

Five Pages on Mideast

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Black and White, Unite and Fight for a

WORKERS WORLD

Vol. 11, No. 1

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TEN CENTS

NEW CUSTODIANS OF THE IMPERIALIST ESTABLISHMENT

Nixon to Shift Johnson Policy Further to the Right

But He Cannot Defeat Rebellion of the Oppressed

JAN. 15 — The new executive committee of U.S. capitalism is about to take over the reins of government in Washington. It is traditional for the ruling class to go all out at this time to instill in the population awe and humility toward the new regime.

Accordingly, it imitates the pomp of feudal coronations, putting the British Empire to shame in this regard. It hopes thereby to create a favorable psychological atmosphere in which the new President can carry out his principal task -- the strengthening of the domination of imperialism over the exploited and oppressed.

As the inheritor of the Johnson Administration's policies, the Nixon Administration is well suited to continue its predecessor's campaign of war and repression, extending and deepening it.

NATO maneuvers near the Czech border have been scheduled for the first day of Nixon's reign, and a hard-line, anti-Soviet hawk has been appointed his chief aide in foreign policy. Not a single U.S. soldier has been withdrawn from Vietnam, the U.S. military is getting more aggressive in the war, and Nixon has appointed principal architects of the war to strategic policy posts.

It is not simply that Nixon is to the right of Johnson, or just that he has surrounded himself with inveterate hawks and anti-Communist hard-liners, but, more fundamentally, that the ruling class has made clear its choice by selecting Nixon and rubber stamping his advisers.

Johnson was so thoroughly discredited because of his war policy that the rulers had to jettison him in an attempt to create the impression among the masses that there was to be a shift away from a policy of war. This utterly false impression is being carefully perpetuated by a lot of moderate talk from bourgeois politicians who are known for war mongering.

But beware of moderate talk from anyone in the imperialist Establishment!

Remember the redoubtable Eugene McCarthy, who came through for the bosses by diverting the mushrooming street struggles during 1968. He spoke not only like a moderate, but like a positive radical. Why? In order to get the youth into the ballot booth.

Now he turns around and votes for ardent racist Senator Long and gives up his seat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to extreme hawk Senator Dale McGee!

And if the much-adored McCarthy could conceal his character of imperialist hawk behind a radical facade, what worth is there to moderate talk by Nixon and his clique?

Why all this deception anyway? The reason is to be found in the growing weakness of U.S. imperialism.

The banker-generals are feverishly preparing for war to secure their empire, but they are afraid to antagonize the masses and galvanize them into active resistance. The anti-war movement should take heart from seeing the master class on the defensive, trying to conceal its every move. This is a sign of fear and anxiety in the enemy camp.

And no wonder. The Vietnam war has antagonized the billion-fold masses of Asia so deeply that U.S. imperialism is rushing to plug up the imperial dikes from Korea to Thailand to Indonesia — while they are still unable to secure Saigon!

U.S.-Israeli aggression in the Mideast has inflamed 100 million Arab people, and no amount of diplomatic blackmail or double-dealing will put out the fires of people's war which are beginning to flare up in earnest throughout the Arab world.

Meanwhile, the growth rate of the productive forces of the imperialist system is so high that it is pre-

(Continued on page 2)



HENRY CABOT LODGE: Hawk on everything! Tutor of Premier Nguyen Cao (I love Hitler) Ky. Ambassador to peace talks in Paris.



WILLIAM ROGERS: Helped Nixon launch cold war witch-hunt in Alger Hiss case, 1949. Secretary of State.



MELVIN LAIRD: Former chairman House Subcommittee on Military Appropriations. Candidate of the generals. Secretary of Defense.



DAVID PACKARD: From General Dynamics, Hewlett-Packard, etc. The military-industrial complex in the flesh. Worth half a billion. Under Secretary of Defense.



RICHARD NIXON: Anticipated Joseph McCarthy as a red-baiting witch-hunter and strong advocate of war. Wall Street lawyer for monopolies.



MARSHALL GREEN: Former ambassador to Indonesia. Played key role in CIA-inspired coup in which 1 million were killed. Aide to Paris peace talks.



U. ALEXIS JOHNSON: Former deputy to Gen. Maxwell ("pacification program") Taylor in Vietnam. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.



HENRY KISSINGER: Long-time anti-Soviet hawk and weapons system expert. Chief foreign policy adviser.



ELLSWORTH BUNKER: "Rusk point of view" on Vietnam. Supervised the suppression of Dominican uprising, 1964. Ambassador to South Vietnam.

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Reactionaries Leaving to the Left

Image-Polishing Time in D.C.

Having done its five years of dirty work for the ruling class, the Johnson Administration is quitting Washington. But these stooges of big business worked so hard against the broad mass of the population that they all feel the urge to polish up their images before leaving. And each one gets his chance from the capitalist press to try to cover up his tracks in the final days when their statements have no meaning at all.

So naturally Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, the warhawk who tried his best to save a losing war, is now a cooing dove who tells his puppet Ky to make peace, but hasn't taken one single soldier out of Vietnam yet.

Then there is Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who winks at racism while his FBI hounds black militants from coast to coast. He is leaving office as a champion of civil rights by warning the Nixon government not to give in to segregation.

Not to be outdone, Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, who in the past few months started the give-away of several trillion dollars worth of oil-shale land owned by the government and who just gave the fishing rights of the West Coast Indians to the corporations, is now a die-hard conservationist who has cautioned his equally larcenous successor to be cautious about squandering national resources.

The latest exercise in image repair was performed by anti-labor Secretary

of Labor, Willard Wirtz. Only a few weeks ago he tried to get the criminals who own the coal mines off the hook for murder by calling for stiff penalties against "careless miners" as one way to improve mine safety. Now that this hypocrite is leaving office, he suddenly poses as a lover of the workers by "decrying" government acceptance of corporate plans to increase unemployment.

What a performance! A warhawk becomes a dove; a racist becomes a civil libertarian; an inside man becomes a preacher; a strikebreaker becomes a spokesman for labor. And they'll all take their halos with them on the way to sign up for plush jobs with big business.

J. Edgar Hoover: The New Left and The Old Right



J. Edgar Hoover remarked several weeks ago that "justice is incidental to law and order." Shortly thereafter this pioneer of fascism was re-appointed chief of the *American gestapo* by an old supporter, Richard Nixon.

To kick off his 45th year, FBI director Hoover gave what is probably his 44th "year-end" attack on Communism, black liberation and everything politically progressive. This time he tried to start a bomb scare against the New Left.

"There has been a marked increase in recent months in bombings and burnings and other acts of terrorism," warned Hoover as reported in a Dec. 31 UPI dispatch, and the blame belongs to "New Left leaders."

The chief of the secret police forgot, however, to warn against some recent "bombing and burnings" of the Old Right.

The day before his remarks an AP dispatch from Los Angeles reported the following:

"Explosives used in fire bombings last July 19, came originally from the Central Intelligence Agency according to county grand jury testimony made public today.

"The transcript said that the explosives may have been originally designated for the Bay of Pigs Invasion of Cuba in 1961."

The bombings of "public buildings," unnoticed by J. Edgar, which can only be classified as "terrorist acts," were carried out against companies and countries trading with Cuba by counter-revolutionaries who "had been trained by the CIA in the use of explosives" for use in the 1961 invasion, according to the report.

Moon Men Down in Dixie

The imperialist U.S.A. has a way of putting its stamp of racism and reaction on everything it touches. Take the manned flight around the moon. Just a scientific expedition, free of political meaning? Hardly. First of all, the astronauts are officers in the same Air Force bombing S.E. Asia daily. And they used a spectacular achievement of modern science to plug medieval mysticism. But the crowning irony came when the Apollo crew was welcomed back to NASA home town Houston, Tex., in a parade showered with a billion dollars of — Confederate money!

Nixon to Turn Further to Right

(Continued from page 1)

precipitating one monetary crisis after another.

And after three years of New Frontiers and five years of the Great Society, the black people are still super-exploited or unemployed and besieged by ruling class racism. Afro-Americans were against Nixon before he won, and they know that liberation can only be achieved by continuing their heroic struggle.

The campus rebellion, mainly sparked by black students, shows no sign of diminishing, and each phase seems to be marked by new progressive developments. The uprising at Columbia has led, by stages, to the beginnings of working class support for student demands in San Francisco.

Furthermore, Nixon is taking over at a moment when the rumblings of the white working class are beginning to be heard, if dimly, as inflation eats up wage increases. Nixon's solution is to increase unemployment and get tough on strikes.

These reasons and more lie behind the new emphasis on deception and the moderate tones from Nixon Administration spokesmen. But the projected \$90 billion military budget and the appointment of stooges of the military-industrial complex like Laird give the lie to all pretense that the ruling class has a perspective of "moderation." And the fact that they have to lie so much shows that they are already afraid of their own future — the inevitable rise of mass resistance to U.S. imperialism on all fronts and especially on the decisive home front.

Statement by Anti-Imperialist Coalition On Mobilization Against Inauguration

The Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement (CO-AIM), formed in January, 1968, to picket the billionaires' Diamond Ball, has been foremost in the New York City area in militantly opposing the ruling class. Highlights of CO-AIM's activities include the separate April 27th march (protesting Mayor Lindsay speaking at the Peace Parade), the return to Washington Square in May, and the massive anti-Humphrey and anti-Wallace demonstrations.

THE COALITION FOR AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT is organizing its membership and urging its friends to demonstrate in Washington during the Inaugural weekend of January 18 and 19 and particularly at the Inaugural ceremonies and parade on Monday, January 20.

CO-AIM WILL BE IN WASHINGTON not only to protest against the crimes of the new and old administrations in Vietnam, but to show active opposition to the entire imperialist establishment, past and present.

NIXON'S APPOINTMENT OF HAWKS like Lodge, Green and Laird, taken together with "dove" Senator McCarthy's vote for racist hawk Russell Long for Democratic whip and his stepping down from the Foreign Relations Committee to make room for ultra-hawk Senator McGee, is further proof, if any is needed, that establishment politicians, liberal and conservative, hawk and "dove," do not represent the people, but are pliant tools in the hands of the big-business rulers of this country.

THE MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN people in their genuine desire for peace were defrauded and completely disenfranchised in the past election. The Inauguration and calls for "unity" are being used to further hoodwink the population and to complete the election swindle. This attempt to cover up the blatant rigging of U.S. elections by a handful of the rich and powerful must be and will be exposed. Nixon is their president, not "the president of all the people."

WE REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE FACT that GIs and Vietnamese are still dying while billionaires profit off their blood; that the banker-generals want to extend

their financial empire with the bodies of our sons, brothers and husbands; that armed forces occupy black and Puerto Rican communities at home to maintain oppression and the capitalists' source of half-price labor.

NOR WILL WE MEEKLY SUBMIT TO or be intimidated into inaction by police and judicial terror against anti-war demonstrations, such as took place in Chicago; against high school and college student protests; against workers striking for better pay and conditions; or against black and Spanish-speaking people fighting for the right to determine their own destinies.

WE WERE GREATLY DISMAYED BY the content of the half page ad placed by the National Mobilization in the New York Times this past Monday. The Mobilization, as the largest anti-war coalition in the U.S., was derelict in its responsibility to expose the entire imperialist establishment, which is responsible for war, and not merely the Nixon Administration, as the enemy of the American people.

In addition, their statement that demonstrators Monday will be "seeking a political, not a physical, confrontation" casts the onus for violence on protesters exercising their rights to demonstrate and not on the police where it belongs. It is completely unnecessary that such a disclaimer be made by the people exercising their rights but, in light of Chicago, such a disclaimer should be forthcoming from the police.

WE ARE GOING TO WASHINGTON to oppose conditions of oppression and expect and demand that the government respect the people's hard-won right to demonstrate; that they guarantee that the police and other establishment forces not provoke violence.

WAR, EXPLOITATION OF WORKERS and oppression of national minorities will exist as long as billionaires rule this country. Their interest is in profit and the need to expand. Nixon is merely their latest tool. Wall Street's entire imperialist system and establishment must be fought and destroyed so that the natural and productive resources of the country and control over their own lives can be returned to the American people and all the people oppressed by U.S. imperialism and human need can come before profit.

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The Draft Constitution of the Chinese CP: An Analysis

By SAM MARCY

50th Anniversary of the International

The publication of the draft of a proposed new constitution of the Chinese Communist Party roughly coincides with the anniversary date of the founding of the Communist International. Had the International survived to this day, it would have been fifty years old this March.

When one considers that there are thirteen countries whose governments consider themselves to be socialist in the Marxist-Leninist sense, one would expect that there would be a great outpouring of plans for the celebration. A fiftieth anniversary should afford an excellent opportunity not only for celebration but for theoretical and political appraisal.

After all, there is not a single Communist Party of all the many that exist that does not owe its origin to the International even if these parties no longer adhere to its political principles. As matters stand, however, the fiftieth anniversary of the Leninist International is an event that will scarcely be noticed, let alone be the cause of celebration on a widespread scale commensurate with its great historic significance.

For the founding of this great revolutionary world body is exceeded in world historic significance only by the great October Socialist Revolution itself. Its formation not only struck terror into the hearts of the ruling classes everywhere, but shed a glaring light on the path of the proletarian class struggle for the world socialist revolution.

The resolutions of the first four Congresses of the International lay down the theoretical foundations for the working class and the oppressed everywhere in the epoch of imperialist wars, wars of national liberation and proletarian revolution. It was not for nothing that the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) was often referred to as the General Staff of the world revolution.

Basic Reasons for its Demise

The fact that the International no longer exists is explained by its detractors as a case of the movement having long outgrown its need. The basic reason for its demise, however, lies in the fact that many of the parties have long abandoned the revolutionary principles of the International and today are almost as fearful of invoking its revolutionary character as the ruling classes themselves.

It is the irony of ironies that almost on the same date as the anniversary of the International, the *Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership is seeking to convene a world conference whose real purpose is to formalize the split with revolutionary China.*

All the more gratifying is it to examine the significant advance made by the Chinese CP in drafting a new constitution for the forthcoming Party Congress to which it will undoubtedly be presented for ratification. Both the constitution and the projected Party Congress are weighty evidence that the Cultural Revolution has reached the stage of political consolidation and that the revisionist tide has been driven back even if it may not yet be in full retreat.

It would be foolhardy and hazardous in the extreme to examine the draft without relation to the time and circumstances in which it is being written and moreover at a time when a good many aspects of the internal struggle in China have yet to be brought to the surface.

Also, the examination of any document such as this, purely on the basis of its written content alone — and particularly before the discussion at the Congress — may lend itself to much conjecture.

For example, the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as it was amended in 1960, had it been subjected to analysis at the time, gave every promise of moving the country further toward socialism and of enhancing "the leading role of the working class" in the construction of a socialist society.

In contrast, the draft of the constitution of the Chinese Communist Party follows on the heels of the Cultural Revolution, and this makes all the difference in the world.

Comparison with Stalin Constitution of 1936

The opening chapter of the draft, entitled "General Program," is written wholly in the revolutionary spirit of the Communist International, and in common with the early founding documents of the International it was written in the spirit of candor and does not seek to embellish the stage of development in present day China. In this respect it is very much unlike the Stalin Constitution of 1936 (which was a state and not a party constitution) that proclaimed the abolition of classes when in fact the grim reality was that classes were being revived and resuscitated by policies wholly alien to the spirit and teachings of Marxism.

Although the Chinese Revolution is twenty years old — almost as old as the October Revolution was when the Stalin Constitution was written — the draft makes no exaggerated claim to the abolition of social classes in China. On the contrary, the draft stresses the existence of classes and explains in Chapter I as follows:

"In this historical phase, classes, class contradictions and class struggle will exist throughout, as will the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, the danger of capitalist restoration and the threats of subversion and aggression by imperialism and modern revisionism."

Characterization of Epoch

One of the primary problems facing the framers of the constitution is the characterization of the present era, i.e., how to relate the general historic epoch to the more specific and current situation. The draft states: "The thought of Mao Tse-tung is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading toward total collapse while Socialism is heading toward worldwide victory."

It is unquestionably correct that on a general historical scale "imperialism is heading toward total collapse while socialism is heading toward worldwide victory."

Objectively that has been true for a very long time. "Imperialism" has been heading to "a total collapse" ever since the First World War and has been on the verge of actual collapse at least twice in this century: once following the First World War and next following the Second World War.

Hence the characterization does not adequately distinguish the present epoch from the previous one. To do this, it needs further amplification by relating it to such concrete developments as the triumph of revisionism in the Soviet Union and to some of the setbacks of the world revolution such as the counter-revolution in Indonesia and other related events.

Clause on Successor to Chairman Mao Tse-tung

An extraordinary aspect of the draft is the inclusion of a paragraph in Chapter I entitled the General Program, which reads as follows:

"Comrade Lin Piao has consistently held high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and most loyally and resolutely carried out and defended Comrade Mao Tse-tung's proletarian revolutionary line. Comrade Lin Piao is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's close comrade-in-arms and successor."

Bourgeois commentators have taken great pains to pour abuse on this aspect of the draft of the constitution.

Unquestionably it is without precedent in the history of the communist movement and does not conform to previous standards of what a constitution generally contains. The framers of this clause are at least equally aware of its novelty as are its critics. It is a frank admission that while the political consolidation of the Cultural Revolution has been advanced, it is by no means fully victorious. On the contrary, the insertion of this extraordinary clause indicates that decisive ideological and political battles may still be ahead. If it will help to win them, the insertion of the clause is entirely justified.

Organizational Structure

Another clause which has been subjected to criticism is contained in Chapter III, Article 5, dealing with the Organizational Structure of the Party which says:

"Leading organs of the party at all levels shall be produced through democratic consultation and election."

This is a modification of the clause in the previous constitution which states that:

"The leading bodies of the party at all levels must be elected."

The modification does not appear to be one of substance but rather of form. It's doubtful whether it narrows the rights of the membership. More likely than not, it merely codifies the common practice under conditions of civil war and continuing internal strife to save and resuscitate a proletarian dictatorship, which is only now barely emerging victorious over an adversary by no means fully vanquished.

The chapter that deals with Membership and Organizational Structure of the Party ought to be regarded as an attempt to give expression to the Leninist principle of democratic centralism under the still difficult conditions of the present stage of development in China.

Profound Internationalism

Some of the clauses reflect the profound internationalism of the early communist movement. Article 3, for instance, states that a member of the Communist Party of China must succeed in, among other things, working not only in the interest of China, but "also for the overwhelming majority of the people of the world."

And earlier in Chapter I, members of the Communist Party are characterized as those:

"... who have vowed to fight for Communism all their lives, must be resolute, fear no sacrifice, and surmount all difficulties to win victory."

