hearing. Kunstler, of course, applied for an appeal and asked for a bail extension hearing that was set for October 26.

At a rally in Foley Square after the sentencing, Angela Davis spoke in support of the Puerto Rican nationalist and the just struggle of the Puerto Rican people. The rally was chaired by Alfredo Lopez, a member of the Carlos Feliciano Defense Committee. Carlos got right to the crux of the reason for this trial when he said to ABC newsman Milton Lewis, "The only crime I am guilty of is being Puerto Rican."



Carlos Feliciano speaks at a rally for his defense.

WW photo

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Puerto Rican uprising to be commemorated Oct. 30

By JAIME VEVE

October 30, 1950, stands as one of the most significant dates in the century-old struggle for independence from colonialism in Puerto Rico. It was on this day that the Nationalist insurrection, led by the Nationalist Party and Albizu Campos, began.

One of the first incidents of this insurrection was the assault on La Fortaleza, the official residence of the Governor, where a commando squad composed of five men armed with submachine guns and Molotov cocktails fought with police guards for over an hour, after which all the commandos were dead as was one policeman. Many more cops were wounded.

Meanwhile the insurrection had spread to the towns and cities of Arecibo, San Juan, Jayuya, Mayaguez and others. In Penuelas a Nationalist commando clashed with a detachment of police. A few hours later, another group went into action in the city of Arecibo, where an attempt was made to occupy the general police headquarters.

REPUBLIC OF PUERTO RICO

In Jayuya, the main objective, the Nationalists met at the home of Blanca Canales. From there, led by Blanca Canales and Carlos Irizarry, they staged attacks on

the police station and the post office. Both objectives were taken and the Republic of Puerto Rico was proclaimed. The colonial puppets unleashed the armed forces, including the air force, in order to defeat the Nationalist insurrection. After several hours of fierce fighting, the town of Jayuya was retaken by the army.

Perhaps one of the most epic examples of the supreme courage of the Nationalist uprising was the event which occurred in Santurce. Vidal Santiago Diaz, the personal barber of Albizu Campos, singlehandedly, from the inside of his barber shop, held at bay a whole detachment of police and national guards—over a hundred men who had him completely surrounded and were firing at him from every angle with automatic weapons. Only after three hours of fighting, when he had run out of ammunition, and with his face and body covered with blood from four separate bullet wounds, did he finally succumb to the tear gas and capture.

That night the home of Albizu Campos in San Juan, which also served as the Nationalist Party's general headquarters, was surrounded by the police with mounted machine guns. The house was besieged with gunfire from the cops. After resisting the police attack for two days, Albizu and the

other Nationalists in the house were overcome by tear gas and forced to surrender.

Following the abortive revolt, the leaders of the independence parties were arrested en masse. More than one thousand people were imprisoned at police headquarters in San Juan and elsewhere. For his part in the uprising, Albizu Campos was sentenced to 53 years in the state prison of Puerto Rico.

BRING STRUGGLE TO U.S.

On November 1, 1950, the day after the bloody events in Puerto Rico, two Puerto Rican Nationalist Party members, Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola, residing in New York, took the battle to the United States. They went to Washington, D.C., and attacked the guard at the gates of Blair House where President Truman was staying. They killed one of the guards and wounded the other. Torresola died as a result of the shootout. Collazo was wounded in the chest.

Oscar Collazo was later condemned to death. Only through international pressure was this sentence commuted to life imprisonment. Once again, as in El Grito de Lares, the Puerto Rican people in arms demonstrated to the world their resolute desire to be free and their determination to

struggle until the U.S. invaders are driven from Puerto Rican soil.

Today that movement for which the heroic Nationalists gave their lives is growing stronger every day, as the Puerto Rican people continue the liberation struggle, rich in heroic episodes of resistance to exploitation and domination. Such a struggle was the 1950 insurrection, a landmark in the fight which will one day culminate in defeat for U.S. imperialism.

COMMEMORATION THIS MONTH

In order to commemorate this historic rebellion of 1950 and in order to demand the unconditional freedom of Lolita Lebron, Andrea Cordero, Irving Flores, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Oscar Collazo, who have been in prison for the last 20 years, the United Front for the Defense of Puerto Rican Political Prisoners will hold a demonstration in Washington, D.C., this October 30.

