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A CUBA-CHILE COMMUNIST AXIS?

The Communist World is exultant because it appears probably that communist power will soon be established in Chile, a South American republic with a long tradition of democracy. This will result in a Cuba-Chile communist axis that will bisect South America.

Chile is the southernmost country of South America and has a population of approximately 10 million. It clings to the Pacific Ocean side of the Andes Mountains and covers about half the continent's west coast. Its coastline is ideal for submarine bases. It is one of the leading industrial countries of Latin American and mines more minerals, except petroleum, than any other Latin American country. It is one of the world's largest producers of copper.

Compared with most of its South American neighbors, Chile has had relatively few revolutions or dictators. They have had the same constitution since 1925—longer than most other Latin American countries.

The communist triumph has resulted from the use of an old communist stratagem, the United Front. A presidential election was held on September 4. Originally, the Communist Party of Chile nominated its own candidate, Pablo Neruda, for the presidency. He withdrew, however, in favor of the leader of the Socialist Party, Salvador Allende, and a left coalition was formed of the Socialists, Communists, and Radicals.

The candidates of three parties contested the elections. Salvador Allende represented the Popular Unity; Jorge Alessandri, a former president, represented the National Party; while Radomiro Tomic represented the Christian Democrats. The reigning president of Chile is Eduardo Frei, a Christian Democrat, and the Christian Democrats also control Congress. Since the Chilean constitution prohibits a president serving two consecutive terms, Frei was not able to run in this election.

The election results were: Allende, 36.3%; Alessandri, 34.9%, and Tomic 27%. No candidate received a plurality.

The Chilean constitution states that if no candidate receives a majority of the votes, congress must select one of the two candidates who received the most votes. Congress chose the president in this way in 1920, 1952, and 1958, and in each case selected the candidate who had secured the greater number of votes and a tradition along this line has been established.

Allende himself and the communists around the world are taking it for granted that Allende will be elected president by the Chilean Congress on October 24. *Granma*, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, in its edition of September 13, 1970, announces Allende's victory under banner headlines "Imperialist Defeat in Chile—Allende triumphs in the presidential elections." It quotes Allende as saying:

"This is a clean victory with a well-defined, very clear program with a great national sense and with a clear anti-imperialist definition.

"We have won in order to once and for all eliminate imperialist exploitation, end monopolies and carry out a far-reaching agrarian reform." Pages 1 and 2.

Unity With Cuba

Allende makes no secret of his admiration of Fidel Castro and the communist regime in Cuba. Speaking after the election he said:

"For the Cuban people who understand that every country has its reality and its own path, my respect and admiration. For their leaders, represented by Fidel Castro, my friendship as always. The people of Chile have taken a historic step forward, one which implies a great responsibility, and we must prove equal to it.

"Unwavering friend of Cuba, I remember its loyalty, its faithfulness to its principles, its Latin American dedication and its dignity." Page 1.

It is highly probably that a government led by Allende will pursue a similar course to that of the Communist Government of Cuba. This was made very clear by the Communist Party of Chile in an article published in Political Affairs, the theoretical journal of the American Communist Party, in March, 1964. The Chilean Communists were replying to charges by the Chinese Communists that by seeking to attain power through the electoral processes they are repudiating the example of Fidel Castro. They replied by stating that Marxism-Leninism allows flexibility in the choice of the method of obtaining power, therefore it was not necessary to come to power in the same way that Castro had taken power in Cuba. They stated that it was necessary, however, to do what Castro had done in Cuba once they had attained power. They stated:

"The content of the revolution in all Latin American countries is, generally speaking, identical. All the peoples of the continent are bound to follow Cuba's example as regards liberation from imperialism, abolition of the latifundia and other fetters on the productive forces, implementation of the cultural revolution and paving the way to socialism." *Political Affairs*, March, 1964, Page 43.

The American Communist Party is particularly exultant over the election of Allende in Chile and is devoting pages in the *Daily World* to it. A special rally in New York has been called to celebrate the event. Thursday, Sept. 17, Page 3.

"CP rally in New York to hail Chile election

"New York, Sept. 16—Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, will be the main speaker at a meeting Sept. 25 at 8 p.m. at the Hotel Diplomat to express solidarity with the Chilean Popular Unity election victory, it was announced today by Rasheed Storey, chairman of the New York State party organization.