Setting such high standards for membership is not only correct and exemplary but profoundly revolutionary.

Ruling Party and Role of Material Incentive

But it must be pointed out that the draft is written for a ruling party, a party that has attained power and directs the destiny of the country. In such a party the

members are in a special position which enables them to acquire material and social privileges which differentiate them not only from the general mass of the population but from the working class, the class on whose behalf the party exercises its power.

Fifty years of experience under the first proletarian dictatorship and the experience of succeeding socialist countries have shown the intimate connection between the growth of revisionism and its relationship to the growth of material and social privileges in the governing bodies and at all levels of the party. The primary condition for membership in a ruling party ought to be the renunciation of material and social advantage and that remuneration be maintained at a level not higher than that of an average worker or a peasant.

The old constitution was based on a relationship of class forces which has been superseded by the Cultural Revolution.

One of the great struggles waged by this Cultural Revolution is precisely against special privilege. This ought to find political expression in the constitution, particularly as it affects members of the party, which as the constitution says, guides the organs of the proletarian dictatorship in China.

The Norms of the Paris Commune

In other words, what is needed is to codify into law the norms envisaged by the Paris Commune, which Lenin called a model for the dictatorship of the proletariat and which is in general harmony with the course of the struggles of the Cultural Revolution.

Aside from any and all errors in political theory and practice, the encouragement of material incentives in the Soviet Union is one of the principal causes of the deformation of the socialist character of the USSR.

Economics in the long run determines politics. Being determines consciousness. The admonition to the party members to be self-sacrificing, to be resolute, to study Marxism-Leninism creatively, and to fight for Communism "all their lives," as stated in the draft, is laudable and absolutely correct.

But after the experiences of proletarian dictatorships since the October Revolution and the experience of the Cultural Revolution in China, is it not incumbent to make the renunciation of material incentive, special privilege and above-normal remuneration a legal requirement for party membership?

Finally, the general program of the party boldly and clearly states the necessity:

"...to overthrow the bourgeoisie completely, to replace the bourgeois dictatorship with a dictatorship of the proletariat, and to defeat capitalism with socialism."

The program also states that:

"The ultimate objective of the party is the realization of Communism."

It is generally well understood by all Marxists that in between the proletarian revolution and the realization of communism is a long period which can only be the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only to defeat the bourgeoisie and to create the material conditions for the development of socialist society, but, that in the course of this more or less protracted period, the aim of the proletariat is to abolish all antagonistic social classes.

The Withering Away of The State

To the extent that it is accomplished, the state itself begins to wither away, particularly as a special repressive force. Lenin's celebrated exposition of Marx's teaching on the "withering away of the state" has, so far as this writer recollects, found no concrete expression in any of the constitutions or other state documents of the socialist countries.

In fact there is no literature at all on this very subject in Marxist-Leninist writings on the state except what Lenin wrote.

This significant aspect in the development of the state, namely its transition from a state to no state, ought to be given greater attention and validated in law as a political perspective.

The monstrous growth of imperialist violence which derives from the monopolist growth of unbridled militarism has forced the socialist countries to respond and thereby to strengthen their armed forces and also the respective state apparatus.

Militarism and violence on both sides of the class barricades have been made to seem by bourgeois ideologists to be the natural state of mankind. The "corrupting influence" of the state is passed off as the root cause of imperialist war as well as oppression in general. Anarchism feeds and develops on the basis of this ideology.

To pick up the thought developed by Lenin on the withering away of the state and give it concrete expression in the constitution would be a contribution to Marxism, and of great value in the worldwide struggle, particularly in the light of the revival of anarchist ideas that have newly flowered in the West as a result of the rise of revisionism and the decomposition of social-democracy into imperialist liberalism.

Nixon-Johnson Scheduled Massive 'War Games' for Jan. 20

NATO Maneuvers Menace Czech Borders

Jan. 9 -- The formal, legal inauguration of Richard Nixon will take place in Washington on Jan. 20 amidst pomp and ceremony calculated by the ruling class to generate an atmosphere of national optimism for the new chief executive of U.S. imperialism.

At the same moment that these fraudulent rites are being performed in Washington, the foreign policy of the Nixon Administration will also be inaugurated -- in Bavaria, West Germany near the borders of Czechoslovakia.

On that day, Jan. 20, in the words of U.S. Brig. Gen. Joseph W. Pezdirtz "we will literally flood troops into Nuremberg." That will mark the beginning of 15 days of NATO military maneuvers which will start about 150 miles from the Czech border and move steadily closer as they move into the Seventh Army training center in Central Bavaria.

The first contingents of 15,000 troops and 100 Phantom jet fighter-bombers

have already arrived in West Germany in preparation for one of the largest set of war "games" in NATO history.

The selection of Jan. 20 is a pointed-political decision by which the new Nixon government wants to unequivocally take responsibility for these menacing military maneuvers and to set a belligerent, anti-Soviet tone to his regime from its very first day in office.

The operation has been denounced in advance in the Soviet Union as "a major military provocation." The reactionary political significance of the move was underscored by the fact that the Pentagon exercises "have been advanced from their original schedule in the second half of 1969." This information was provided by a foreign affairs analyst writing in the Soviet labor union magazine *Trud* and quoted by New York Times Moscow correspondent, Theodore Shabad, on Jan. 7.

The rush timing of the maneuvers is clearly a direct threat to Czechoslovakia and an attempt to bolster up the sagging political courage of Czech

counter-revolutionaries who are struggling and conniving to maintain a foothold in the organ of power.

"From Jan. 20," wrote Valery Rogov, the Soviet analyst, "when President Nixon moves into the White House until Feb. 4, one of NATO's biggest postwar maneuvers will be conducted near the border of Czechoslovakia."

"One involuntarily asks" he continued, "what is this -- a return to the doctrine of massive retaliation of John Foster Dulles, who was Secretary of State...when Nixon was Vice President?" (Of course President Kennedy also ordered similar maneuvers in 1963 but the revisionist leaders in the USSR, who always bank their hopes on encouraging so-called "moderate" imperialists omitted to mention this glaring fact.)

The 15,000 troops include 3,500 Air Force personnel, three brigades of the 24th Infantry Division and the Third Armored Cavalry. They were brought home from West Germany beginning in

April -- before the Soviet intervention. Air Force officers have been brought in from as far away as Japan to participate, according to a Frankfurt dispatch to the Jan. 7 edition of the New York Times.

The operation was officially billed by the Pentagon as an exercise in "rapid response" to a hypothetical crisis in Europe. The troops involved are still designated for NATO service but are stationed in the U.S. as part of the cutback on the U.S. subsidy to their junior partners in Bonn.

But the operation was anything but rapid. It will take two weeks before all the troops arrive. Then it will take two weeks for the maneuvers to finish and the last troops are not scheduled to return to the U.S. until April 15! So much for rapid response.

In other words, the first act of the Nixon Administration will be a war-like threat to the socialist camp carried out behind the backs of the U.S. population.

But because of the steadily growing needs of U.S. imperialism to go to war to protect the empire, Nixon is likely to be discredited among the masses even faster than Johnson, all attempts at lying and deception notwithstanding.

U.S. Nuclear Blackmail in a Low Key: Use Press to Make "Quiet" Threats

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

The U.S. ruling class likes to talk about a detente with the USSR. And indeed on many occasions the revisionist leaders in Moscow have collaborated with U.S. imperialists to the grave detriment of the revolutionary struggle. But no matter how many words the financial oligarchs utter about peaceful cooperation with the socialist camp, Washington is always careful to match them with threatening and war-like deeds.

The latest in a series of heavy-handed U.S. military moves, which began with the revival of NATO following the defeat of imperialism in Czechoslovakia, was the detonation last month of a large underground nuclear explosion which was carried out for purposes of intimidation.

What was described as "the largest atomic bomb ever set off in the United States" was set off on Dec. 19 at the Nevada testing grounds, according to a Dec. 20 New York Times dispatch.

"The blast," wrote reporter Gladwin Hill, "was one of a series of Defense Department weapons development tests. But it had possible diplomatic implications as well." (Our emphasis, ed.)

What gives certain credibility to the speculation that this was an act of nuclear diplomacy is the fact that reporters were invited to observe the tests for the first time in 10 years. Furthermore, this is the first time since the 1963 Test Ban Treaty that any of the 172 subsequent underground tests ever received anything more than the most cursory mention in the capitalist press.

The reason the Atomic Energy Commission brought the press down was to have them describe the effects of the tests for the benefit of the socialist camp and the liberation struggle and convey the diplomatic threat in low key, i.e., without creating the kind of panic which an official government threat would inevitably cause.

Of course the corporate news managers obliged.

"The renewal of press observations today," wrote Hill, "presumably nothing less than a White House decision—



NOT DR. STRANGELOVE but real life generals of the North American Air Defense Command in their mountain fortress at Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado Springs where they are in perpetual readiness to unleash aggression on the socialist countries.

raised speculation that publicity was considered a possible prod to United States-Soviet missile-limitation talks or perhaps to Vietnam negotiations."

The article then went on to describe in menacing detail the gigantic cavern allegedly created in the earth and the earthquake-like effects of the explosion.

This act of blackmail was largely hidden from the U.S. population and the world at large. However, it could not but have been interpreted as an unequivocal attempt at nuclear intimidation by political leaders in the USSR and Asia.

To underscore the purpose of the test the New York Times, the authoritative "paper of record" of the bourgeoisie, ran a repeat of the warning 5 days later. This time Hill spelled things out by tracing the history of U.S. press coverage of underground nuclear testing and its political significance.

COLLEGES GET WARFARE WELFARE

Every big university depends to a large extent on huge Government grants (the corporation grants are often still bigger!) for its physics, math and other scientific departments.

Columbia got \$16 million from the Pentagon last year for research and development for war.

The University of California got \$17 million and Johns Hopkins netted a neat \$71 million.

Top non-profit research and developer for the War ("Defense") Dept. was the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), which received \$92 million for R & D. This is more than the

vast majority of private corporations get. The well-known Sperry Rand Corporation received only \$82 million for these purposes (but much more for actual production, of course).

Now, university presidents play an important role in community relations, "shaping public opinion," etc. But they are usually chosen for their ability to raise funds at least as much as for their scholarship attainments.

The above figures from the Pentagon may give an important clue as to why university presidents support the war more enthusiastically than their professors.

THIRD SCIENTIST FROM W. GERMANY GOES TO THE GDR

The score is rising on the number of scientists who have gone over to the German Democratic Republic to protest West German militarism.

Dr. Peter Mobius, a 38-year-old professor at the Institute of Theoretical Physics at Karlsruhe University was the third scientist in less than a month to dramatize his refusal to put his brain at the service of the regime of ex-Nazis Kiessinger, Strauss, Lubke and Co.

Unlike defectors to imperialism, Mobius' clear choice of socialism over decadent capitalism, will get the standard silent treatment in the "free press" of the U.S. But he has already appeared on television in East Berlin where he told the viewers that "in a socialist state science is used only for the well-being of humanity."

Karlsruhe, where Mobius was employed, is a West German nuclear research center.

Two other important defections occurred in November when Dr. Ehrenfried Petras, a 38-year-old microbiologist and Herbert Patzelt, a 36-year-old physicist similarly demonstrated their revulsion for the sinister war preparations of the West German imperialists.

Petras, who had been forced to work on biological and chemical warfare after the Defense Ministry got control of the research center where he had worked for nine years, said that "he had asked the East German authorities for political asylum so he could put his experience to the service of peace" according to a Reuters dispatch of Nov. 23.

Patzelt was working at the atomic research center at Karlsruhe where the special focus on the plutonium cycle necessary for the production of atomic weapons led him "more and more to doubt whether my knowledge and work was being put to the right use."

man of the AEC, defending the tests against critics. Using the words of Nixon (and the thoughts of the entire U.S. ruling class), Clifford wrote of "the importance of dealing with the Soviet Union from a position of strength," and that, in the words of John Foster Dulles, "nuclear deterrence (is) the cornerstone of our strategic policy..."

It is doubtful that reporter Hill has taken to pilfering the mail of the Secretary of Defense, and it is therefore permissible to conclude that the entire episode was worked out with the Pentagon and the White House.

It is also permissible to conclude that no amount of collaboration with, or capitulation to, the U.S. imperialists by the conservative, revisionist bureaucracy in Moscow can please the imperialists enough so that they ever forget, even for a moment, their cherished mission of preparing to destroy socialism everywhere it exists on earth.

"As of last Thursday, 10 years have passed since any such blast had been open to on-site press observation. The reasons for the latest shift in policy were not indicated. There was speculation it had been calculated for impact on the pending nuclear-limitation negotiations or the Vietnam negotiations..."

It is highly unlikely that ruling class authorities would permit a field reporter to transmit what amounts to a grave nuclear threat to socialist governments twice in six days, unless it had the endorsement of powerful sections of the capitalist class. In all likelihood, the article was written from a government script.

According to the second Times article, the last heavy press coverage of underground nuclear tests was also meant as a threat to the socialist camp. It took place in 1957 "when reporters were admitted to 11 of a series of 24 test detonations -- in a period when the United States was anxious to impress the Soviet Union and other nations with its nuclear might." It is significant that, despite a prior policy of secrecy, the Pentagon "permitted" press coverage during the negotiations to end U.S. aggression in Korea in 1952 and 1953.

An added fact of interest is a report that a similar test of similar size was held last April 26, i.e., before Czechoslovakia, before the build-up of the latest Mideast crisis -- without any fanfare or publicity whatever.

If any further confirmation were required, it was buried at the end of the article and consisted of a few sentences from a letter which Clark Clifford allegedly wrote to Glenn Seaborg, chair-

Mass Murderer to Paris Talks

Ambassador Green Still Dripping With Blood Of Million Indonesians Killed in CIA Coup

The press has plenty of praise for Nixon's new appointment of Marshall Green as a member of the U.S. delegation at the Paris peace talks.

You can read all about how Ambassador Green, who has been serving in Indonesia since the summer of 1965, is an "expert" on Asian Communism, with a "wide knowledge of Communist and East Asian affairs... (that) no other prominent member of the delegation can match."

C. L. Sulzberger of the New York Times, in a column wondering whether the appointment of Henry Cabot Lodge might complicate the Paris talks, had only praise for Green: "As Ambassador to Indonesia, Green has been most effective."

If you're interested in the Ambassador's background, a dozen newspapers will tell you that he has been a career diplomat who served tours as regional planning adviser for the Far East, Consul General in the U.S. Mission in Seoul, South Korea and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs before going to Indonesia.

But Green's main contribution to U.S. imperialism is left unmentioned in all the ruling class papers. Ambassador Green probably doesn't want it noised around, nor do any of his cronies in Washington, but he was a key man in the U.S.-inspired right-wing coup in Indonesia that took the lives of a million people.

It might seem ironic or contradictory that a man who was instrumental in the death of so many Asian people should now be named to work out a "peace" plan in Vietnam. But it is not at all. On the contrary, Green's appointment reveals the type of peace the imperialists would like to be able to impose upon the Vietnamese people.

Green took over in Indonesia in the crucial period when events in that country were rapidly moving to the left, foreign holdings were being expropriated, often directly by the workers themselves, and the mass organizations were calling for a popular militia to defend themselves against the right-wing military men they knew were a great danger.

It was at this time that the U.S. worked out a plan with the right-wing

Council of Generals that urged these military men to seize power and promised Washington's support. There is no doubt that Marshall Green was up to his ears in these negotiations. The American Embassy was well-known as a beehive of subversive activity, and was mentioned by Sukarno and other Indonesian leaders in a number of speeches.

Ambassador Green has since tried to whitewash the U.S. role in the coup, but he has never even pretended to deplore the bloody massacres that followed. When Vice President Humphrey paid a visit to Indonesia in November, 1967, one of his first concerns was to straighten out some of the Americans based in that country who were too openly bragging about the U.S. responsibility.

The New York Times on Nov. 5 explained how Humphrey "took a cue from Marshall Green" in a speech to 200 Americans at the Embassy where he warned them that "some Indonesians are reported to have taken umbrage over talk, apparently originating in Government sources in Washington, that the United States had a great deal to do with the overthrow of President Sukarno because of its Vietnam action."

"Mr. Green portrays the United States presence in Southeast Asia not as having directly set off the Sukarno overthrow, but rather as having provided a shield behind which anti-Communist forces here and elsewhere might effectively operate."

Sulzberger, very aware of what the real role of the U.S. was in the Indonesian coup, continued his praise of Green as follows: "He skillfully remained invisible during the revolution that ousted the anti-American Sukarno government. He has always seen a link between damming the spread of Communist influence on the Southeast Asian mainland and the maintenance of a friendly regime in Indonesia, potentially the richest and actually the largest of all countries in the area."

Green has now been rewarded for his effective role in helping prepare the massacres of progressive Indonesians, and his "expert" knowledge of how to cover up the truth, by being added to the U.S. team of new and old hawks in Paris.

Pentagon Fishing for Bases in Australia

In 1971, Britain is scheduled to dismantle the final segment along its periphery of firepower in Asia. The reason is a pure matter of bookkeeping. Having lost the empire to Wall Street, and the dividends which go with it, British bankers can hardly be expected to pay the bill for protection.

And when the British military packs up its hardware and sets sail for points west of the Persian Gulf, it is quite certain that the Royal Navy will pass the Seventh Fleet hurrying in the opposite direction to prevent the development of any military void which would rapidly be filled by revolutionary liberation forces of the oppressed.

The pivotal role in this realignment operation will be performed by the recently acquired U.S. puppet government in Australia.

Prime Minister John Gorton, in an interview with the Daily Mirror of Sydney as quoted in the Dec. 21 New York Times, virtually invited the incoming Nixon Administration to set up U.S. military bases in Australia.

"I would not take the initiative of inviting the United States to come and establish a base here," Gorton told the interviewer. "I wouldn't want to be in the business of going along and asking them, but it would be a different thing if they came along and asked if they can do something which benefits them and us."

It is no coincidence that this unusually obsequious interview, in which the head of government offers to offer the U.S. a military base, is just what the Pentagon ordered. And it underscores the total takeover by Washington of this strategic continent which was dominated by British imperialism for over a century.

Gorton's predecessor, Harold Holt, dispatched 8,000 troops, including air units and a guided missile destroyer, to fight for U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. The country has been invaded, particularly since the Vietnam war, and overrun by U.S. corporations, especially by U.S. automobile companies, mining and oil interests. Confirmation that Australia has become an appendage of U.S. big business came in February, 1966, when the country switched its re-

serve currency from the pound to the dollar. (Australia did not devalue after the British devaluation.)