For further information on this upcoming demonstration, contact the October 30—United Front for the Defense of Puerto Rican Political Prisoners, Box 3, Planetarium Station, New York, N.Y. 10024, phone 212-874-9162, or Youth Against War & Fascism, 46 W. 21 St., New York, N.Y. 10010, phone 212-989-3932.

Behind Chile's butchers stand the U.S. bankers!

— Last fight

(Continued from page 11)

engage in a long struggle. He would continuously move from one place to another. He asked for a checkup of the most sheltered places to protect the fighters from future air raids. He kept informed as to the food and water supply. . . .

He ordered that documents that might jeopardize other revolutionaries be burned, even personal documents. He sent three comrades, two of them women, out in a mission on behalf of the future resistance.

Then we learned that the Carabineers in charge of protecting the Palace had given in to the fascist junta.

I was able to talk to the President alone for a moment. He repeated that he would fight to the end; that he was very clear about what was going to happen, but he was going to take measures so that the battle could be carried out in the best possible manner. . . .

Then he told us that, in a way, this had taken a load off his shoulders, because in this way things were cleared up and he was freed of the uncomfortable situation which had bothered him in the most recent period, in that, while he was the President of a people's government, on the other hand, the Armed Forces, under cover of the so-called Arms Control Law, were repressing and abusing the workers and breaking into factories. He had told me this on other occasions. . . .

At this rally of solidarity with Chile, I want to tell you what he asked me to say.

He said it in the La Moneda in the midst of the battle: "Tell Fidel I will do my duty. Tell him we must get the best possible united political leadership for the people of Chile."

He said that this day marked the beginning of a long resistance, and that Cuba and the revolutionaries would have to aid us in it.



Thousands of Cuban people demonstrate their revolutionary internationalism. White-shirted sailors of unarmed ship Playa Larga, who refused to surrender to Chilean destroyers, are given place of honor at rally. photo: Granma

Today, from this free territory in America, we can tell the Comrade President: your people will not give in, your people will not pull down the flag of revolution; the battle to the death against fascism has started and it will end the day we have a free, sovereign and socialist Chile for which you fought and gave your life.

Comrade President, Venceremos!

— Needed arms

(Continued from page 11)

have been armed or have had an army at their service.

Mrs. Hortensia Bussi de Allende said this in an interview with the Mexican paper Excelsior yesterday.

The paper today carried the interview.

Mrs. Allende said: "Now we have seen that the people are right. It is not enough to achieve power through elections. The people

should have been armed or have had an army at their service."

She said: "I miss the women who have always been firm with the President. Give us arms, they demanded. Now we have seen that the people are really right, because we were unarmed." "We were not prepared for the bombings."

She continued: "It is proven that it is not enough to achieve power through votes or elections. Apart from achieving victory in elections, the people should have been armed or have had an army at their service."

She pointed out that the Chilean army, with its class formation, is an army which has always been at the service of the ruling class.

She continued: "In Chile, a soldier is never a general, a sailor is never an admiral. The officers are all from the upper middle class."

Mrs. Allende pointed out, "Justice in

Chile also takes on a class character." Judicial organs, the comptroller office, congress and the supreme court had impeded the work of the President, she added.

When asked about the international background of the Chilean event, she answered: "Foreign intervention had existed since the inauguration of the government of the popular union, since the assassination of Schneider, which has been proved to have been conducted with foreign aid. Then several strikes broke out which were financed. It would be impossible to stage these strikes if they had not received money from abroad. The nationalization of copper hurt them and that is why the United States boycott began."

— Comandante Pepe

(Continued from page 11)

one week later said in an editorial headed "Unity against the junta!": "The mass defense of the Chilean people's leaders must be broadened and intensified."

We call on the Daily World to live up to its own appeal. Can this paper, in retrospect, really believe that those who armed the peasants and fought ideologically for the working class to arm itself were "causing trouble" for the Popular Unity government? Was this "extreme," or was it historically necessary—as subsequent events have proven?

But even if the Daily World is not ready to admit that MIR may have been correct on many questions, can't this leftwing paper be consistent with its own appeals for unity and find the words to support a genuine people's leader who was captured (and later executed) by the enemy?

Comandante Pepe (MIR), Allende (SP), and Neruda (CP) represented the three different and major leftwing political organizations in Chile. Their deaths, at the hands of the fascists, are a blow to all progressives and revolutionaries throughout the world.



FOR A WORKERS WORLD SUBSCRIBE ...AND HELP BUILD ONE!