"James Jackson, secretary of the international department of the CPUSA, and Grace Mora, Communist candidate for Lieutenant Governor, will also speak.

"This meeting will greet the Chilean election victory and will warn against any interference or intrigue by U.S. imperialism,' Storey declared.

"Admission is \$1 at the door."

Daily World Article

The issue of Tuesday, September 8, 1970, pages 2 and 11 describes the situation thus:

"Rallies in Santiago hail Allende victory

"The election victory in Chile of Salvador Allende, popular front candidate was met with street demonstrations of joy in Santiago, the nation's capital, while rightist disturbances by supporters of Jorge Alessandri, the defeated candidate, were easily squelched by the police.

"The demonstrations hailing the news that Allende had gained the biggest vote on Friday for President were described by one U.S. newsman as a scene 'like Times Square on New Year's Eve.'

"CP hails victory

"Luis Corvalan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, which organized and led the popular front coalition, called the electoral victory 'a great triumph for the people.'

"Allende received 36.3 percent of the total vote for three candidates. Chile's constitution provides that if no candidate gets 50 percent, the Congress chooses the President from among the leading candidates.

"Allende's victory seemed assured, however, when leaders of the Christian-Democratic Party, which has the largest bloc in Congress, told him yesterday they would vote to confirm him as President when the Congress meets Oct. 24. The inauguration will take place Nov. 4.

Alessandri, termed 'the businessman's candidate,' received 34 percent of the vote.

"Allende's program

"Allende has pledged to open diplomatic relations with Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the People's Republic of China.

"Allende's popular front platform also calls for nationalization of more than \$7000

million foreign exchange earnings. He has said that he will nationalize big industry and carry out a thorough land reform program.

"He added yesterday he would ask the U.S. to re-schedule Chile's debts of abbut \$800 million 'to end once and for all Chile's dependence on he U.S.'

"Radomiro Tomic, a Christian-Democrat, who finished third in the race and officially withdrew as a candidate.

"Since 1964, Chile has been governored by the Christian Democrats, led by President Eduardo Frei.

"Frei had borrowed freely from Christian Democratic parties in West Germany and Italy for his program. Perhaps that was one major reason why Tomic, his candidate, was rejected: in September, 1969, West German voters had after 20 years voted their Christian Democrats out of office, and Italy's Christian Democrats under new Premier Emilio Colombo are just barely hanging on to power.

"The Alliance of capitalists and Roman Catholics, which was the basis of all Christian Democratic parties, seemingly no longer has the appeal it once had.

"In Chile, as in West Germany and Italy, strong left coalitions have provided the power and organization necessary to beat the Christian Democrats. Frei's party failed to carry out his promised 'revolution to liberty,' which had attracted workers and peasants in 1964.

"Six year failure

"After six years of Frei, there are still 700,000 landless peasants in Chile and only 28,000 people have been granted land as part of the 'land reform' program of the Christian Democrats.

"Frei's 'Chileanization' program, by which the government was supposed to acquire 51 percent interest in the U.S.-owned copper mines, was a failure as well. Not only did big U.S. corporations like Anaconda beat down Frei's feeble attempts to control them, but the U.S. monopolies ground ever bigger profits out of Chile's working class. In 1963, just before Frei took office, U.S. mining profits were \$44 million, in 1968, they were \$126 million.

"Added to this was a galloping inflation which in 1969 hit 30 percent. Election observers say this was the final straw which pushed large number of salaried workers who had voted for Frei in 1964 into the popular front camp.

"The popular front idea came out in the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Chile in November, 1969, where Corvalan issued a call for people's unity to defeat the Christian Democrats.

"The CPC at first put, as its own presidential candidate, Pablo Neruda, the well-known poet, but as the popular front idea grw, Neruda withdrew voluntarily in favor of Allende, the chairman of Chile's Socialist Party. The coalition not only included Communists and

Socialists, but also the Radical Party and members of Frei's own Christian Democrats groups in the United People's Action Movement (MAPU). The popular also received the strong endorsement of Chile's trade unions and peasant organizations."

Another Article, by Guardian

The *Daily World* of Wednesday, September 23, 1970, prints a long article by Hernan del Canto, general secretary of the 800,000-strong Chilean Federation of Labor under the caption "Chile Labor Won't Let Rightists Block Allende."