The U.S. desire to build bases in Australia, revealed by this so-called "invitation," has broad objectives. First of all, it will subsidize the defense establishment of Australia and thereby permit Canberra to put troops in Singapore and Malaysia. Island Singapore is one of the commercial and financial hubs of Southeast Asia, and Malaysia is a rich source of rubber, tin, lumber and other resources for Western imperialism. Huge military bases in both areas are being abandoned by the British. According to the New York Times' Far Eastern correspondent, Robert Trumbull, writing in the Dec. 21 edition, "a new military program to be announced early next year is expected to provide for expanded Australian forces in Malaysia and Singapore."

The government of feudal Prince Abdul Rahman, whose troops opened fire and killed at least one demonstrator protesting a visit to Malaysia by Lyndon Johnson after the Honolulu Conference, is under attack by a guerrilla movement. Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, who "welcomed the U.S. presence" in Asia shortly after the CIA-inspired Indonesian massacre, has had to triple Singapore's defense expenditures to 30 per cent of the total budget.

It is politically preferable for both the puppets and their U.S. masters to send Australian rather than U.S. troops into these areas which have strong revolutionary movements.

In addition to serving as a jumping-off point to crush rebellions in Malaysia and Singapore, Australia is on the southern flank of Indonesia, and the fascist generals in Jakarta are sure to need Washington's protection within the near future. Australian bases lead on a direct line to the Indian Ocean, and the U.S. is in a hurry to show the presence of its naval guns there to counter recent Soviet cruising in the area.

Last, but not least, Australia can serve as an area of retrenchment if the U.S. imperialists are kicked out of Vietnam. This, at any rate, has been one of the principal strategic suggestions of the "dove" faction in the imperialist camp.

U.S. Flying 500 Missions a Day Against Pathet Lao

"Bomb Halt" Planes Now Blasting Laos

To hear U.S. officials speak about the "total" halt in the bombing of North Vietnam, and the "slowing down" of the war in the south, the innocent listener might imagine that the hundreds of bombers, used to attack every conceivable target both north and south of the DMZ, were lying idle. Not so.

Since President Johnson's pre-election announcement of a halt to the bombing of North Vietnam, the deadly air power of the U.S. imperialist armed forces was quickly reoriented by the Pentagon to concentrate attacks on territory in Laos held by the liberation army of the Pathet Lao. As one F-4 pilot crudely put it in an interview with New York Times reporter Terence Smith, Dec. 6, "It's business as usual so far as we're concerned."

On Dec. 31, Hanoi radio reported in a message from the Pathet Lao that the U.S. is dropping four or five times as many bombs on eastern Laos as before Nov. 1. The Pathet Lao revealed what has been a guarded military secret of the Pentagon--that the U.S. launched 15,502 combat flights and dropped at least 67,780 bombs on Pathet Lao territory in November alone! This comes to over 500 bombing flights per day! "Business as usual" for the imperialists means bombing all day and night, seven days a week in a new escalation of the war against the liberation forces in Laos. U.S. fighter-bombers from six different bases in Thailand have all been striking, not only the so-called Ho Chi Minh Trail, but any other territory held by the Pathet Lao. In addition, Douglas Robinson reported in the



Pathet Lao combatting U.S. "business as usual" (see story).

Times, Dec. 9, that the U.S. has "three attack carriers--the Intrepid, the Coral Sea and the Ranger--operating off the coast of South Vietnam." This means 100 more jet fighter-bombers available to bombard Laos daily.

The secrecy surrounding the illegal raids on Laotian territory, admitted the Times, Dec. 9, is to hide the fact that "the pilots are now engaged full-time in an activity that the United

States does not officially acknowledge."

International law has never been a barrier to the aggression of U.S. imperialism, in Laos or Vietnam, or anywhere else. Therefore, under the euphemism of "armed reconnaissance flights" and under cover of stopping "infiltration from the North," the U.S. has vastly escalated the war against Laos.

Australians Now Aid U.S. in Thailand

The Australian government, which has 8,000 troops in Vietnam, has now made an official contribution to another, growing U.S. effort at counter-revolution in Thailand.

"Australian experts are waging a quiet war against Communist influence in northern Thailand," reads a Jan. 2 Reuters dispatch from Ching Mai. "Experts and technicians" have been sent to help the U.S. puppet regime in Bangkok "combat unrest among mountain tribes in the north," where the Thai Patriotic Front has been spreading the influence of the liberation struggle since it began in 1965.

A radio-program expert from the Australian Broadcasting Company has been sent to teach the northern network, Radio Thailand, some of the psychological warfare techniques which the U.S. is infamous for in Vietnam. The purpose is "to wean the hill tribes away from the Communist radio of Peking and Hanoi." There are 500,000 tribesmen in the area.

Australia is also sending pacification-program-type "anthropologists," agricultural experts, etc., to aid the losing U.S. effort in Thailand.

It's not that Washington doesn't have enough counter-revolutionary "experts" of its own. It's just that Washington wants to nail down the newly acquired puppet government in Canberra to an official presence in Thailand. The Australian ruling class is apparently so blinded by its lust for the crumbs of U.S. loot that it is being led to a second defeat while still suffering the agony of the first.

Militant Struggle for Afro-American Student Rights Brings Worker Support at San Francisco State

From San Francisco State to Brandeis, black students have initiated new struggles in recent months that are raising campus radicalism to a new level of seriousness and militancy. In the case of San Francisco State, the strike that was started by the Black Students Union on November 6 has now involved a significant part of the Bay Area labor movement, giving reality to the worker-student-black alliance that has until now been little more than a theoretical anticipation in radical discussion.

The struggle at San Francisco State has grown to such proportions that it now encompasses thousands of students and a large portion of the faculty against the California state repressive apparatus. As at Columbia, however, it was the black students whose daring and determination got the strike off the ground and kept it there during the first hard weeks of relative isolation.

Unlike Columbia, the West Coast student strike has introduced an entirely new element into the fight against the reactionary school and state administrations: the entrance on the scene of the organized labor movement, in the form of the second and reinforcing strike by the American Federation of Teachers, Local 1352, and an agreement by cafeteria workers not to cross the picket lines.

The AFT was able to win the support — albeit reluctantly given by some more conservative unions — of the San Francisco Central Labor Council, on Jan. 6. When this happened, Governor Reagan's threats to keep the school open "at the point of a bayonet" evaporated, and even racist Mayor Alioto, whose cops had been clubbing and arresting students for two months, backed down from his earlier threats and did not call in state police.

It is, of course, well within the power of the union movement to completely close down a school, without even having to resort to a direct confrontation with the police. The California hard-line reactionaries knew that without delivery of vital supplies the school would have to be shut down.

Hence their search for more diplomatic means to supplement police intimidation, such as negotiation, rounding up more pressure against the strike, etc.

The Third World Liberation Front, representing a coalition of the black students and their allies, is refusing to negotiate. They recognize that the call for negotiations is only an attempt by

Reagan-Alioto and Hayakawa to divert the struggle into an arena where the authorities feel stronger at the present time. The strength of the students and the striking teachers is on the picket line, as the broadening of the struggle over the past two months has shown.

Regardless of what role certain sections of the labor movement may be induced to play in the future with regard to the strike, the fact that the black students were able to parlay up this struggle and enlist the support of the unions will remain a highly significant factor and one that contains a great deal of promise for the future development of the movement against imperialism in all areas.

Specifically, some of the developments which have thwarted the semi-fascist Reagan and the other reactionaries faced with the problem of how to break the strike are as follows: When the strike resumed after an extra-long Christmas vacation, it was stronger than ever. Two thousand turned out for the picket line on the first day, including a third of the faculty. The teachers have a slate of their own demands, but they also support the demands of the student struggle. The Central Labor Council, officially only backing the teachers' union, cannot help but objectively give a boost to the black students by endorsing the strike.

By the second day, there were 550 cops at the campus. Reagan, in his "State of the State" message, talked about "anarchy and insurrection" at the state colleges and blustered that "higher education in our state colleges and universities is not a right, it is a privilege." He threatened that any teachers missing more than five days of classes could be fired. But the response to his tough words was stiffer resistance. Nearly half the department heads refused to turn in teacher attendance records. Even a former president of the college supported the right of the teachers to strike, and the teachers and students continued picketing in defiance of a court order.

The repercussions of this milestone struggle are now being felt all over the country. At San Fernando Valley State College, the authorities have tried to head off a repeat of San Francisco by arresting 235 students for "unlawful assembly" at an open forum area on campus. Teachers at San Jose State have struck with a list of their own demands and in support of the struggle at San Francisco.

At Brandeis, Swarthmore and Queens, black students have followed



This struggle hasn't "turned the workers off."

the Columbia example and seized buildings to dramatize their demands. The white students at these "liberal" Eastern colleges have been slow to grasp that the struggle against racism is an intimate part of their own fight against the reactionary school authorities. But these struggles are just beginning, and they all contain a great deal of potential.

In all the cases mentioned, the black students' demands boil down to a recognition of their status as a separate nation and the granting of powers that will enable them to have more control

over their destinies. Recognizing the revolutionary potential of this trend the ruling class-controlled NAACP is trying to stem the tide of Black Nationalism by repudiating the demands for autonomous black studies departments, facilities and teachers for Afro-American students.

It should be clear to anyone that it is the black students who are dynamically carrying out a mass struggle, and not the moderate "leaders" chosen by the Establishment, who reflect the real aspirations of the black people.

Class Struggle and National Struggle

Under Imperialism the Second Does Not Contradict the First

A number of young American progressives are now theorizing that since the struggle of the workers against the bosses is fundamental, therefore the struggle of oppressed nationalities (like the Afro-American) is secondary and not quite so vitally important as the struggle of classes, as such.

This is a dangerous theory, because it can lead to the weakening of support for black liberation and weakening of the long-range struggle of the workers — white as well as black.

Of course the class struggle is fundamental. "The history of all hitherto existing society (since primitive man) has been a history of class struggle."

But it is necessary to add that this long history of class struggle only occasionally took on a pure and obvious form that could be easily labeled as indeed a struggle between classes. The struggle was cloaked in religious garments for hundreds, if not thousands of years, for example. And the "religious wars" are so called, precisely because they are not recognized as class struggles, when for the most part they certainly should be.

Many, many times the class struggle took the form of the national struggle — if for no other reason than that the most common form of oppression was the super-oppression of the whole

people of one country by the rulers of another country. This was true of ancient slave society, of feudalism, of feudal-absolutism, of mercantile capitalism and industrial capitalism as well as of modern capitalist imperialism.

Karl Marx who coined the dictum, "Workers of the world unite," also said "Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself while labor with a black skin is branded." When he uttered the latter thought, he had in mind the necessity for breaking up chattel slavery to pave the way for a united black-white struggle against capitalism, particularly in the U.S. He felt that the real proletarian revolution could not begin in the United States until the Civil War was won and black and white stood on equal footing before the capitalist exploiter.

The century of continued super-exploitation of the black people in the United States after the Civil War did not establish this equal footing. But it made Marx's thought now applicable in a new way.

In the 1930's, when the U.S. workers were moving onto the arena of their greatest and widest industrial struggles, the white militants recognized that labor with a white skin had to make some overtures to labor with a black skin before they could even begin their struggle against the white bosses,

much less win it.

In the steel plants throughout the country, black workers were elected to top local union offices for the first time in U.S. industrial history. And black workers not only participated in, but often led the way in, the most energetic class combats of that period.

The great socialist, Eugene Debs, had hardly noticed the black struggle before World War I, and although he fought the big bosses' government with magnificent courage, he took it for granted that the black people's problems would be solved automatically by the white people's class struggle. He did not see the urgent special needs of the black people then and NOW. He did not see the importance of white support for black freedom. Nor did he appreciate the necessity of black support for white labor action to succeed.

But with changing conditions, many white workers, far less radicalized and less socialist than Debs, saw in the Thirties that they must make attempts (admittedly on a very low level) to solve some of the black-white problems, before they could begin to solve the worker-boss question.

They were thirty years ahead of their top steel union leaders in this, by the way. To this day the United Steel Workers' executive board does not

have a single black member on it.

For a host of reasons the consciousness of the white workers as a whole has receded considerably since the 1930's. But because of this very fact, if no other, the requirements of the class struggle itself now make necessary far greater concessions on the part of the white workers to the black people.

This was posed all too sharply in the New York teachers' strike last fall.

The strike demonstrated to even the most untheoretical white progressives that a union's strike must at least on some occasions be subordinated to an oppressed people's needs.

Many whites (not enough, of course!) who would otherwise be the first to support a strike helped to keep the schools open when the union tried to shut them down, because they rightly believed the strike to be an action against black self-determination, rather than against the white bosses of New York City.

They also understood that the strike would weaken the teachers' union as an instrument of workers' struggle, because it would alienate the support of the great oppressed black and Puerto Rican communities.

These militants recognized in action, if not in theory, that sometimes the traditional form of the class struggle may be in reality a club against the oppressed and an obstacle to the class struggle and that, contrariwise, the struggle of a super-oppressed people expresses and focalizes the class struggle itself.

The Issue on the Docks--"Containerization" For Longshoremen, It's a Fight for Survival

Containerization is an obscure word which is not in even the latest unabridged dictionaries. But in a very short span this lifeless sounding term is going to be catapulted into the English language in an atmosphere of stormy emotion. It will make its way into the vocabulary under the impact of the mounting life and death struggle of 75,000 East Coast longshoremen to keep the billionaire shipping barons from throwing two-thirds of their ranks on the junk pile.

In shipping the word has been known for several years and on the docks containerization means war—the war of the shipowners against the longshoremen. That war is now in full progress at 20 ports from Maine to Texas.

The outcome is crucial. If the shipowners have their way, their bloated, government subsidized profits will skyrocket and the International Longshoremen's Association will be reduced from 100,000 to 30,000 in ten years or less.

Containerization is the issue and here it is in a nutshell. Companies which send freight by ship load the goods into a big container which gets hauled to the docks and is then lifted by a giant crane onto a special containership which is built

to receive hundreds of containers. Ships coming into port, if they are containerized, are unloaded in the same way. A ship which used to take five days or more to unload can be unloaded in a day.

The ILA wants the right to control container shipping so as to maintain the already dwindling amount of work for its members. The rank-and-file has been picketing the whole East Coast since Dec. 20, the expiration date of the 80-day Taft-Hartley cooling off period ordered by President Johnson last September at the behest of the shippers.

The companies are acting like indignant angels, complaining about union rejection of their unprecedented "generosity." They are offering \$1.60 an hour over three years with increased welfare and pension benefits. David Cole, special so-called "impartial" Presidential mediator, echoed the bosses and lauded the "generous, even lavish contract."

Of course the contract might be considered a decent raise (hardly "generous, even lavish," coming from a bunch of billionaires who live off the labor of the dock-workers and seamen)

for that small fraction of the longshoremen whose jobs are not wiped out by automation and who would still be left to guide the containers.

But even sell-out artist Teddy Gleason, ILA president, who rammed the reduction of work gangs and the initial containerization agreement down the throats of the membership in 1965, is not so blind as to fail to put up a fight over this life and death issue on the docks. ILA vice-president Anthony Scotto, head of Brooklyn Local 1814, who is of Gleason's type, put it mildly when he said, "The membership would be quickly and drastically reduced if we lost jurisdiction over containers."

The union insists on the right to strip and repack containers at the port site. Containerized shippers have been getting away with murder by paying low wages for loading at points far from the ports. Some freight haulers have been collecting small loads and consolidating them into the large containers. All this is freight handling that should be done by the longshoremen, says the union.

The New York Shipping Association, the main bargaining agent for the shipowners, won't agree that the workers who have made them rich have a right to protect their lives.

The owners maintain that they have done enough by raising the guaranteed annual pay for "regular" longshoremen from 1,600 hours to 2,080 hours. (It was the 1,600 hour agreement in the New York Port which they gave in the last contract in order to cut the work gangs and to get a foot in the door

with containerization.) In the first place, the owners went back on the 1,600 hours deal in practice. Second of all, thousands of men will be disqualified for not being "regulars." Third of all, retirement and other areas of attrition will decimate the ranks and cripple the union in fighting ability in a very short time.

According to union leaders, agreement has been reached with conventional ship lines but the containerized lines will not even negotiate the vital issues and are waiting for the President and/or the Congress to force the men back to work and then legislate a shotgun settlement on company terms. The big business press is already beginning to chime in with the shipowners.

But the struggle against the containerized lines is going to be a hard one because they are owned by the giant "conglomerate" monopolies which are vying with one another in the race to build integrated, semi-automated transportation systems, which include railroad cars, trailers, automated piers, ship lines etc.

The big business government in Washington has slapped six Taft-Hartley injunctions on the longshoremen in the last two decades and the men have fought back militantly. Neither the government nor the companies can eliminate the crying contradiction underlying the ILA walkout—i.e., that under capitalism, under the profit system, every labor-saving device becomes a burden for the laboring class because it's a boon to the non-laboring profiteers.

Because of this, the working class has every right to struggle against automation and job-eliminating devices of any kind by whatever means are effective. The burden of the "public interest" lies upon the privileged few, not the exploited many.

ALREADY BUDDY-BUDDY WITH NIXON...

Meany Couldn't Wait

Whenever a new supervisor takes over in a plant any bunch of working men who know what's good for them are quick to let him know just where he stands — i.e. on the other side of the class line together with the boss.

Well the U.S. capitalist class has just hired their new man to supervise the working class and to make sure that things go smoothly for the bosses — and guess who went running down to see the Nixon Administration to get in good with the new supervisors who will take over on Jan. 20.

You guessed it, George ("I-never-walked-a-picket-line") Meany.

Meany hopped right over to see the incoming Secretary of Labor, George Shultz, a real son of the working class — the Dean of the Graduate School of Business at the University of Chicago and a businessman himself. They held "two very long, and very cordial meetings" gloated the Wall Street Journal of Jan. 7, and as a result "Meany bans union attacks on the 'President-elect.'" His AFL-CIO cronies were also said to "sense an effort to cooperate" on the part of the new, gold-plated crew who are moving in to take from the working class whatever the Johnson Administration didn't get around to.

It is true that Meany and his fellow bureaucrats have been selling out the workers politically and economically for years. They are racist and they helped to divert the workers from their main enemy — the bosses. They backed the aggressive wars of the billionaires and thereby helped them to drag the sons of the workers to die on the battlefield to make profits safe. They closed their eyes to automation and speed-up and buried the 30-for-40 demand of the rank-and-file, and countless other deeds which give aid and assistance to the corporations.

But there are more bankers, businessmen and big corporation lawyers in the Nixon Administration than you are likely to find outside of Wall Street. And you would think that Meany and his fellow labor-fakers would be a bit more cautious about being so cordial with the mortal enemy of the men who pay their fat salaries.

Meany would never go into a shop in his own union and tell the men not to attack the boss and that he and the boss were on "cordial" terms. They'd throw him out in a minute.

And that is just about how the workers should treat Meany and the rest of the mis-leaders of labor — the way they would treat any union leader who went to see the new boss behind their backs, brought them nothing and told them, don't worry and take it easy, "I sense an effort to cooperate."



45 Million Workers Lost 1968 Raises: Stolen Back by Bosses Thru Inflation

If you got a wage raise some time last year, you had better check again and see if you are really ahead. In fact, it is more than likely that by now price-raising, profit-loving U.S. big business has actually turned your raise into a pay cut while you weren't looking.

Here's the sad story in black and white.

"The steepest inflationary spiral in 17 years," reads a Dec. 27 Associated Press dispatch from Washington, "climbed further in November with a rise of four-tenths of 1 per cent in the Consumer Price Index. The rise wiped out pay gains of 45 million workers," the Government said. (Our emphasis, ed.)

"This reduced purchasing power five-tenths of 1 per cent below that of November, 1967, for the average worker with three dependents, despite wage increases over the year." (Our emphasis, ed.)

There has been voluminous speculation about devaluing the U.S. dollar on the international arena, but while all that talk is going on, the big capitalists are in fact devaluing the workingman's dollar every day on the domestic arena — not in relation to how much gold he can buy, but in relation to how much he has to fork over to the monopolies for food, clothes, medicine, etc.

"The value of the dollar last month, as compared with 1957-59, fell to 81 cents, and the average paycheck of \$109.21 was worth \$78.06 after taxes in terms of purchasing power 10 years ago. The average paycheck was worth even less, \$70.85, for single workers, who pay higher taxes."

Millions of workers across the country won hard-fought gains in pay by strike struggles last year or won raises on the basis of strength accumulated in previous strikes and class

battles. These struggles involved picketing, sometimes for weeks and months, getting low strike benefits or none at all, often going into personal debt or having to take a lower paying job to keep going, and enduring many other hardships which a striking worker and his family have to suffer

All these sacrifices are ignored and all the gains wiped out by a relative handful of corporate magnates, quietly making decisions on price rises which affect the lives of millions. In the secret luxury of carpeted offices, ruling class executives who pull down six-figure salaries, plus dividends on stocks, conspire to steal back from the entire working class through price hikes the money which they have ceded to their own workers in wage increases. They don't ask anyone's permission. They are not bound by any guidelines other than their own profit interests. There are no Taft-Hartley laws for bosses.

In the latest round of price gouging, all the monopolies got into the act.

The auto industry raised the price of cars. The oil monopolies raised prices on gasoline and motor oil. The giant utilities raised the price of gas and water services. Landlords raised the rents. Lumber barons jacked up their prices and raised the cost of construction all around. The crucial steel industry raised prices just days after the steel contract. The big textile mills raised prices, and clothes costs shot up. Public transportation, which is built and paid for by the workers to begin with, costs more to use in many cities across the country.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, from Nov., 1967 to Nov., 1968, food costs were up 4.2 per cent; housing up 5.4 per cent; apparel and upkeep, 6.3 per cent; medical care, 6.1 per cent; and all other crucial items needed for daily life showed similar

Who Rules

United Fruit's
Cuban Days

the Empire?



"All our people should also know how the imperialists took over our economy.... They must know how and why the railroads, the electric companies, the best lands, the sugar mills—everything—passed into their hands." In response to this call by Fidel for an exposure of U.S. imperialism in Cuba, the Havana newspaper Granma has undertaken a series entitled "The Story of the Penetration and Control of the Cuban Economy by Yankee Imperialism."

The first article in the series, "The Case of Mr. Preston and the United Fruit Co." (Oct. 20, 1968), exposes the predatory nature of one particularly famous—though entirely typical—U.S. company in Cuba. The United Fruit Co., which today (according to a U.S. government report) owns or controls "85 per cent of the land in the American tropics suitable for banana cultivation," began operations in Cuba just after the U.S. government's intervention at the close of the 19th century.

UNITED FRUIT MOVED IN WITH THE MARINES

Incorporated in Boston in 1899, the United Fruit Co. sold \$20 million worth of shares at once, since it was widely believed that Cuba was soon to be annexed by the U.S. Without waiting for anything so formal, Andrew Preston's United Fruit Co. bought up in 1901, in the rich and fertile coastal zone of Banes, over 75,000 hectares of land for only \$400,000, or about \$5.30 per hectare (a hectare is 2.5 acres).

"The valuable hardwood forests, alone, that covered that land and that went into the furnaces of the sugar mills, were worth many times—incomparably more than—that sum," Fidel pointed out. In 1898, U.S. holdings in Cuba totaled less than \$50 million. By 1927, Cuban lands, factories, and resources were owned by U.S. interests to the tune of \$1.5 billion, a 30-fold increase in 30 years.

During this period, United Fruit stepped up its "penetration, expansion, and final control" in Cuba as well. According to sources quoted by Granma, "By 1930 the United Fruit Co. owned 38,860 of the 57,750 original hectares comprising the district of Banes. It also owned 49,690 hectares of land in the nearby districts—which made the company one of the largest latifundist enterprises in Cuba and in Latin America."

The extreme rapidity with which the U.S. seized the resources of Cuba had its toll in the brutalization and exploitation of the Cuban people. Here is a personal narrative, quoted from Granma:

"I know Banes well because that is where I was born. When I was a young boy, in the 1930's, Banes—a community with a population of some 40,000—was divided into two entirely different sections: the town itself, inhabited by Cubans, and 'the Company,' inhabited by U.S. citizens and a few native officials of the United Fruit Company.... This phenomenon was never explained to me in school. Neither was I given any explanation for the scene I witnessed, shaken with fright, right by that same bridge, when hundreds of men and women—white as well as black—but mainly black—who were shouting something I could not understand, were suddenly set upon by the Rural Guards.

WORKERS CUT DOWN WITH MACHETES

"I remember that, caught in the midst of this violent struggle, I had to move fast and take refuge in the nearby post office. Peering through a window, I witnessed a terrifying scene: I saw what looked like giant horses, covered with sweat and rearing upon their hind legs, and the men who rode them, dressed in yellow uniforms. They charged like sinister centaurs and swung their machetes right and left in a brutal attack against a group of unarmed people who roared in anger and pain.

"Later I found out that these people were workers whom the company contracted periodically, shipping them in—like beasts—from Haiti and Jamaica, to be employed as cancutters for the most miserable of wages.

"Sometimes these workers rebelled.

"But whenever such a thing happened, all that was needed was for the administrator to call the Rural Guards—whose headquarters was, by marked coincidence, within the company's zone—and the Guards would quell the rebellion by means of an efficient—and bloody—machete attack."

The United Fruit Co., and the other North American corporations that forced their economic stranglehold over the Cuban people, did not only have to wage war against the Cubans, but also had to fight ruthlessly against other U.S. capitalists. The United Fruit Co.'s early competitor, the Atlantic Fruit Co., was forced out of business through all sorts of "legal" maneuvering as well as terror tactics. The coup de grace was delivered when the Hamburg-American Line refused to carry Atlantic Fruit business. It was no accident that this German line was controlled by interests having dealings with the House of Morgan and that it was in the latter's interest to promote United Fruit.

The normal amount of infighting among the capitalists reached feverish proportions in the 1929 crash. Just as was happening all over the world, in Cuba too the weaker companies "fell, like ripe plums, into the laps of the powerful consortiums." During this period of "concentration of capital," the financial interests tightened its overwhelming hold over industry. And in 1929, as today, these consortiums were "headed, first and foremost, by the Morgan and Rockefeller interests, and followed by the Du Ponts, the Mellons and the whole group that make up the 'big eight' of the Yankee financial oligarchy."

The final statement that can be made about United Fruit in Cuba comes necessarily from a Cuban, in Granma: "The case of the United Fruit Co. in Banes is typical. Take Banes and multiply it by 20, 50 or 100 of Cuba's most fertile and potentially wealthy regions. Take the United Fruit Co. and multiply it by 20, 50 or 100 major U.S. monopolies that plundered Cuba."

-- KENNETH LAPIDES

Ho Chi Minh's
New Year Greetings

HANOI, North Vietnam, Dec. 31 (Agence France Presse)—President Ho Chi Minh addressed poetic New Year's greetings today to the Vietnamese people, the diplomatic corps and to journalists here.

His short poem said:

Last year there were glorious victories.
In the coming year, even more glorious victories for the front,
For independence, for liberty.
Strike until the U.S. clears out.
Strike until the puppets collapse.
Forward, fighting countrymen.
When the North and South are reunited
There will be no spring more joyful.

From the Pages of WORKERS WORLD
Ten Years of Rev

The following headlines and excerpts from articles in WORKERS WORLD should present the reader with both a history of the highlights of U.S. intervention against the Revolution and the fraternal support of Workers World Party for the revolutionary people of Cuba and their leaders in the development of the struggle against imperialism.

July 14, 1960 — Cuba Charges U.S. With Aggression; Gets Backing From the Soviet Union

"The Cuban Foreign Minister filed a formal protest with the U.N., accusing the U.S. government of plotting intervention and counter-revolution in Cuba.... The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey warned all the tanker owners and tanker fleet owners of the world not to dare to carry Soviet oil to Cuba.... This could not have been done without State Department agreement."

August 11, 1960 — Cuba Takes What Belongs To It: This Won't Hurt U.S. Labor!

"Cuba has just expropriated the factories, utilities and sugar mills owned by the big American bosses. Every brick, every nut and bolt, every vat, every machine, every ounce of sugar was paid for ten times over by the super-exploited labor of the Cuban people during the last decade or more."

Sept. 30, 1960 — Castro to All Oppressed Nations: "Kick Out Your Foreign Masters and Take What Belongs to You!"

United Nations, Sept. 26 — "Prime Minister Fidel Castro of Cuba today asserted the right of all colonies and underdeveloped countries to nationalize without indemnity their own natural resources as well as the foreign-owned factories, mines, etc. 'There can be no political independence unless there is economic independence,' he said...."

January 13, 1961 — Defend Cuba! Don't Let Wall St. Start Another War for Plunder! U.S. Brass Hats Already Arming, Drilling Invaders in "Secret" Guatemala Training Camp

April 19, 1961 (Special Edition) — DEFEND CUBA! Defeat of Wall Street's War Plans Sacred Duty of All the Oppressed

"The bankers' and bosses' government of the United States is openly aiding and equipping the counter-revolution invasion.... The Standard Oil Company, the United Fruit Company, the Cuban-American Sugar Company and dozens of others are trying to get back their right to exploit the Cuban workers as they used to — for as little as three dollars a day.

"If they should succeed in their attempt, not only Cuba would suffer. The workers and landless poor of all Latin America would be thrown back.... The Yankee plunderers would then fasten their dictatorship more securely on the backs of the U.S. workers too.... Let the millions do as tens of thousands in New York and other cities have already done — demand that U.S. imperialism keep its HANDS OFF CUBA."

Sept. 29, 1961 — Rob Williams Safe in Cuba! Gives Bloodhounds the Slip and Makes It to Freedom

Feb. 9, 1962 — Kennedy's Embargo on Cuba Is Shameless Aggression Against a Free People

"Failing to conquer Cuba by the military attack of U.S.-armed mercenaries, failing to line up Latin America for an economic attack and strangulation of Cuba, Kennedy last week announced a U.S. embargo on all imports from Cuba."

October 26, 1962 — Pentagon Is Hell Bent on A-War; Prepares Genocide of Cuban People

"Knowing that little Cuba was no military danger to



Sam Marcy, Chairman (center right, dark overcoat) guards on steps of UN after took place during U.S. A

the United States; knowing that any other country, but was its months ago by the United protect itself against a new at Kennedy has declared war on ordering U.S. warships to Soviet freighters."

Oct. 11, 1963 — Cuban S People

"The Cuban National Communist the South Vietnam People's Imperialism and for National in Havana on Sept. 27."

April 16, 1964 — Tito S Imperialist Move

"The newspaper Hoy... has invitation to Venezuela... to 'unaligned countries' as 'offensive' to Cuba."

Dec. 30, 1964 — When Gu — Revolutionist Speaks; Cou a Blank

Nov. 11, 1965 — Reform Abolition of All Rent on 80 Per

Dec. 23, 1965 — Cuba Will Conference of Emerging Peop

July 7, 1967 — Government UN; Condemns Security Cou

"World Body" Imperialist T

Aug. 3, 1967 — Vital Soci in Cuba

"... It was announced on Ju telephone service would be fre get free medical and dental ca services are free.... Most o rent-free...."

Aug. 17, 1967 — Cuba Tri-C

The 21-Year-Old Principal of V

By ELLEN PIERCE

When the revolution swept Batista and his U.S. financiers out of Cuba, Julio Guanchi was a 12-year-old shoe-shine boy in Havana. At the mass rallies held in the capital afterwards, he sold soft drinks and fruit juice to help support his four brothers and sisters. While he peddled his wares he must have been listening to the revolutionary speeches too, because today Guanchi heads a 300-pupil school which he hopes to make "a school of the communist era." He has now reached the ripe old age of 21.

Most of the teachers at the Valle del Peru Semiboarding Primary School are even younger.

That is not the only remarkable thing about this school. Valle del Peru was, until very recently, an isolated valley in Havana Province. Highways and electricity have come to the area only in the past few months. Precisely because the area was so backward and in need of schools, it was chosen as the site for the most up-to-date school in Cuba.

Construction of the cream-colored, airy building was accomplished in just 93 days, although it rained constantly for three weeks of that time. "It has been a hard job; many beautiful things have

been created out of nothing," said one of the guerrilla workers from the Ministry of Construction when the job was done.

Kindergarten to sixth-grade students attend the school. Their day begins at 8 a.m. when they arrive by bus and eat breakfast. (They are also given lunch, dinner and morning and afternoon



Julio Guanchi and teachers.

revolutionary Cuba



...man of Workers World Party, and Vince Copeland, editor of WORKERS WORLD (overcoats), with Puerto Rican and North American supporters and flanked by security UN after being thrown out for pro-Cuban demonstration. The incident, on Jan. 4, 1961, U.S. Ambassador Wadsworth's speech breaking diplomatic relations with Cuba.

...ng that Cuba had never attacked as itself attacked only 18 short ited States, and is trying to ew attack — knowing all this, ar on Soviet shipping to Cuba, s to fire 'if necessary' on

...an Solidarity With Vietnam

...Committee for Solidarity with ople's Struggle against U.S. tional Liberation was founded

...Tito Scored in Cuba for Pro-

...has correctly branded Tito's a... attend a conference of as 'unfriendly, disloyal and

...en Guevara Visited the U.S. s; Counter-Revolution Shoots

...Reforms in Cuban Economy: 80 Per Cent of All Buildings! a Will Hold Three-Continent Peoples

...nment of Cuba on Mideast and y Council Cease-Fire, Calls list Tool

...l Social Services to Be Free

...on July 17 that all public local be free of charge....All Cubans tal care....Funeral and burial most of Cuba's real estate is

...Tri-Continental Meeting Hails

Black Freedom Fight in U.S. Cities... Carmichael Gets Ovation as Spokesman of Revolt

"Representatives from 27 Latin American countries gathered in Havana on July 31 to hold the first conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS)... The conference gave strong support to the Afro-American liberation struggle in the U.S. and was climaxed by the passage of a resolution condemning aid by socialist countries to Latin American puppets of Washington.... The position of Cuba in favor of armed struggle was the backbone of the political position finally arrived at by the majority."

Oct. 20, 1967 — A Conversation With Che Guevara, Apostle of Armed Struggle Against the Oppressor "The night before Che Guevara left the United States for the last time, he met with a little band of progressive writers and supporters of Cuba.... We who met with him on the night of Dec. 16, 1964 did not have the opportunity to serve with him in guerrilla battles or in political struggles. But we saw him in a rare moment of relaxation — a socialist man in a capitalist world, conversing with comrades and sympathizers about the struggle and about its demands on the individual.... He died fighting Yankee imperialism in Bolivia (and) could have had no better death.... He must have died secure in the knowledge that the best youth in the world will try their utmost to imitate the actions of his life."

Sept. 13, 1968 — Castro for Warsaw Pact Intervention

"In his speech Premier Castro criticized the Soviet leadership for not giving more aid to defeat the counter-revolution in other countries as well as Czechoslovakia. But he did not, as some social democrats contend, give merely 'critical support' to the action of the Red Armies."

Social Welfare— "Rich" New York vs. "Poor" Cuba

As Cuba celebrates the 10th anniversary of Batista's overthrow, U.S. imperialism is taking great pains to try and discredit the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere.

It is a piece of unconscious irony that the New York Times chose to condemn Premier Fidel Castro's latest announcement on sugar rationing in an editorial placed cheek by jowl next to a tearful lament over New York City's rising welfare rolls. Like other bourgeois commentators, the Times seems unaware that for the rulers of this country to dare to lecture the Cuban people about social conditions is, at the very least, ludicrous.

Cuba has faced every hardship that a colonial heritage, invasion, military blockade and embargo could effect. In spite of this, the small Latin country, which has a population about the size of New York City, can show this rich metropolis a thing or two.

Havana doesn't have a stock exchange, isn't a world center of commerce and exploitation, can't boast the rich shops of Fifth Avenue or the groaning banks of the financial district. But it also doesn't have almost a million people on the welfare rolls, like New York, or the rampant drug addiction and prostitution that is an accepted feature of Gotham nightlife.

CUBA HAS LOWEST INFANT DEATHS

Cuba now has the lowest infant mortality rate in Latin America—lower than the toll among black U.S. infants. This is only one gauge—but a very significant one—of the dramatic improvements in the health of the Cuban people that are a direct result of the Revolution.

Spending on public health, welfare and social security programs has increased more than 24 times since 1958, while the total budget of the nation has only risen by a factor of five. The Cuban concept of "welfare" covers much more than the subsistence checks doled out in the U.S. Cuba is straining its resources to the utmost to integrate into the economy persons who were "unemployable" before. Many of the new schools being built are "semi-boarding," where the children's needs throughout the day are looked after so that mothers may work. In addition, there are the "Circulos Infantiles" for nursery-age children and, in some sparsely populated rural areas where there used to be no schools at all, children now spend the week at a boarding school and the weekends at home.

Compare this with the welfare situation in New York City. Of the nearly one million persons enrolled this year, 60 per cent are children, and most of the rest are their mothers. Only 4.5 per cent of the people on relief are considered "employable." For the 800,000 women and children on welfare, there is little hope. All the institutions of this society, from the schools to the industries, seem to conspire against their ever rising above a semi-slave existence.