The radical *Guardian* gives a more objective report. They show that the election of Allende was due in large measure to a miscalculation by the anti-communist forces. In actuality the share of the total vote received by Allende was not larger than in 1964. In that year, however, he was opposed by a strong Christian Democrat candidate, Frei. The *Guardian* describes the situation in these words:

"Normally the Congress would name the candidate receiving a plurality as president, but this is an 'exceptional' situation. Allende's forces lack a majority in Congress and the right wants to block a 'Marxist' victory.

"In part, the center and right did not united to check Allende during the election because they were victims of their own propaganda. The Christian Democrats whose candidate was Rodomiro Tomic and Alessandri's National party had both sponsored public opinion polls which put their man comfortably in the lead. There was such a scandal around the polls that it was investigated by Congress.

"Now Allesandri's chief campaign aide is calling for Congress to defeat Allende. Alessandri himself has stated that if Congress elects him he will immediately resign. Then there would have to be a new election in which President Eduardo Frei, who constitutionally could not succeed himself, might run again as the candidate of an 'anti-Marxist front,' as in 1964 when he was originally elected. However, events may have already outdistanced this strategy." *Guardian*, September 19, 1970, Page 13.

As the situation stands at present there are three possibilities: 1) Allende may be voted president of Chile by congress on October 24. This will almost certainly lead to the establishment of a communist dictatorship in Chile. 2) Congress may elect Alessandri. This will lead to another election. 3) A military coup may establish a military dictatorship.

When discussing the election in Chile in 1964, I described the probably course of events in Chile in the event of a communist victory. The words are relevant in the present circumstances and reprinted as follows:

- 1. The democratic system would have been destroyed and this would have been the last free election.
- 2. By progressive steps the dictatorship of the Communist Party would have been established with the elimination of all the more moderate elements within the coalition, as happened in Cuba. Most of the members of Fidel Castro's first Cuban government are now either executed, prisoners, or refugees and a similar sequence could have been

- expected in Chile.
- 3. The firing squads would have been busy with the execution of alleged counter-revolutionaries.
- 4. Political prisoners would have been established and crammed with thousands of Chilean citizens.
- 5. A flood of refugees would have spread throughout all the Western Hemisphere as people fled from the communist terror.
- 6. All religious education would have been taken over by the communists so that the schools, including church schools, became sources for indoctrination in atheism and communism and hatred of the U.S.A.
- 7. The family would have been weakened as children became conscious or unconscious espionage agents within the family circle.
- 8. Agricultural production would have fallen drastically.
- 9. Industry would have been socialized, the communist bureaucracy would have multiplied, and productive efficiency would have decreased.
- 10. American investments would have been expropriated with token compensation or no compensation whatever.
- 11. Chile would have become a training camp for revolutionaries and saboteurs for all other Latin American countries.
- 12. Chile would have re-established relations with Cuba, made a pact with Communist Russia, and become an additional Russian military base in the Western Hemisphere. The long coastline would have been ideal for submarine bases.
- 13. The United States would have been involved in enormous expenditures in the effort to restrain communist power and the danger of war would have greatly increased.
- 14. The world Communist Conspiracy would have won a major victory in its war to conquer the U.S.A.

The situation cannot be regarded with complacency. A major victory in the communist campaign to encircle the United States appears to have been won.

HOPE FOR AN END TO HIJACKING

Each advance in the science of aviation has increased the vulnerability of aircraft to hijackers. As the size, speed, and range of aircraft has increased, so has the potential danger of hijacking. As long as there is sanctuary where the hijacker will be accepted and granted security anywhere in the world, no long-range aircraft in the sky is safe.

Hijacking is only possible when there is a safe sanctuary to which the hijacker can direct the plane. For the past several years Cuba has served as this sanctuary in the Western Hemisphere and 122 commercial airlines have been hijacked to Cuba since May 21, 1967. Each successful hijacking encourages other to do likewise. The vulnerability of aircraft was revealed by the recent hijacking of Swiss, German, British and American planes over Europe and their diversion to the Middle East where the planes were destroyed and the passengers held hostage. The world was shocked and even the Arab governments repudiated the action.