Cuba inherited chronic seasonal unemployment, malnutrition, disease, lack of skills—all the ills that a country tied to a one-crop economy and production for foreign exploiters is heir to. Yet in the ten years since the Revolution, remarkable progress has been made. One of the measures that has ensured an adequate diet for everyone—rationing—has received the greatest scorn in this country, where over-production goes hand in hand with what a recent Senate Subcommittee described as "extensive hunger and malnutrition."

While the land allocated for sugar, Cuba's main export, has decreased, the production of eggs, milk, fish and fruits has gone up importantly. Every child in Cuba is now assured a quart of milk a day, and the protein foods available are spread equitably so that peasant, worker, teacher or government employee all are getting a balanced diet.

Organized vice was a major tourist attraction in Cuba before the Revolution, and this was possible because peasant girls of 14 and 15 years had no prospects for job training or an education. The choice was between the bleakest rural poverty and prostitution. Today a great emphasis is placed on training women to play an equal part in the construction of the new Cuba.

N.Y. MOTHERS ON WELFARE; CUBAN WOMEN BUILD GREEN BELT

Around Havana, an area known as the "Green Belt" is now under construction. Where formerly there was wasteland and dumps, there will be a park of fruit trees and coffee bushes encircling the city. The work of clearing the land, planting and cultivating the new crops is all being done by women, who have been trained in the use of the diminutive Italian tractor, the "Piccolino." Day-care nurseries in the Havana area have been expanded so these women could work.

The "welfare crisis" in the U.S. is partly a crisis of the status of women under capitalism. Black women, who suffer from both racism and male chauvinism, are the main victims. They receive the very barest crumbs on which to live, while the social attitudes of employers, "guidance counselors," and the white men in general who run the system combine to make it virtually impossible for poor black women to ever learn the skills or get the encouragement necessary to find a place in modern production.

But the very essence of a socialist revolution like Cuba's is that the most oppressed and exploited move into the vanguard, and it is their desperation with things as they are that moves history forward, shaping new institutions and new attitudes.

Thus it is no accident that what seems to be an insurmountable problem in this rich country, the problem of welfare, is being solved with imagination and enthusiasm in the much poorer country of Cuba. The reason is socialism.

Valle del Peru School

snacks.) Classes, music, recreation clubs, productive work for the older children and baths are all part of the program. At 7 p.m. they go home. Obviously this schedule is tailored to the needs of working mothers as well as to the educational benefit of the pupils.

For two weeks before classes began, teachers travelled all over the district visiting parents of the pupils. "The school has a program which includes all parents and residents in the area," pointed out Guanchi in an interview with Granma, the organ of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party. But most important is the attitude of the young revolutionaries who teach at the school and how they view their work.

"The eleven teachers of this school have but one aim in mind: to make real Communists out of these children," said Mercedes Rodriguez, 19. Principal Guanchi hopes and intends "to turn this school into a modern institution where children will receive an all-round education and where they will grow up in the spirit of Che."

In dedicating the Valle del Peru school on Nov. 15, Fidel Castro spoke of the crucial role of education for the revolution. When somebody in the audience shouted that he should ask one of

the children a question — "Ask her what Che died for" — Fidel said, "No, I don't like the idea of children being subjected here to an intelligence test, for we just upset them.... Moreover, today bright children are by no means exceptional in our country. In general some are better at certain things and others at other things. But the function of society is precisely that of developing everyone's intelligence."

"When everyone's intelligence has been developed, then we will be approaching true collectivism. For we have lived in a society where only a few possessed knowledge, only a few developed their intelligence. Thus, only the most indispensable persons came to the fore, those needed for everything. But when the entire society develops everyone's potential intelligence, the talents each possesses, then no one will be indispensable, no one will be more intelligent than the rest. We shall then possess the whole potential of a society of millions of persons who have fully developed their intelligence."

"This is precisely why the Revolution has to place so much emphasis on education. This is precisely why, in the midst of so many projects... perhaps few projects give us as much cause for happiness as the schools do."

— Roots of Irish Struggle

(Continued from page 10)

for so much Irish romanticism and fatalism), they now feel a great new strength and confidence. This arises from the national liberation struggles breaking out all over the world — particularly the Afro-American struggle in the United States — and from the weakness of imperial Britain, which is retreating before its colossal rival on the one side and its former slaves on the other.

The British can of course be fully as vicious as the U.S. when it comes to defending "their" property and keeping "their" wage slaves chained down. And they may yet launch one of the repressive attacks they are famous for, especially in Ireland. But the events in little Londonderry are proof that the rebellion of the slaves is not only world-wide, but made of a common social substance. The events

are one more proof that the workers of the world will unite, because their exploiter is fundamentally the same, even though they, the workers, have opposing ideologies and different skin colors.

If the Irish can make common cause with the Afro-American, even if it is only in the field of slogans and methods of struggle, then there will be other surprises, too.

The fact that the most oppressed and submerged victims of imperialism are arising first in both the U.S. and Ireland is a testimony to the "instinctive and elemental drive" of the exploited toward their freedom and a sure sign that when more and more layers of the masses are brought into political life by the crisis of imperialism, they will also learn how to unite, how to imitate their black brothers, and the world socialist revolution will win.

Historic Roots of Conflict in Northern Ireland

British Imperialism and "Religious War" in Ulster

By V. COPELAND

There are two big and at first very puzzling contradictions in the stormy events of Londonderry, Northern Ireland (Ulster), where the oppressed people rose up against British imperialism once again on Jan. 4 in their centuries-old struggle for independence.

These two contradictions are especially sharp in the eyes of U.S. revolutionaries, who have a different history and different oppressors than the Irish have.

It seems to most observers that the workers of Irish extraction in the U.S. have become one of the most favored sections of the working class here, and in spite of often militant actions in defense of narrow craft interests, totally unsympathetic to other ethnic minorities, especially the black people. It would appear, from this superficial observation that the workers of Irish background could never be counted upon as allies of the black people, even in the future.

The masses of Londonderry last week took on the police with sticks and stones. In November they fought with equal fury, and on Oct. 5 and 7, they threw gasoline bombs, burned two police constable huts, smashed shop windows and "looted" stores. The more moderate among them sang "We Shall Overcome" and talked about "civil rights"; the more oppressed and desperate, about liberation and revolution.

In a word, they very much resembled the rebellious black masses in the United States.

Furthermore, in consciously imitating the black struggle here, they added a new dimension to it, in this sense: Whereas there has been some

question among white radicals whether the Afro-American struggle was really national, here was an obviously national struggle that was looking for inspiration to the black freedom fight in the U.S.

The second big contradiction in the Northern Irish struggle is that one of the biggest battle cries is the demand for equal rights for Catholics. We have been taught — more or less correctly — that Catholicism was the religion of medievalism and, quite incorrectly, that Protestantism is more liberal in its essence merely because it was the ideology of the bourgeoisie against the reactionary feudalists.

The fact is that in Northern Ireland the militants and revolutionists are nearly all Catholic and the imperialists and their agents are nearly all Protestants. Naturally, there are many poor and exploited Protestants in Northern Ireland, just as there are a great number of exploited white workers in the United States. But this is the way the battle lines are drawn in Londonderry, and there are very good reasons for it.

The Irish as a whole — in both Northern Ireland (Ulster, with its capital at Belfast) and the independent state of Ireland, with its capital at Dublin — are harshly oppressed by British imperialism and of late — particularly in Dublin — by U.S. imperialism, too.

Northern Ireland, however, is to Britain somewhat like Puerto Rico is to the U.S., in the sense that it is actually administered from London politically, as well as being exclusively dominated economically. (The Ulster Parliament in Belfast makes "its own" laws, but the British Parliament in London reserves the right to usurp this function at any time of "emergency.")

The Protestant majority of Northern Ireland provides strong ideological support for British rule, which is also Protestant. Up until very recently, the British rule of Ireland was exercised as directly through the Church of England as the Spanish monarchy ever ruled through the Catholic missionaries, who tamed the proud Indians of Mexico and Peru for work in the gold and silver mines.

Both England and Ireland were Catholic when the English began their subjugation of Ireland in the 14th century. But the most effective and efficient exploitation of the Irish by the English did not begin until the age of capitalism. And British capitalism was intimately bound up with Protestantism — more so than was the case with any other country.

The most murderous oppressors of Ireland were Protestant imperialists, who used religion in a hundred ways as an instrument of oppression. And the imposition of English Protestant bishops upon a Catholic people, who were compelled to pay the bishops' high salaries out of the peasants' low incomes was well calculated (albeit unconsciously) to make the people of Ireland literally more Catholic than the Pope.

In Northern Ireland, the British not only owned the best land, but they "colonized" it with Protestant Englishmen in the 17th century, dispossessing even the tenants as well as the Irish landlords. And along with all this, the prisons, the police and the armies that enforced this rule were — and still are — merciless against the native Irish. (The Protestants have long ago become Irish, too. But they are a favored group.)

The Catholic minority in the whole of Ulster are a majority in industrial Londonderry (total population, 56,000), just as the black and Puerto Rican

people are a majority in Manhattan. They are the core of the industrial working class, particularly in the lower-paid jobs and among the unemployed.

And to complete the parallel, there are mobs of reactionary Protestants roaming the streets of Londonderry out to lynch any rebellious Catholic they can find.

Furthermore, the British have so drawn the laws that there are practically no Catholics in the Belfast parliament. Londonderry is gerrymandered even worse than Harlem or Hough. And in addition to that, there is a property qualification for voting.

The more moderate Catholics are concentrating on election reform and similar demands. And some of the ruling class elements are reacting like the Kennedys, the Lindsays, the Rockefelleres, etc., with a program of concessions.

Capt. Terence O'Neill, the puppet prime minister of Ulster, is a Protestant who tries to preach caution to his fellow Protestant rulers. He sees the handwriting on the wall, and he is desperately trying to convince his colleagues to give concessions before they have to yield everything.

"We are on the brink of chaos," he said last Dec. 9. "I am not a man given to extravagant language, but I must say to you this evening that our conduct over the coming days and weeks will decide our future."

A week before, he announced some mild concessions and remarked defensively that three months earlier these concessions would have been viewed as sweeping reforms. But now they were only a drop in the bucket.

The reason is not so hard to find. While the Irish have struggled so long and at times so hopelessly, (which has created the national background

(Continued on page 9)



Police beating Catholic demonstrators in Londonderry last October.

\$10-A-WEEK IRISH PENSIONERS KNIT THE BOSS FROM RAGS TO RICHES

Society page readers were undoubtedly reassured to learn that Ireland isn't all civil rights demonstrations and noisy things like that, but there are lovely fashions and prosperous businesses too.

Intended as an off-beat and charming rags-to-riches story, a New York Times article on Jan. 4 pointed out the real "secret ingredient" of successful business management — exploitation of the workers.

Cyril Cullen, hero of the story, began knitting to win a ten-shilling bet seven years ago. He got so good at it that a number of wealthy women began buying his stylish, knit outfits. In the words of the society column writer, "Mrs. Kingsman Douglass (Adele Astaire) became friendly with Mr. Cullen quite early in his knitting venture, when he was working at Lismore, County Waterford, and she

was visiting Lismore Castle, the home of her previous husband, the late Lord Cavendish. Mrs. Douglass not only bought clothes for herself, but persuaded many of her friends to buy them too."

Cullen could hardly do all this knitting alone, so he cleverly organized poor old pensioners who needed extra money. "Often he had to teach the people to knit, and he even had a series of 13 television shows demonstrating the art."

Cullen's devotion to educating the masses reaped its reward. He now has 1,260 people busy knitting for him in their homes. They earn "about \$10 a week if they are industrious" (the sweaters, skirts, stockings, pantsuits and dresses they make sell for \$40 to \$110) and have "used their skill to pay off everything from a gas stove to a bicycle."

Pro-Statehood, Millionaire Stooge Put in by U.S. to Rule Puerto Rico

From 1940 to 1964, Luis Munoz Marin, a renegade socialist independentist, managed to serve the U.S. in Puerto Rico. After 24 years his national reputation among the people was so threadbare that he was no longer useful to Washington. It took only 4 more years for the same fate to befall the entire leadership of his Popular Democratic Party, which lost the 1968 elections.

But, for the U.S., switching puppets does not always improve the situation, and it is a certainty that Luis A. Ferre, the new governor and an outright advocate of Puerto Rican statehood, will have to wait considerably less than 24 years to become even more discredited than his predecessors.

"A successful businessman with personal assets of \$5-million, Mr. Ferre had advocated a greater role for private enterprise," reads a San Juan dispatch in the New York Times of Jan. 2.

"As a businessman, Mr. Ferre has been active in cement, steel, paper and communications. The Ferre family assets have been estimated at \$160-million."

It is understandable that Mr. Ferre would be a great partisan of "the role of private enterprise," but the masses of Puerto Rico do not share this enthusiasm. The government admits that fully 20 per cent of the families of this island, whose population is 2.7 million, live on an income of less than \$1,000 a year. (The cost of living is as high or higher in Puerto Rico than it is in the U.S.) One-fifth of the families accounts for far more than one-fifth of the people. Puerto Rico is poorer than the poorest state in the U.S.

This grinding poverty exists despite the fact that over 12,000 companies have set up their "private enterprises" in Puerto Rico since 1940. In fact, the island has been overrun by almost every top manu-

facturing company in the U.S. They go there to exploit cheap Puerto Rican labor, tax free for up to 17 years, under the terms of Truman's "Operation Bootstrap."

The kind of robbery of labor and wealth which is made possible by giving U.S. companies far greater privileges in Puerto Rico than they have in the U.S. is a major national grievance. Ferre was careful not to neglect making demagogic appeals on the subject during his election campaign, but the ruling class in the U.S. was assured privately that he didn't mean a word of it.

"Prior to his election," continued the San Juan dispatch, "he spoke of cutting the 100 per cent tax exemption granted to incoming industries but has been silent on the subject since. Tax exemption is viewed here as crucial to luring new industry."

It is doubtful that this wealthy opportunist will breathe a breath to disturb the Pentagon's 13 military bases

on the island, which include an atomic missile base, Air Force and Naval installation for all contingencies of U.S. counter-revolution in Latin America. Much of the land which these bases cover is the most productive on the island, and thousands of peasants were pushed out of their homes to make way for the U.S. military.

As leader of the statehood movement, Ferre stands on the extreme right in Puerto Rican politics. But the power of the liberation movement is growing so swiftly that this reactionary had to call himself "a revolutionary in my ideas." Fifty-six per cent of the electorate voted against him and wisely did not take seriously his promises of great reforms. His first major political battles will almost surely be against the growing struggle of the independence movement which encompasses thousands of youth who prefer Cuba to U.S. imperialism and who, in increasingly larger numbers, are refusing to fight Wall Street's wars.

Under these circumstances it is doubtful that millionaire-puppet Ferre will require 24 months, let alone 24 years, to become discredited along with the U.S. master class whom he serves.

Stolen Mideast Oil Wealth, Major Prop for U.S. World Empire

By P. MEISNER

Perhaps as much as \$500,000 was taken in the robbery of one of Brink's armored trucks less than three weeks ago in Boston. The robbery, the biggest of its kind in eight years, was given wide coverage by most of the press, radio and TV.

But another kind of robbery takes place in the Middle East year after year which is rarely reported in the U.S. imperialist press and media. This type involves over \$1 billion a year, and the thieves are, in this case, the U.S. oil monopolies, while the victims are the Arab people.

According to the American Enterprise Institute for Public Research (Wash., D.C.), the U.S. oil corporations declared 1966 profits in the Mideast to be \$1.1 billion, or more than 60 per cent of the \$1.8 billion in profits made on all U.S. overseas oil investments. But if the tax and depreciation accounting gimmicks are stripped away, the real Mideast profits for the U.S. oil giants come closer to \$1.5 billion a year!

What is even more startling is that these huge profits are realized on exactly the same amount of net investment (after depreciation), just \$1.5 billion. Thus, a 100 per cent return on invested capital is made in profits every year — even by the conservative figures admitted to by the companies.

Why are such huge profits made on oil in the Middle East as compared to other oil producing areas? First, the oil reservoirs in the Middle East are by far the most productive in the world.

But most importantly, Arab oil workers are paid at least 10 times less than American oil workers. Consequently, the production cost of Middle East oil averages 10¢ to 15¢ per barrel, as compared to 50¢ in Venezuela, 80¢ in the Far East, and \$1.40 in the U.S. Thus it is ten times cheaper to produce oil in the Middle East than in the U.S. This is what the Nixon-Scranton "evenhanded" policy is all about — evenhanded support for the Israeli reactionary leaders and U.S. oil profits in Arab lands.

While all of the large U.S. newspapers written for mass consumption have consciously hidden the root cause of the Mideast crisis, that is, oil, publications like Fortune magazine, written exclusively for Wall Street, "tell it like it is." The introductory note to the Sept. 1967 special Fortune edition on the Mideast crisis acknowledged the wide gulf between Washington pro-

ganda and Wall Street's international oil policy:

"The strategic importance of the Middle East to the world's industrial nations often gets overlooked in close-in debate over the Israeli-Arab war. In the first three articles of this issue FORTUNE assesses the high stakes involved in terms of people, geography, and — by no means least — oil."

The main article, written by Dan Cordtz, was headlined by the editors of Fortune to reflect the most crude and chauvinistic, slavemaster attitude of the Wall Street imperialist. It was entitled, **But What Do We Do About the Arabs?**, a headline even the ultra-right New York Daily News might hesitate to print. The article, however, virtually admitted that U.S. oil profits squeezed out of the Mideast have kept the Arab people in a state of perpetual poverty and industrial backwardness: "If they (the Arabs) could keep all the selling price, and could agree

among themselves to raise that price, the wealth generated — for economic development or weapons — would be staggering."

The monopoly ownership of almost all Arab oil properties by U.S. and West European corporations is so devastating on the Arab economies that it could only be compared to the effects on the U.S. economy and standard of living if 90 per cent of U.S. Steel, GM, AT&T, General Electric and other giant industries were owned by foreign companies.

Control of the oil wealth of the Mideast strengthens U.S. imperialism strategically on a world scale by enabling Washington to dominate the oil supply of Western Europe and Japan.

At the present, Western Europe buys 5.6 million barrels of oil a day from the Middle East, while Japan alone buys 1.2 million barrels a day, which illustrates how dependent the Western imperialist powers are on Middle East

oil. Even though the U.S. is self-sufficient in oil production, it imports 400,000 barrels a day from the Middle East, more than half of it going to the Pentagon for the Vietnam war.