At last there is evidence that Cuba is growing weary of its role as refuge for the hijackers. Recently a hijacker was refused asylum in Cuba and returned to that authorities in the United States. The present attitude of the Cuban authorities to the hijackers is revealed in

an article under the title, "Hijackers Held by Cuba Traced to CIA," published in the communist *Daily World* of September 25, 1970, page 3:

"Cuban security forces have discovered agents of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency posing as aircraft hijackers, the Cuban news agency, Prensa Latina, said today.

"In a dispatch from Havana distributed in Mexico City, the agency identified most hijackers of aircraft t Cuba as CIA operatives, disgruntled Cuban exiles and 'common criminals.' Only a few of the air pirates were political refugees, it said.

"The agency also denied Cuba was raking a financial windfall from ground service charges levied against the 122 commercial airliners diverted to Cuba since May 21, 1967.

"An important group of hijackers is composed of members of the CIA trying to infiltrate the country,' the agency said. 'The CIA is responsible for a good number of the hijackings that have so alarmed world public opinion.

"'Cuban security forces have not wasted much time in discovering them and the spy ends his adventure in jail.'

"Prensa Latina said many other hijackers were Cuban exiles dissatisfied with life in the United States.

"The agency said, 'a no less abundant' group of hijackers is composed of people who are 'common criminals, given to vice, mentally unbalanced, socially unfit, exhibitionists or propelled by simple personal motives.'

"Members of this group 'receive the full weight of Cuban laws,' Prensa Latina said.

"The agency said it was surprising 'that only a minority of the persons resort to this extreme air piracy because they find themselves seriously threatened owing to their political activities in the country of origin.'

"After 'an exhaustive investigation that can last months,' hijackers in this category receive political asylum and are allowed to live and work in Cuba, the agency said."

At the risk of being over-optimistic, we may hope that the era of hijacking is nearing its end.

BLACK PANTHER MARXISM

"History has bestowed upon the Black Panther Party the obligation to take these steps and thereby advance Marxism-Leninism to an even higher level along the path to a socialist state . . . we have the historical obligation to take the concept of internationalism to its final conclusion—the destruction of statehood itself."

"Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton

Black Panther Party, U.S.A.

"To the courageous revolutionaries of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam we send greetings.

"In the spirit of international revolutionary solidarity the Black Panther Party hereby offers to the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam an undetermined number of troops to assist you in your fight against American imperialism. It is appropriate for the Black Panther Party to take this action at this time in recognition of the fact that your struggle is also our struggle, for we recognize that our common enemy is the American imperialist who is the leader of international bourgeois domination. There is not one fascist or reactionary government in the world today that could stand without the support of United States imperialism. Therefore our problem is international, and we offer these troops in recognition of the necessity for international alliances to deal with this problem.

"Such alliances will advance the struggle toward the final act of dealing with American imperialism. The Black Panther Party views the United States as the 'city' of the world, while we view the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin American as the 'countryside' of the world. The developing countries are like the Sierra Maestra in Cuba and the United States is like Havana. We note that in Cuba the people's army set up bases in the Sierra Maestra and choked off Havana because it was dependent upon the raw materials of the countryside. After they won all the battles in the countryside the last and final act was for the people to march upon Havana.

"The Black Panther Party believes that the revolutionary process will operate in a similar fashion on an international level. A small ruling circle of 76 major companies controls the American economy. This elite not only exploits and oppresses Black people within the United States; they are exploiting and oppressing everyone in the world because of the overdeveloped nature of capitalism. Having expanded industry within the United States until it can grow no more, and depleting the raw materials of this nation, they have run amuck abroad in their attempts to extend their economic domination. To end this oppression we must liberate the developing nations—the countryside of the world—and then our final act will be the strike against the 'city.' As one nation is liberated elsewhere it gives us a better chance to be free here.

"The Black Panther Party recognizes that we have certain national problems confined to the continental United States, but we are also aware that while our oppressor has domestic problems these do not stop him from oppressing people all over the world. Therefore we will keep fighting and resisting within the 'city' so as to cause as much turmoil as possible and aid our brothers by dividing the troops of the ruling circle.

"The Black Panther party offers these troops because we are the vanguard party of revolutionary internationalists who give up all claim to nationalism. We take this position because the United States has acted in a very chauvinistic manner and lost its claim to nationalism. The United States is an empire which has raped the world to build its wealth here. Therefore the United States is not a nation. It is a government of international capitalists and inasmuch as they have exploited the world to accumulate wealth this country belongs to the world. The Black Panther Party contends that the United States lost its right to claim nationhood when it used its nationalism as a chauvinistic base to become an empire.