The June war and its immediate political effect on the Arab people of galvanizing their struggle for liberation have put tremendous fear into the U.S. oil monopolies. It is this fear that has made the Nixon Administration favor the "evenhanded" policy on the Mideast crisis, rather than a policy that appears openly pro-Israeli. Speaking for the interests of the entire U.S. ruling class, Fortune, in its special Mideast edition, sounded a note of great pessimism by quoting a prominent American historian:

"Not since the Boxer rebellion has there been as rapid and ubiquitous a revulsion against a foreign power as there has been against the U.S. in the Middle East."

Oil Production and Ownership for 1966

SAUDI ARABIA (2,393,000 barrels/day)
Arabian American Oil Co. (100% of Saudi Arabian production)
Ownership: Standard Oil of Calif., 30%; Texaco, 30%; Standard Oil (N.J.), 30%; Mobil Oil, 10%

KUWAIT (2,275,000 b/d)
Kuwait Oil Co. Ltd. (100%)
Ownership: British Petroleum, 50%; Gull Oil, 50%

IRAN (2,110,000 b/d)
Iranian Oil Participants Ltd. (95.5%)
Participants: British Petroleum, 40%; Royal Dutch/Shell Group, 14%; Compagnie Française des Pétroles (CFP), 6%; Standard (Calif.), 7%; Texaco, 7%; Gull, 7%; Mobil, 7%; Standard (N.J.), 7%; Iricon Agency (equal shares held by American Independent Oil, Atlantic Richfield, Continental Oil, Getty Oil, Signal Oil & Gas, Standard Oil (Ohio), Tidewater Oil) 5%
Iran Pan American Oil Co. (3%)
Ownership: Standard Oil (Indiana), 50%; National Iranian Oil Co. (NIOC) of Iranian Government, 50%

Société Irano-Italienne des Pétroles (1%)
Ownership: AGIP S.p.A. (Italian), 50%; NIOC, 50%
Iranian Government (0.5%)

IRAQ (1,360,000 b/d)
Iraq Petroleum Co. Ltd. (63.8%)
Basrah Petroleum Co. Ltd. (33.9%)
Mosul Petroleum Co. Ltd. (1.8%)
Ownership of the three companies: British Petroleum, 23.34%; Shell, 23.34%; CFP, 23.34%; Near East Development Corp. (50/50% Standard (N.J.) and Mobil), 23.34%; Participations & Explorations Co. (Partex-Gulbenkian estate), 5%
Iraq Government (0.5%)

LIBYA (1,505,000 b/d)
Oasis Oil Co. of Libya, Inc. (43.3%)
Ownership: Marathon Oil, 33 1/2%; Continental Oil, 33 1/2%; Amerada Petroleum, 33 1/2%. (Shell has a 50% interest in Amerada's share of the concession)
Standard Oil Co. (N.J.) (32.5%)
Mobil — Gelsenkirchener (11.4%)
Ownership: Mobil, 65%; Gelsenberg A. G. (German), 35%

Eso Sirte, operator (6.4%)
Ownership of concession: Standard (N.J.), 50%; Sinclair, 25%; W. R. Grace, 25%

American Overseas Petroleum Ltd. (5.4%)
Ownership: Texaco, 50%; Standard (Calif.), 50%

Standard Oil Co. (Indiana) (0.5%)
Phillips Petroleum Co. (0.5%)
BP Bunker Hunt (production in 1967)
Ownership: British Petroleum, 50%; Nelson Bunker Hunt, 50%

ALGERIA (710,000 b/d)
Compagnie de Recherches et d'Exploitation de Pétrole au Sahara (CREPS) (26.1%)
Ownership: Entreprise de Recherches et d'Activités Pétrolières (ELF-ERAP), 65%; Shell, 35%

Société Nationale de Recherches et d'Exploitation des Pétroles en Algérie (S.N. REPAL) (24%)
Ownership: ELF-ERAP, 50%; Société Nationale de Transport et de Commercialisation des Hydrocarbures (SONATRACH) of Algerian Government, 50%

Compagnie Française des Pétroles (CFP) (16.6%)
Ownership: Private French interests, 65%; French Government, 35%

Compagnie des Pétroles France-Afrique (COPEFA) (11.2%)
Ownership: ELF-ERAP, 40%; CFP, 35%; Phillips, 25%

Sinclair Mediterranean Petroleum Co., operator (10.4%)
Ownership of concession: Sinclair, 28%; Tidewater, 11 1/2%; ELF-ERAP, 42 1/2%; Société de Recherche et d'Exploitation de Pétrole (EURAFREP) of French banking interests, 18%

ELF-ERAP (5.4%)
Compagnie d'Exploration Pétrolière, operator (3.4%)
Ownership of concession: ELF-ERAP, 38%; Mobil, 25%; Compagnie Franco-Africaine de Recherche Pétrolière (FRANCAREP) of French banking interests, 13%; EURAFREP, 11%; Compagnie Participations Recherche Exploitation Pétrolière (COPAREX), 9%; Edison Ausonia (Italian), 4%

Société d'Exploitation des Hydrocarbures d'Hassi R'Mel (SEHR) (1.7%)
Ownership: S.N. REPAL, 51%; CFP, 49%

Three other concessions (1.2%)
Held by El Paso Natural Gas, operator, with French interests; 65/35% Shell/ELF-ERAP; EURAFREP

QATAR (290,000 b/d)
Qatar Petroleum Co. Ltd. (onshore) (50.3%)
Ownership: Same as Iraq Petroleum Co.
Royal Dutch/Shell Group (offshore) (49.7%)

EGYPT (119,000 b/d)
Compagnie Orientale des Pétroles (COPE) (75%)
Ownership: ENI (Italian), 50%; Egyptian Government, 50%
Egyptian Government (25%)
Mobil holds a 50% interest with government in three fields producing 4,100 b/d
Gulf of Suez Petroleum Co. (production in 1967)
Ownership: Standard (Ind.), 50%; Egyptian Government, 50%

BAHRAIN (60,000 b/d)
Bahrain Petroleum Co. Ltd. (100%)
Ownership: Standard (Calif.), 50%; Texaco, 50%

OMAN and MUSCAT (production in 1967)
Petroleum Development (Oman) Ltd.
Ownership: Shell, 85%; CFP, 10%; Partex, 5%

NEUTRAL ZONE Saudi Arabia—Kuwait (420,000 b/d)
Kuwait's undivided half interest onshore:
American Independent Oil Co. (20%)
Ownership: Phillips Petroleum, 37.34%; Signal, 33.58%; Ashland Oil & Refining, 14.13%; J. S. Abercrombie Mineral, 7.07%; Globe Oil & Refining, 3.53%; Sunray DX Oil, 2.94%; Pauley Petroleum, 1.41%

Saudi Arabia's undivided half interest onshore:
Getty Oil Co. (20%)
Offshore concession: Arabian Oil Co. Ltd. (60%)
Ownership: Saudi Arabia Government, 10%; Kuwait Government, 10%; Japanese interests, 80%

ABU DHABI (360,000 b/d)
Abu Dhabi Petroleum Co. Ltd. (onshore) (71%)
Ownership: Same as Iraq Petroleum Co.
Abu Dhabi Marine Areas Ltd. (offshore) (29%)
Ownership: British Petroleum, 66 2/3%; CFP, 33 1/3%

Total 1968 production is at least 20 to 25 per cent higher

Imperialist Preparations for Czechoslovakian Counter-Revolution

A good deal of attention has been given in previous issues of WORKERS WORLD to the internal political degeneration in Czechoslovakia and the USSR that led up to an imminent danger of capitalist restoration in that country. In the items enumerated below, all of which have been excerpted from the two pamphlets "On the Situation in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic," an information bulletin of the East German Communist Party, and "On Events in Czechoslovakia," issued by the Press Group of Soviet Journalists, some of the concrete preparations by the counter-revolution that prompted the Warsaw Pact intervention are spelled out.

"That socialism needs the press we have heard before. But does the press need socialism?" (Antonin Liehm, editor of Literarni Listy, at the Extraordinary Congress of Journalists, July 25, 1968)

for anti-state activities under the provisions of Article 231 of the Constitutional Act on the Defence of the Czechoslovak Republic. Some of the leaders of this club were: Vaclav Palecek, a former bourgeois general; Jaromir Brodsky ("The best communist is a dead communist"). The 231 Club chairman of Prague I district, stated openly in several speeches, "The situation in the country is ripe for overthrowing the socialist system." Hruby, son of the former minister of the Nazi "Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia." Slavic, whose father is head of the Free Czechoslovakia Council in the U.S. today; Smid, outspoken in his belief that, "The fact of Czechoslovakia being governed by workers is intolerable." Jaromir Nebesky of Prague, established contact with Pan American Airlines which promised to donate \$10,000. Club 231 has branches in Canada and the U.S.A. (On Events in Czechoslovakia Press Group of Soviet Journalists Moscow, 1968)

At the beginning of last July, the Manchester Guardian reported that the President of the West German Federal Bank, Karl Blessing, had recently visited Prague to discuss Czech efforts to become a member of the International Monetary Fund. Formerly Blessing had

been commissioner-general of the German branch of Unilever. Before World War II, Unilever people from Great Britain were advisors to President Masaryk. From 1933 to 1945 Blessing was a director of the fascist Reich Bank, as well as manager of Continental OI-AG, in charge of exploitation of oil deposits in the East. Blessing survived the destruction of "The thousand year Reich," unlike his two dear friends Himmler and Goering.

The Yalta Hotel on Prague's Wenceslas Square, served as the headquarters of the West German "trade mission" for over a year before the Warsaw Pact military intervention. The head of the West German mission, Dr. Otto Heipertz directed this center for western subversion. Heipertz kept in close contact with Selucky, an intimate friend of Ota Sik. He also helped Jiri Pelikan, ultra-revisionist head of Prague TV who has since fled to the West, set up the 35 underground radio stations which went into action after Aug. 21. The electronic units for these secret radio stations were supplied by the West German firms of AEG and Lorenz. Less than a month before he was expelled from the country, Heipertz met at the Yalta Hotel with Walter Scheel, Chairman of the FDP party and a former minister in Bonn for development aid. Otto Heipertz' sub-

versive role was hinted at very broadly by the "Christian Science Monitor" when it said on Aug. 16, "The West German trade mission is working successfully in Prague having access to officials in all the Ministries. The functions of this trade mission would not be too greatly increased if it were to be transformed into an embassy."

The U.S. Congressman John Culver also consulted with Czech TV boss Jiri Pelikan. According to the Lebanese newspaper, Al Hadaf, of Aug. 29, Culver quoted Pelikan as telling him, "The leadership of the country will be taken over by men who will be able to wrest Czechoslovak politics and economy out of the influence of the red ideology and to turn them in a direction of conforming to Western traditions."

The Austrian counterpart of the West German newspaper magnate, Axel Springer, is a Herr Molden. Molden has eagerly published the works of the leading Czech counter-revolutionists: Antonin Liehm, editor of Literarni Listy; Ota Sik, exponent of "market socialism"; Ludvig Vaculik, author of the notorious "2,000 Words"; and Edward Goldstucker, former rector of Charles University in Prague and now a resident in London. But Herr Molden is more than a multi-millionaire publisher and patron of revisionist theoreticians. He is also the son-in-law of Allen Dulles of the C.I.A.

Cubans Discuss Liberation Struggle With Al Fatah

The one product of the June war in 1967 which is of the most importance and interest to oppressed people throughout the world is the accelerated growth of the liberation movement among the Arab people. Side by side with the Arab governments has developed a new power, based on the direct action of the Arab masses. It is a liberation struggle which identifies with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the guerrillas in Latin America and southern Africa who are fighting against imperialism. In short, there is a steady development among the Arab masses towards opening up a full scale people's war against the Israeli state.

Al Fatah is an organization dedicated to an armed struggle against imperialism in Palestine — that is, to regain the rights of over 1.5 million Arabs summarily expropriated and expelled from their land by the Israeli puppets of the Western monopolies. It has been in the forefront of the struggle and has grown with lightning speed since the Israeli aggression of June, 1967. Al Fatah was formed in secrecy on Jan. 1, 1954 in Gaza and began organizing the Palestinian people. In 1965 an armed branch was created — the commandos.

Following are excerpts from an article which appeared in *Tricontinental* 1968, No. 9, a publication of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL). The author, A. Zapata, along with several other Cubans, made a trip to the headquarters and training camps of Al Fatah and Al Assifa (the military arm of the organization) and spoke with both leaders and the commandos who daily risk their lives in the fight to liberate the Palestinian people.

We arrived at a tent after making contact with the first fighter of the Front, wearing the camouflage uniform that identifies the commandos and armed with automatic rifles. We were received by the guards of the camp. Inside the tent were an old wooden table and some rough chairs; under a small gas lamp, a relatively young man wearing the olive-green uniform that also symbolizes the liberation struggle of other peoples: Abou Amar, one of the small group that began to organize Al Fatah 14 years ago in Gaza and is today one of the few leaders who is known to the public....

Warm greetings welcomed us: questions on the struggle in Bolivia and in all of Latin America and the situation in Cuba were their first phrases, demonstrating that these fighters have room in their hearts and minds for the struggles of other peoples....

Imperialism Divides Arab and Jew

We offered (Abou Amar) our impressions and told him of our desire to get to know the truth of the "Palestine problem"; we spoke to him of the



In Jordan training camp refugees-turned-commandos (left). Abou Amar, one of Al Fatah leaders (right).



lies with which the corrupt press of the capitalist world tries to give the world a false picture of the objectives pursued by the Palestinian people. Abou Amar commented:

"It is true that imperialism has tried to confuse world public opinion; it has even found spokesmen who try to present the struggle as one of Israel, a small people of 2 million Jews, threatened with extermination by 100 million Arabs. We have not taken up arms to force two million Jews into the sea or to wage a religious or racial war. The Jews lived alongside the Arabs, including the Palestinians, for many years, and we have never proposed to expel the Jews from Palestine.

Zionism a Tool of U.S. And British Imperialism

"We are carrying the war forward to expel from our country a military occupation force set up by international imperialism and led by the U.S. Government, British imperialism and international Zionism — which served as the instrument for carrying out imperialist policy in the creation of Israel. We are showing that, in reality, the struggle is being waged between an imperialist army of occupation (which has the full support of the most powerful capitalist governments) and a handful of Palestinian patriots who, with their commando actions, keeps that army checkmated. Our struggle is for Palestine, for the Arab people, for the world. We are a national liberation

movement which is struggling just like fighters of Viet-Nam, Bolivia or any other people of the world...."

We asked about the activities of the commandos inside the occupied cities. Major Shuyaa told us:

"The commandos operate inside occupied territory. Israeli troops cannot control the internal resistance of the Palestinians. This is why they commit so many crimes and forcibly expel thousands of Palestinians and Jordanians daily from the newly occupied territories...."

Workers, Peasants, Students Train to Liberate Their Land

Far from the direct scene of this liberation war, after crossing a complex chain of mountains, we arrived at a small plateau. Down the side of a mountain, from a small cave, in answer to the sound of a shot fired in the air, came hundreds of men, some of them practically children: they are the militiamen of Al Assifa who are receiving political and military training.

The leader of this improvised camp...told us:

"Al Assifa is organizing militias of workers, peasants, professionals, and a large majority of young students, who are trained on their days off from work or study."

"These men use their free time to join us and receive commando training; they learn how to engage in sabotage and harass the enemy in the cities and towns of occupied territory. As we see

it, we must organize and develop resistance, the struggle against the occupiers, against imperialism, whose principal leader is the United States of America. The most important thing for us is to go back to Palestine, to obtain our freedom, to return their land and their homes to all our people....

Commandos Study Struggle of Vietnam, Cuba, China

"Our principal watchword is to struggle for the liberation of Palestine, but we are also part of the national liberation struggle of the entire world, and we fight together with Viet-Nam, Cuba, and China to win our freedom. This is why we study not only the struggle in Palestine, but also the revolutionary experiences in other parts of the world...."

The head of (another training) camp told us:

"Here we teach the Palestinians not only to fight the enemy with weapons, but also to appreciate the objective of our struggle....The youngsters you see in civilian clothes — you asked what they were doing in the camp — are candidates for our next commando training course. They come here on their days off as a way of persuading us to let them begin training earlier. They spend all their free time with us. We can't admit and train all those who claim their right to fight for the liberation of our country; we try to make them understand that they have to wait but that they will be admitted soon."

The Word "Surrender" Will Be Taboo

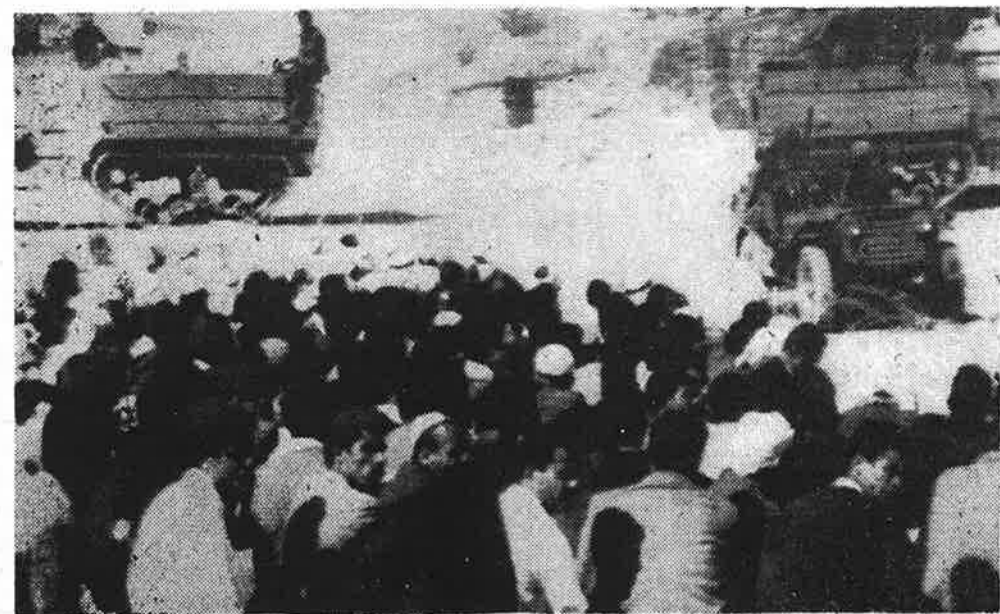
We came to the last stage of our journey. We had been told about the Al Fatah's youth camp. We had thought it would be something like a primary school, where the students received a basic education, perhaps up to junior high school level....Therefore, we were tremendously surprised and impressed when we found out that this was a politico-military training camp for children between the ages of eight and fourteen....