"On the other hand, the developing countries have every right to claim nationhood, because they have not exploited anyone. The nationalism of which they speak is simply their rightful claim to autonomy, self-determination and a liberated base from which to fight the international bourgeoisie.

"The Black Panther Party supports the claim to nationhood of the developing countries and we embrace their struggle from our position as revolutionary internationalists. We cannot be nationalists when our country is not a nation but an empire. We contend that it is time to open the gates of this country and share the technological knowledge and wealth with the peoples of the world.

"History has bestowed upon the Black Panther Party the obligation to take these steps and thereby advance Marxism-Leninism to an even higher level along the path to a socialist state, and then a non-state. This obligation springs both from the dialectical forces in operation at this time and our history as an oppressed Black colony. The fact that our ancestors were kidnapped and forced to come to the United States has destroyed our feeling of nationhood. Because our long cultural heritage was broken we have come to rely less on our history for guidance, and seek our guidance from the future. Everything we do is based upon functionalism and pragmatism, and because we look to the future for salvation we are in a position to become the most progressive and dynamic people on the earth, constantly in motion and progressing, rather than becoming stagnated by the bonds of the past.

"Taking these things under consideration, it is no accident that the vanguard party—without chauvinism or a sense of nationhood—should be the Black Panther Party. Our struggle for liberation is based upon justice and equality for all men. Thus we are interested in the people of any territory where the crack of the oppressor's whip may be heard. We have the historical obligation to take the concept of internationalism to its final conclusion—the destruction of statehood itself. This will lead us into the era where the withering away of the state will occur and men will extend their hand in friendship throughout the world.

"This is the world view of the Black Panther Party and in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism, solidarity and friendship we offer these troops to the National Liberation Front and Provisional Government of South Vietnam, and to the people of the world.

"Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party"

(The Black Panther, Vol. V No. 9, Saturday, August 21, 1970)

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY—A COMMUNIST TROJAN HORSE

The Black Panther Party is not an American political party. It does not represent black citizens of the United States. It is part of the armed forces of the International Communist Movement and its objective is the destruction of the United States of America.

This is made clear by the statement of Huey P. Newton, founder and minister of defense of the Black Panther Party, published in the newspaper, *The Black Panther*, of August 21, 1970, and reproduced in this newsletter.

He offers to send troops to support the communist Vietcong in their aggression in Southeast Asia. He repeats the communist doctrine that the United States is the "city" of the world while the nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America are the "countryside" of the world and that the "city" will be conquered as a result of encirclement by the "countryside" and demoralization within. The role of the Black Panther Party is to play the role of a Trojan horse and to attack, weaken, and demoralize the "city" from within.

Newton's statement, "The Black Panther Party offers these troops because we are the vanguard of revolutionary internationalists who give up all claim to nationalism," is very clear.

The claim of the Black Panthers to be the communist vanguard intent upon destroying the United States should be treated seriously.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN ST. LOUIS HONORS ANGELA DAVIS

Communist Angela Davis continues to be regarded as a heroine by certain segments of the Christian church despite her reported involvement in the events which led to the kidnapping and murder of a judge in San Rafael. The Long Beach Press Telegram of Saturday, September 26, 1970, under the caption "Church to Honor Angela" reports:

"Miss Angela Davis, on the FBI's list of 10 most wanted, will be honored Sunday as St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in St. Louis, Mo. observes its annual Liberation Sunday. A large portrait of the black former philosophy teacher at UCLA will be on display to attract innercity visitors for the St. Louis Fall Festival, said the Rev. William Stickeny, rector.

"Miss Davis is being sought for her alleged involvement in the courthouse kidnapping and shootout in San Rafael, where a judge, two defendants and a kidnapper died. The church is located on the south side of the business district and serves many blacks." Page A-2.

COMMUNIST VICTORY IN KERALA

Recent elections in Kerala, India, have brought to power a coalition including the left wing of the Congress Party led by the Indian Prime Minister Indian Gandhi, and the Indian Communist Party affiliated with the Soviet Union. The Marxist Communist Party which tends to favor the Chinese Communists is excluded from the coalition.

This election has great significance for the future of India as it provides a pattern which may be followed on the national scale. It must be regarded as another victory for communism.