Al Fatah has created its vanguard, but the most important thing is that it is creating a new generation for the future capable of fighting until the last man. This is the greatest revolutionary value of the strategy of this national liberation movement. The words "truce" or "surrender" and the Allon Plans will be taboo for these boys, these young men who are now learning how to fight and who actually do fight. The only language they understand and will understand is the language of war that will bring them a definitive peace, the only genuine peace, the peace that brings happiness to man: that which is forged by revolution.

Standing Guard and Going Through Fire for Liberation



Palestinians have flocked to Al Fatah in a rush to get a chance to fight for their homeland. Young liberation fighter stands ramrod straight on guard duty (left) and commando in training leaps over flames in a pit (right).



WAITING TO BE "INTERROGATED," Arabs in Gaza are held by Israelis after protests against occupation.



WATER TORTURE caused this Jordanian to lose consciousness during "interrogation." Israeli soldier tries to revive him.



Palestinian Arabs have been waiting 20 years to return home.



Aftermath of Israeli terror raid directed against civilian "suspects."

ISRAELIS DECRY ANTI-ARAB TERROR

Following is an open letter to the Israeli press signed by 85 Israeli intellectuals. It was circulated, with a covering letter dated March 3, 1968, by Mr. Mordechai Avi-Shaul, a Tel-Aviv writer. The letter was reprinted by the Institute for Palestine Studies in a pamphlet entitled, "Israel and the Geneva Conventions" published in Beirut, Lebanon. The pamphlet contains articles and letters documenting violations of international law committed by the Israeli occupying forces against the Arab people.

Dear Sir,

We have the honour to forward to you a declaration, asking you to publish it. The declaration reads:

STOP THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ISRAEL AND IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES!

Details were published in the areas about what is happening in Israel and in the occupied territories:

Confinement orders, limitations of free movement and arrests without trial were recently imposed on Israeli citizens, Jews and Arabs.

The imposition of collective punishments, like the curfew and the dynamiting of houses, continues in the towns and villages of the occupied territories at an alarming rate. Families of workers and fellaheen, children, women and old people, remain without shelter and means of existence. The stream of refugees and escapers from the Gaza Strip and from the West Bank of the Jordan continues unabatedly.

An increasing number of Arabs is driven out of the Western Bank by order of the Israeli military governor. A protest petition published in the Western Bank stated: "These methods are opposed to international standards and to the basic rights of the citizen to live in his home and on his soil. Enforced exile on political grounds reminds us of the British colonial rule."

Where do these methods lead to if not into an abyss of hatred?

Acts like these will only strengthen the resistance and the underground movement, multiply victims on both sides, and lead to another war, with an unforeseeable number of casualties.

The domination of another people exposes the subduing people itself to moral degeneration and undermines its democracy. Any people oppressing another one is bound to lose its own freedom and the freedom of its citizens.

Jewish citizen, remember those courageous gentiles who stood by us in times of distress! Now that disaster has befallen the fraternal Arab people, can you deem fit to remain aloof and to keep silent?

RAISE YOUR VOICE AND ACT AGAINST THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| Avileah, Joseph, musician, Haifa | Kupferachmidt, Dr. A. physician, Haifa | Hammerman, Dr. Anna, physician Haifa |
| Avi-Shaul, Mordechai, writer, Tel-Aviv | Kiryath Haim | Hanegbi, Haim, journalist, Tel-Aviv |
| Al-Asmar, Fauzal, poet, Lydda | Kupiermat, Denise, student, Ramat Aviv | Wolf, Edith, journalist, Tel-Aviv |
| Albert, Allan, journalist, Gan Shmuel | Korlet, Naomi, teacher, Kiryath Haim | Zehavi, Leon, clerk, Tel-Aviv |
| Altmann, Yaninah, chemist, Haifa | Klinger, Dr. Ethel, physician, Haifa | Zayyad, Tawfiq, poet, Tel-Aviv |
| Altman, Dr. Kalman, lecturer at Technical High School, Haifa | Rabinovitch, Gershon, Farmer, Kibbutz Ruhama | Zlotsover, Abraham, lecturer at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem |
| Alexander, Israel, clerk, Tel-Aviv | Rubinsky, Rachel, agronomist, Tel-Aviv | Sand, Shlomo, clerk, Tel-Aviv |
| Al-Kassem, Samih, poet, Haifa | Romano, Albert, lawyer, Tel-Aviv | Zikhroni, Rafi, journalist, Tel-Aviv |
| Epstein, Prof. Helmut, lecturer at Hebrew University, Tel-Aviv | Reiner, Prof. Marcus, lecturer, Technical High School, Haifa | Hoory, Tawfiq, student, Fassuta |
| Ehrenfeld, David, industrialist, Tel-Aviv | Rubinstein, Meir, agent, Haifa | Hen, Jacob, clerk, Tel-Aviv |
| Bithasra, Jacob, student, Kibbutz Tse'elim | Shamli, Shlomo, labourer, Tel-Aviv | Hamdan, Joseph, student, Jaljuliah |
| Bindish, Viola, painter, Kiryath Ata | Sharoni, Tzipora, teacher, Haifa | Teiblum, Abraham, graphician, Petah-Tikva |
| Ben-Yahuda, Yona (Yebi), poet, Tel-Aviv | Shick, Yashaia, journalist, Alon-Yitzhak | Yellin-Mor, Nathan, journalist, Ramat Aviv |
| Ben-Nun, Yigal, student, Tel-Aviv | Shliff, Ilan, farmer, Kibbutz Negbah | Israeli, Dov, architect and engineer, Haifa |
| Ber, Shmuel, manager, Haifa | Sasson, Moshe, farmer Kibbutz Dvir | Israeli, Dr. Ella, microbiologist, Haifa |
| Braunstein, Dr. P., physician, Kiryath Haim | Smorodinsky, Meir, lecturer at the University, Givatavim | Yerdor, Dr. Jacob, lawyer, Tel-Aviv |
| Gozansky, Tamar, journalist, Bat-Yam | Habib, Amit, lawyer, Haifa | Cohen, Aharon, orientologist, Sha'ar Ha'amakim |
| Goldreich, Arthur, architect, Tel-Aviv | Iram, Gila, student, Haifa | Kafir, Ghazi, lawyer, Ramleh |
| Jerails, Sabri, lawyer, Haifa | Ashur, Ali, journalist, Haifa | Katz, Prof. Moshe, lecturer, Haifa |
| Davis, Uri, student, Jerusalem | Paz, Shlomo, actor, Tel-Aviv | Kasher, Jacob, labourer, Ramat Can |
| Gilan, Maxim, journalist, Tel-Aviv | Fishman, Benjamin, technician, Tel-Aviv | Levenbraun, Rami, student, Haifa |
| Gat, Moshe, painter, Haifa | Pilavsky, Oded, clerk, Tel-Aviv | Levin, Amos, technician, Tel-Aviv |
| Danziger, Ytzhak, lecturer, Haifa | Paldi, Tabor, teacher, Tel-Aviv | Levin, Ruth, writer, Tel-Aviv |
| Decker, Aryeh, poet, Tel-Aviv | Penn, Alexander, poet, Tel-Aviv | Langer, Felicia, lawyer, Ramat Can |
| Darawsheh, Abed-el-Hafiz, lawyer Nazareth | Friedman, Zelma, secretary, Tel-Aviv | Lifshitz, Uri, painter, Tel-Aviv |
| Drori, Tova, assistant stage producer, Tel-Aviv | Perlman, Dr. Michael, physician Haifa | Makhover, Dr. Moshe, lecturer at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem |
| Darwish, Mahmud, poet, Haifa | Patt, Rachel, laboratory worker, Kiryath Bialik | Melamed, Abraham, lawyer, Tel-Aviv |
| Heyman, Prof. H.H., chemical engineer and lecturer at the Technical High School, Haifa | Isigolman, Victor, journalist, Holon | Nagara, Hana, lawyer, Haifa |
| | Kupperman, Yehuda, teacher, Tamat Aviv | Nikola, Jabra, writer, Haifa |
| | | Salim, Ezekiel, freelancer, Tel-Aviv |

Tel-Aviv's Rule: "Detention," Deportation and Dynamite

By NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

NABLUS, Israeli Occupied Jordan, Sept. 3—The Nablus prison looming over the main highway just south of this town was used first by the Turks, who built it, then it was used by the British.... Now the Israelis run the prison, and it has never been busier. (James Feron, New York Times, Sept. 6, 1968)

The "busy" use to which the Israeli government has put the Nablus prison could not more graphically symbolize the imperialist roots of Israeli aggression against the Arab people. Along with the building itself, the inheritors of this prison, used by foreign conquerors, have put to use the British emergency regulations of 1945 to suppress the Arab population in the occupied territories.

In addition to using the physical apparatus of imperialism in the Mideast, however, the state of Israel is the inheritor of the tasks of imperialism in that area. The Israeli high command, acting in the interests of the Pentagon and the U.S. oil monopolies, is now the aggressor, by proxy, for western imperialism's drive to dominate the vast oil wealth of the Mideast.

Over 3,500 Arab prisoners have come and gone through the infamous Nablus prison alone since the June war in

1967. These thousands of Arabs are the victims of the policy of mass roundups and arrests employed by the Israeli military in an attempt to crush the liberation struggle among the Arab people. For the Israeli puppets of U.S. imperialism know that Arab liberation means not only the expropriation of the oil monopolies which bleed the Arab nations of all their wealth, but also the return of the land stolen from the Palestinian Arabs.

Arab Homes Reduced to Rubble

The Israeli occupation of lands containing one million Arabs, in addition to Israeli domination over 312,000 Arabs in Israel itself, is identical to the policy carried out by the French imperialists in Algeria, the British in Palestine and U.S. imperialism in Vietnam today.

One is vividly reminded of the French terror in Algiers when one hears of the Israelis' systematic method of reprisals against the civilian Arab population.

"In Wahda Street, in Gaza," wrote Michael Adams in the Guardian (London) Jan. 26, 1968, "Israeli soldiers demolished four houses (the explosion brought down eight more) after a firecracker had been thrown near one of the houses. The inhabitants were

given 10 minutes to evacuate their families, including small children, and can still be seen picking among the rubble to see if anything is salvageable."

"The reason given for (a) five-day curfew at Shati (a refugee camp of 35,000)," wrote Adams, "was the explosion of a tiny home-made petard (a crude bomb)... near Gaza fish market, causing no casualties. The culprit was said to have run along the beach in the direction of the refugee camp. Failing to identify him, the Israelis, besides imposing the curfew, blew up nine fishermen's storehouses in which they kept their nets and tackle, and destroyed a number of fishing boats."

Mass Expulsion of Arabs

While Israeli officials endlessly shout the "defensive" nature of the war, the government has revealed that its true objective is conquest by moving swiftly to secure its positions and annex territory.

On June 16, 1967, barely a week after the war, Premier Eshkol called in the Cabinet to draft special legislation making the Old City of Jerusalem permanently part of Israel. Two days later, James Feron wrote to the Times from Jerusalem that "hundreds of Arabs are being evicted from the former Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem."

A week later, a curfew was imposed on the Old City while the Israelis registered all Arabs in order to issue identity cards. (These measures conjure up images of the constant harassment and restriction of the civilian population in South Vietnam or the infamous pass system imposed on the black people of South Africa.) By Sept. of 1967, Israel had already announced plans to send settlers into the occupied territories.

Since the June war, Israeli military authorities have carried out the systematic destruction of Arab towns and mass expulsion of inhabitants in parts of the occupied territories. The Sunday Times (London) of Nov. 19, 1967 documented this fact when David Holden reported that "In the old Latrun Salient, west of Jerusalem, which the Israelis say they intend to keep at all costs for strategic reasons, the three main Arab villages were completely destroyed soon after the war and the inhabitants expelled."

Holden relates, too, the unforgettable case of 220 Arab families whose houses were levelled (on just a few hours' notice, ed.) in front of the Wailing Wall immediately after the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem, in order to provide an open space for Jewish pilgrims." U.S. TV cameras which flashed

(Continued on page 13)

Israel Born as a U.S. Puppet

U.S.-Run United Nations and the Partition of Palestine

The U.S. and its UN puppets carved the state of Israel out of the Arab heartland of Palestine in 1948, leaving over a million Arabs homeless, apparently for the sake of 700,000 Israelis.

The U.S. role has been largely obscured from the American public, even more so than its role as sponsor of Israel in subsequent years.

The U.S. ran the world in the immediate postwar years. And it ran the world through the so-called United Nations, just as France and Britain had run Europe and Asia pretty much through the League of Nations after World War I. So it was the UN that formally created Israel (with Soviet support) in 1948.

This was further clouded, of course, by the fact that the Israelis were compelled to fight the Arabs in order to implement the UN partition.

A combination of British maneuvering on the Arab side and above all the beginnings of Arab assertion of self-rule and independence tended to prevent the U.S. from carrying out its will with purely legal means. And the Israeli

army was formed and blooded in an apparently independent struggle, but in reality a police operation for U.S. imperialism.

But once the resort to arms had taken place, U.S. imperialism won much more than the partition resolution provided for. This was because the U.S. could not oppose its imperialist British ally too far in the UN, but the Israelis could do it very effectively with force.

The UN Partition Resolution allotted to the Zionist state 56 per cent of Palestine's land area. The 1948 war got the Israelis much more.

The proposed state had been made up of three sections and would take in an almost equal number of Arabs and Jews. It was composed of the most fertile areas, and more importantly, it controlled a strategic stretch of coastline and the greatest Mediterranean port east of Alexandria — Haifa.

(Walter Lippmann had advocated in November, 1945, that "We must be present in the Middle East — present somewhere, for example, at the port of

Haita—exercising...influence radiating from some local point of actual American power." This was one Lippmann dream that actually came true!)

The Arab majority had been willing to allow the relatively large Jewish minority to remain in Palestine, even though U.S. imperialism was shipping Jewish refugees to this tiny land so provocatively while virtually barring them from its own capacious shores. The Arabs naturally rejected the whole idea of partition.

The situation was further complicated at the time by the opportunist Soviet leaders' support of the creation of the state of Israel, which absolutely ignored the needs of the Arab people, showing not only a great deal less sagacity than Lenin had shown, but even less prescience than the imperialist British about the coming revolution.

The U.S. and British rival imperialists actually closed ranks for a time as a result of the Soviet position, and in the spring of 1948 they both actually opposed partition. And for a time the U.S. vigorously fought the idea of an

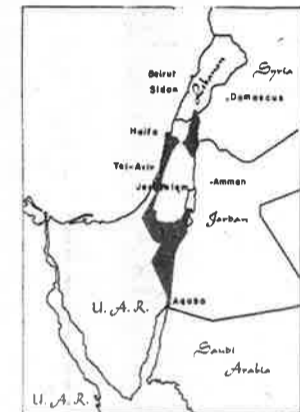
independent Israel in the UN.

The U.S. position was only finally switched at the last minute, to outflank the USSR and apparently join with the Soviets in creating Israel, thus creating still further confusion, especially in the minds of the masses of deceived Jewish people, who saw the whole thing as a mighty struggle of a Jewish David against a U.S.-British and Arab Goliath.

But all these maneuvers, all this deception and all the struggles, physical and legal, were all aimed squarely at the super-oppressed Arab people, who were the principal and only victims.

The fact that the Jewish people had been victims of another imperialism justified neither their collaboration with U.S. imperialism nor their imitation of imperialism in their oppression and aggression against the Arabs.

The Arab revolution is coming and is in fact inevitable. But the imperialists have so organized things that this revolution will be directed first at imperialism's previous victims, who are now, in Israel at least, its puppets.



Partition Pact 1947

Taken by 1949

Taken in 1956

Presently Occupied

One of the "tent cities" which have become permanent homes for over 1.5 million oppressed Arab refugees.

From the Balfour Declaration to Partition The Race by Imperialists for Control of the Mideast

By F. REED

The 1948 creation of Israel marked the end of an important 20-year stage in the long struggle for Western control of the Middle East. The vast geographic and economic importance of the area had made it a target of imperialism since the inception of the system. To win it, the rival powers used a whole repertory of divide-and-conquer tactics, of which one of the shrewdest was the cynical manipulation of the oppressed Jewish people.

The idea of using them as an armed garrison against the Arabs, in a "Homeland"—state that would be a self-perpetuating Sparta, was first taken up by Britain in the 1917 Balfour Declaration. The Balfour Declaration only admitted to a favorable view toward "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." But former Standard Oil employee William Yale, then the only U.S. operative in the Middle East, explained the long-range British planning behind the gesture: "The creation of a state in Palestine which would probably 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" (Frank Manuel, Realities of American-Palestine Relations).

What the British hoped for was surely not a religious "opposition to Islam," but rather a political counterforce to

the growing pan-Arab nationalism which threatened strategic and economic control in what Ernest Bevin called the "throat of the British Empire." National uprising had already occurred against the French in North Africa, and the spirit of rebellion grew in intensity throughout the 20's, as the League of Nations carved the area up into mandates.

The U.S. had entered the scene as early as 1913, when Standard Oil bought seven concessions in the then-Turkish held Negev for the exploration of oil and other minerals around the Dead Sea. The British took these over after the Arabs revolted against the Turkish domination during WWI. Standard wanted its concessions back, and the U.S. King-Crane Commission demanded an American mandate over a Syria which would include Palestine and Lebanon. William Yale, a staff member of this Commission, predicted: "a Jewish state will inevitably fall under control of American Jews, who will work out along Jewish lines American ideals and American civilization, a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine will develop into an outpost in the Orient."

The U.S. finally signed a 1924 treaty assenting to Britain's League of Nations Mandate over Palestine and thus "formally established an American interest in the future of Palestine" (A.B. Magill, Israel in Crisis). The compromise agreement gave New Jer-

sey Standard and Socony each a 23 percent cut of the Iraq mandate's oil concession. The U.S. also had concessions in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia at this time. (Meantime, the French were parcelling out Syria and Lebanon.)

The League of Nations didn't ask the Arabs about their feelings in the matter. In the late twenties and early thirties, periodic revolts took place against the British mandatory government. In 1935-6 this struggle swept Syria and Egypt, and in Palestine a general strike lasted six months.

In 1934 a leader of the Zionist Palestine Labor Party remarked that Britain needed the Zionist state "in order to have an added protection against the Arab movement which aims at the emancipation of a united Arab 'middle Orient' from English domination." Many progressive-minded immigrants in Palestine were thus trapped in a circle of duplicity between the imperialist rivals and their willing instruments, the Zionist leadership. But the cruelest hoax was played on the Jewish people by the U.S. as it maneuvered with Britain to take control.

In 1937 the U.S. pressed its claim, demanding that any League of Nations proposal on Palestine be presented first to the U.S. The British re-oriented themselves toward alliance with the Arab rulers, and in 1939 their White Paper limited further Jewish immigration to Palestine.

During the war, the U.S. deliberately blocked immigration for the refugees

from Hitler and used the issue as a propaganda card in its bargaining with Britain over Palestine. The State Department, with the collaboration of the Zionist Agency, delayed and obstructed rescue work and blacked out advance information on the planned massacre in Europe. Those who survived were literally forced to go to Palestine, even though 80 percent of DPs questioned said specifically they didn't want to go there. Only after Israel had come into being was a DP bill enacted (Arthur Morse, While Six Million Died; A. Lienthal, "What Price Israel").

This sordid history is largely ignored in remarks about the "Jewish State we had helped create" (Fortune, Sept. 9, 1967), as is the fact that by 1949 the Zionist structure had been taken over by U.S. big business representatives such as Henry Morgenthau, Jr., (former Sec'y of the Treasury) and Herbert Lehman (New York State Governor) who were non-Zionists but definitely imperialists.

In 1949 the U.S. economic control of their new state was virtually complete. Two U.S. holding corporations alone, Palestine Potash and Palestine Economic, accounted for 36 percent of the total foreign capital, and "American investors had succeeded in wresting control from their British rivals" (Magill).

The oil companies and their watchdog state now could, and would go on to the next stage — expansion.

The U.S., the USSR and the Crisis in the Mideast

By SAM MARCY

Once again, as so many times in the past, the Soviet leadership is resorting to the type of sordid diplomacy which is sure to deal a heavy blow to the cause of the Arab liberation movement, strengthen the hand of imperialism, damage the standing of the Soviet Union as a socialist state in the eyes of the oppressed in all Asia, Africa and Latin America, and in the end even prove self-defeating for the narrow, conservative interests of the current Soviet leadership.

When the Israeli Armed Forces carried out the attack against the Lebanon airport, the U.S. puppets in Tel Aviv had hoped, by this monstrous act of unprovoked aggression, to dampen the revolutionary spirit of the Palestinian guerrilla movement. Instead, however, it provoked a revolutionary storm of such dimensions that it has literally awakened millions on the Arabian peninsula who had hitherto been submerged in only passive resistance.

BEHIND U.S. REBUKE TO ISRAEL

This barbarous act of aggression by the Israeli regime would have scarcely created even the mildest protest in the Western capitals had it not really been for the powerful movement that the Israeli attack had evoked. For it is fear of the Arabian revolutionary masses — fear that they will suddenly take destiny into their own hands and sweep away the reactionary obstruction of imperialist domination altogether — that is the key to the current series of maneuvers by Washington, London and Paris. The fact that the Lebanon regime was one of the friendliest to Wall Street's interests is not what really produced the consternation and rebuke in Washington to the attack by the Israeli regime.

It must be stressed over and over again that the attack on Lebanon brought to the surface a revolutionary renaissance which in depth and momentum surpasses the great upsurge following the French-Israeli invasion of 1956.

Furthermore the current revival has all the earmarks of a fresh, independent movement of the masses, developing apart from the old constituted authorities in the Arab regimes and, in a large measure, in revolutionary hostility to them for their failure to throw off the yoke of the foreign oppressor for so long a time. In this respect the mass movement differs markedly from the period which began with the Suez crisis. At that time, the movement was solidly behind the established nationalist leadership, particularly that of Nasser.

RIISING DUAL POWER IN MIDEAST

That is not so today, for the reality of the situation is that there is developing a form of dual power, although still in embryo form, between the popular masses having arms or seeking them and the old constituted authorities which at present hold the reins of political power. The rise of the Al Fatah liberation movement is only the most dramatic expression of this. Such a situation can exist only because the entire Middle East has been in the process of transformation into a vast revolutionary cauldron. The attack on the Lebanon airport really only set the fires off.

WHY U.S. SEEKS AID OF SOVIET LEADERS

It follows from this that the fortunes of finance-capital and the entire position of Western imperialism in the Mediterranean are in imminent danger. Probably more than anywhere else in the world, the U.S. along with Britain and France urgently need the aid and cooperation of a Big Power that has friends, allies and prestige in the Middle East. For nowhere else are the imperialists as isolated and bereft of any reliable tools, save for Israel, as they are in the Arab lands. Hence, their great need for aid and cooperation from the Soviet leadership. But they are at the same time maneuvering and plotting by every foul means possible to confine, restrict and combat the interests of the Soviet Union as a great socialist state and as a fortress from which the liberation movements the world over, and the liberation movement of the Arab lands in particular, can get both abundant military supplies as well as revolutionary and fraternal political support and solidarity, let alone industrial and technical assistance.

- Deportation and Dynamite

(Continued from page 13)

across the country films of the triumphant Israelis doing a victory dance at the religious site, never asked the question, where did these hundreds of displaced Arabs go?

Unanswered Question of Arab Rights

No, the question of the rights of the Arab people has rarely been raised by the U.S. imperialists who backed the Israeli war of aggression. Nor was this

all-important question raised during the war of 1948, when over one million Palestinian Arabs fled the territory taken from them by the Israelis. Their land and homes were expropriated, and hundreds of thousands have lived for 20 years in refugee camps on doles of a few cents a day.

Today, many of these same refugees who fled to the Gaza Strip and the West Bank area in Jordan find themselves once more under the heavy hand of the Israeli military. Over 300,000 Arabs

It is on the axis of this crying fundamental contradiction between the class interests of the USSR and narrow caste-like interests of the neo-bourgeois aristocracy in the Soviet leadership which the imperialists are trying to balance themselves. On the one hand, the imperialists dread the growing might and influence of the Soviet Union and would like to keep it out of the Middle East and the Mediterranean area as a whole. On the other hand, they welcome with open arms collaboration with the Soviet leadership in efforts in the Middle East "to stabilize the situation and insure the peace."

CONCRETE MEANING OF 'STABILIZATION': STEM THE REVOLUTIONARY TIDE

What concretely do the imperialists mean when they ask the Soviet leadership to help them "to stabilize the situation and insure the peace"? They want the Soviet leadership to help them stem the revolutionary tide of the Arab liberation movement. They want them to use their influence with the conservative Arab leaders to repress the rebellious masses. They want the help of the Soviet leaders to extort from the Arab leaders some sort of an agreement which would be palatable to all the imperialist powers and be sanctified by a United Nations resolution which would permit the stationing of foreign troops under the flag of the UN. The purpose of this foreign expeditionary force ostensibly is to ensure that there be no hostilities between the puppet state of Israel and the Arab countries. In reality, however, it would serve as an instrument to quell the insurgent Arab masses.

Moreover, it aims to make the Arab leaders act as mercenary agents to carry out the will of the

version of substantially the same scheme that the imperialists have, except that they would roll back the Israeli forces to approximately the 1967 position territorially, they are in effect trying to stem the tide of revolution and adapting themselves to the needs of imperialist power politics.

THE LESSON OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

This policy cannot succeed for long. It not only discredits the Soviet Union, strengthens the hand of world reaction, but, as we said above, is also self-defeating as the long revisionist adaptation in Czechoslovakia only too clearly proved. For the appetite of predatory imperialism is utterly insatiable. No sooner do the imperialists extort one compromise from the Soviet leaders than they are strengthened to carry out their next and absolutely inevitable demands for more. And this at a time when the Arab masses are most ready, most resolute and in a most favorable condition to fight back while U.S. imperialism is still mired down in its hopeless adventure in Vietnam.

When imperialism was the dominant factor in world politics as well as economics and didn't have to reckon with a whole group of socialist states and world-wide rebellion, it was intransigent not only insofar as the Soviet Union as a socialist state was concerned, but also in its attitude toward the Soviet leaders. Today, when the sphere of imperialist domination has shrunk, it has of necessity had to climb down from its previous, arrogant position and has been forced to resort to a tactic of accommodation with the Soviet leadership. In the course of their dealing, they could not but become aware of the



Soviet Premier Kosygin and President Johnson at the Glassboro Conference after the USSR voted with the U.S. on a UN cease-fire resolution opposed by the Arab liberation movement.

imperialists under the mask of the UN. That basically is the purpose of the so-called Jarring mission, the supposed mediator between the Israelis and the Arabs, between Washington and Moscow.

U.S. NOT A "DISINTERESTED PARTY"

There are many variations to this malodorous scheme, and scarcely a day passes that some new version of the same old idea pops up again and again. Most of these schemes are calculated to becloud the real issue. Invariably the way the issue is posed is to convey the definite idea that the struggle is one between Israel and the Arab countries and that the imperialists are drawn into it by their overwhelming concern for the spreading development of a war in which they have no great stakes.

This perfidious aspect of imperialist propaganda must be thoroughly unmasked. That Israel was specifically created for the purpose of diverting the wrath of the Arabian masses from the imperialists to a puppet creation is rarely properly stated.

The Soviet Union as a socialist state had no progressive basis for helping the imperialists to legalize the existence of the State of Israel and now has absolutely no reason whatever, from the viewpoint of the interest of the world liberation movement, and socialism generally, to help the imperialists maintain the puppet state in the name of "stability, peace, and humanitarianism."

Hence, when the Soviet leaders present their own

glaring contradiction between what the power of the Soviet Union as a socialist state can do and what a neo-bourgeois aristocracy is inclined to do in the interest of the status quo.

Yet the status quo is anything but stable. Class antagonisms are everywhere sharpening. The collisions between the oppressed and the oppressors are becoming ever more widespread, and the desperation of the imperialists becomes more evident every day as they sink more and more of the national income into truly fantastic arms expenditures.

LONG-RANGE AND SHORT-RANGE IMPERIALIST PLANS

This indicates more than anything else that the basic trend in the imperialist establishment is toward war—not peace—that all their sanctimonious phrases about a "stable, durable peace" are merely camouflage. And to the extent that it has substance to it, it is meant to be a short-range scheme calculated to give the imperialists a breathing spell so they can prepare more efficiently and expeditiously for a larger and more decisive war.

It is in the interest of their short-range scheme that the imperialists urgently need to enlist the aid of the Soviet leaders and the Arab conservatives.

But the tide is running heavily against the success of such a plan. And the recent experiences of the Israeli attack on Lebanon and the revolutionary response that followed fully confirm this.

who remained in Israel have lived for nearly 20 years under military rule, treated as aliens in their own homeland, segregated in Arab communities, relegated to the position of second-class citizens and restricted in their travel and work opportunities.

One poignant testimony to the suffering of the Arab people under Israeli rule came from an Israeli soldier who saw the destruction of Arab villages and the expulsion of the inhabitants, condemned to wander without food or shelter in the countryside. Amos Kenan gave an interview to an Israeli newspaper about his experiences during the war. It was never published in Israel,

but extracts of it appear in the pamphlet issued by the Institute for Palestine Studies, mentioned above. Kenan wrote:

"The chicken and the doves were buried in the rubble. The fields were turned into waste in front of our eyes. The children who went crying on the road will be Fedayeen in 19 years, in the next round."

The Arab liberation struggle, however, will not wait 19 years. It has already begun, begun among the refugees and the most oppressed Arab victims of imperialism. The children who grew up in the refugee camps are already 19 and flocking into the ranks of a new liberation army.

An Interview With GI Union Head

Andy Stapp on the American Servicemen's Union

Q. How and when did the American Servicemen's Union get started?

A. Back in June of 1967, I and several other anti-war GIs at Fort Sill, Oklahoma went through a series of courts martial. The wide support we got from other GIs convinced us that it was possible to bring large numbers of GIs into an organization that could be in the vanguard in the fight against militarism. The support we got from Youth Against War & Fascism in those early days also reassured us that we could get consistent help from some civilians. Within the year, several other groups began to put out literature to raise anti-war consciousness among GIs, but the ASU remains the only organization within the armed forces.

Q. What kind of guys join the ASU?

A. We have organizers now at every major U.S. military installation around the world, including the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines. Most of these men haven't been members of any union before or been in the student anti-war movement. They're mostly working-class guys with the rottenest jobs--like infantry, truck drivers, wiremen and artillery. Officers and NCOs above the rank of E5 are barred from the union.

Q. Does the union have a specific set of demands?

A. Yes, we have a list of eight demands which are on every union card and appear in each issue of our newspaper, The BOND. They are: an end to saluting and sir-ing of officers, the election of officers by vote of the men, racial equality, rank-and-file control of courts-martial boards, a federal minimum wage, the right of free political association, the right to disobey illegal orders -- like orders to go and fight in the illegal war in Vietnam, and the right of collective bargaining.

Q. Have any of these union demands been granted by the Pentagon?

A. None have been officially granted, but in specific instances the ASU has forced the Pentagon to back down. For instance, General Stone, the Commandant of the 4th Infantry Division in Vietnam, was sending guys to the front for failing to salute officers. In other words, he was sentencing them to be killed or maimed. The ASU made such a stink about this, bringing national attention to Stone's policy, that he was forced to rescind the order. The brass go to ridiculous lengths to avoid seeming to recognize the independent existence of

their major adversary, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, so we're not surprised that they haven't given us official recognition. We have, however, received quite a few phone calls from officers asking us to set dates for trials of GIs we were defending. They're not happy about it, but they're beginning to have to reckon with the union.

Q. What effect do you think ASU organizing will have on the armed forces?

A. If our activity disrupts the armed forces, that's the fault of the officers and the totalitarian structure of the military, not the fault of the EMs. The EMs are only fighting for basic human rights, the first of which is the right not to die for Wall Street's profits in

Southeast Asia or anyplace else.

Q. Does the union have contact with guys in Vietnam?

A. We try to encourage guys to resist shipment to Vietnam, and many union members have refused to go. We do, however, have a substantial organization in Vietnam and the union was able to play a meaningful role at both Long Binh and Danang where the men revolted and fought the brass over abominable stockade conditions and racist terror unleashed on the prisoners.

Q. Does the union see a connection between the fight against racism and the struggle against the war?

A. It's the same fight. The war against Vietnam is a racist war. Racism is also perhaps the strongest weapon the brass has for dividing rank-and-file

GIs, and no progressive struggle against militarism can be undertaken unless the struggle against racism is put in the forefront.

Q. Where does a GI union fit in with regard to the anti-draft struggle and the movements among students, Afro-Americans and workers?

A. We see our effort as one part of a larger movement that includes all these separate fronts. The armed forces are not hermetically sealed and what is happening in the ghettos and on the campuses to the brothers, sisters and friends of GIs shapes their attitude toward the military and the war.

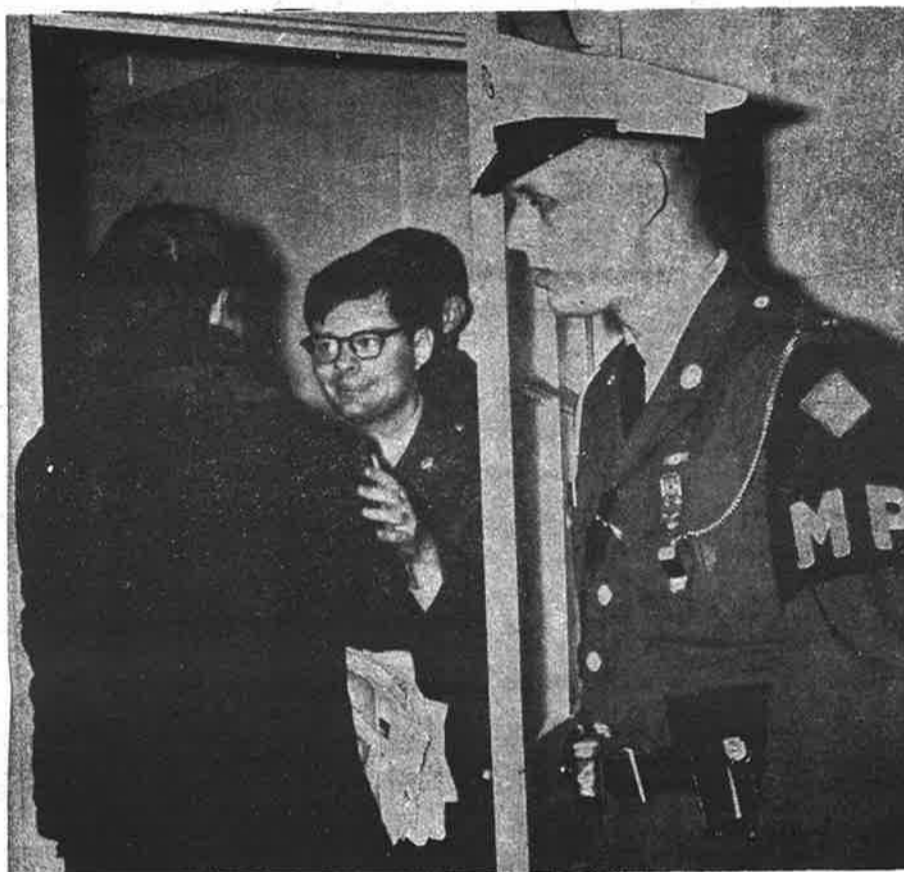
Q. The union is one and a half years old now. Are GIs acting and thinking any differently now than when you got started?

A. There's been a qualitative change. Acts of individual resistance which characterized the movement up to very recently are beginning to pass over to the stage of mass resistance. For instance, at Fort Lewis, Washington where the ASU is very strong, an entire battalion of men recently refused shipment to Vietnam. The Army cancelled their orders rather than try 500 guys. When the commanding general of Lewis tried to address these men, they booed him down.

Q. What do you think has been the ASU's biggest victory?

A. Forcing the Army to knuckle under in the trials of the 43 black soldiers at Fort Hood, Texas who refused to go to Chicago for riot duty during the Democratic Convention. Legal defense and publicity organized by the ASU with the generous cooperation of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, were instrumental in getting the relatively light sentences handed down in these cases. Although many of the guys were facing five years and some ten, none received even a year. This is in sharp contrast to the case of Bill Harvey and George Daniels, two Afro-American Marines who are serving 10 and 6 years, respectively, just because they made remarks against the war in private conversations. The victories are particularly significant at Fort Hood, located deep in the heart of Texas, since this is one of the most fascist military reservations in the country. Just a month before these black GIs demonstrated, General McChristian had barred from post copies of a national magazine that ran a cover story on the ASU.

First Battle for Servicemen's Union



Scene from the courtroom during military field board hearing at Fort Sill, Oklahoma where brass tried to crush the ASU. Pvt. Stapp greets civilian supporter as MP looks on. GIs called as witnesses stood up to brass intimidation and the hearing was turned into a victory for the enlisted men.

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