

# workers world

Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite

Is the current U.S. economic crisis just the usual "correction" of the capitalist market—or is it part of a historic decline? Read Sam Marcy's answer on pages 5, 6, 7, and 8.

Vol. 17, No. 31

August 8, 1975

25 cents

# BIG BANKS PRACTICALLY TAKE OVER NEW YORK GOV'T

*After breaking contracts and wrecking lives of workers, they arrogantly push their own elected politicians aside*

## DO THESE BANKS NEED YOUR SUBWAY NICKELS?

List of biggest NYC banks (commercial only) that are saying the city must die because of \$2 billion they refuse to lend.

Bank	Published assets Jan. 1, 1975
First National City	\$57,838,735,000.
Chase Manhattan	42,532,003,000.
J.P. Morgan & Co.	25,962,646,000.
Manufacturers Hanover	25,753,689,000.
Chemical New York	22,174,670,000.
Bankers Trust	20,386,822,000.
Charter New York Corp.	11,343,463,000.
Bank of New York	4,102,424,000.
Nat'l Bank of N. America	3,157,685,000.

Total over 213 billion dollars

These New York banks, which refuse to loan a couple billion dollars to New York City, control in addition to the above \$213 billion, another \$150 billion in trust funds through which they run nearly the whole of U.S. industry and control the lives of at least 50 million working people, putting them to work and laying them off whenever profitable to the above accounts.

They also control another \$100 billion worth of insurance companies in or near New York. And of course they are tied in one way or another to at least half the rest of the banks in the country who refuse to buy NYC bonds because their New York master-banks tell them to refuse.

By ANDY STAPP

NEW YORK, August 6—The big banks have virtually overthrown the elected government of New York City. Pleading "I have to do what they tell me," Mayor Beame has admitted this ugly truth.

Conceding that the bankers have set up what Beame himself calls a "shadow government" (it would be more accurate to say that it is Beame who has been reduced to a shadow), the Mayor, who has always fronted as a political hack for the Wall Street moneybags, has now just about given up all pretence that his office, rather than the banking octopus, is really running the show.

The new and unelected "acting mayor" (in the words of the New York Post) of New York City's nearly eight million people is Herbert Elish, the executive director of the Municipal Assistance Corporation and also a director of the First National City Bank.

Another key figure in the banker's coup is Felix Rohatyn, a director of International Telephone and Telegraph. In 1972 he funneled \$400,000 to the Nixon administration to buy favorable treatment for ITT in an anti-trust suit. Former Attorney General Richard Kliendeist was convicted of a felony for his role in the ensuing scandal. Rohatyn, however, went on to become finance director of MAC, which now practically rules New York City.

Third, and most powerful of MAC's inner circle is its Chairman, William Ellinghaus, president of New York Bell Telephone Co. and a close associate of the Morgan Banking group.

Calling Ellinghaus' brutal demands both "insulting" and "humiliating" Beame is promoting his own favorite, Richard R. Shinn, President of the \$32-billion Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, for the position of city financial czar.

The Mayor, through his aids, has suggested that Shinn "will defend the city's interest against the bankers," a ridiculous notion considering that Shinn is a director of the Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank!

For the vast majority of us it matters not at all whether Morgan stooge Ellinghaus or Rockefeller's boy Shinn emerges as the main force in city government. Whoever it turns out to be, the poor and working people are committed to a long and bitter struggle to break these rich bloodsuckers' grip upon our lives.

## HOW THEY PUT IT OVER

By KEN FRANSON

The New York banks have always controlled the New York government, both city and state.

But now the relationship between the banks and the city has entered a new stage.

They no longer make their demands to city officials in private, paying them off with "campaign contributions" and a bribe here and there between elections. The pay-offs are there, of course. But now the representatives of the banks openly give their threats and issue their orders in the newspapers and on television, clearly and directly.

The Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) is actually a junta that the bankers have set up to rule New York without the intervention of capitalist politicians.

Its nine directors include five heads of investment or brokerage firms, along with William Ellinghaus, president of New York Telephone and a director of Bankers Trust. Three obliging professors are thrown in for window dressing.

MAC's official reform program for the city says, "drastic, immediate cuts are necessary...accompanied by a long-term, rigorous program....What is required is a fundamental rethinking (translation: "cut") of the level and quality of

(Continued on page 9)

## Ugly counter-revolution raises head in Portugal

AUGUST 6—A wave of frenzied anti-communist violence is sweeping northern Portugal. It is undoubtedly the prelude to a more organized counterrevolutionary assault by the so-called "moderates," the so-called "Socialists," and finally a section of the Armed Forces itself.

Like all reactionary movements on this planet it has the organized assistance of U.S. imperialism.

President Ford stated flatly on August 3 that "we do know that West European countries are helping their social democratic friends in Portugal." And these West European countries would not move without U.S. cooperation.

The British Labor Party and the West German Social Democratic Party—both imperialist government

(Continued on page 9)



Transit workers in New York City protest the proposed fare hike. WW photo: Pam

Irish freedom struggle continues**Long-time IRA leader jailed in Dublin**

By MOLLY CHARBONEAU  
NEW YORK, August 2—August 9 marks the fourth year of internment in northern Ireland, a policy under which British imperialism has arrested hundreds of Irish men, women, and children in the north and thrown them into British concentration camps without charge or trial.

Internment, along with the Offenses Against the State Act in the Irish Republic and the more recent "emergency decrees" enacted within England last December, is aimed at railroading members and supporters of the Irish Republican Army (the Irish liberation fighters) to prison in a vicious but vain attempt to crush the Irish liberation struggle.

**IRA LEADER JAILED**

According to a ceasefire agreement wrested from the British earlier this year, internment was to end, internees were to be freed and British troops were to withdraw from Ireland.

Not only has the British government ignored its pledge, continuing internment and failing to withdraw its occupation army,



**British troops round up 'suspects' in Northern Ireland. In the past 4 years, the British have jailed hundreds of people without trial in a futile attempt to crush the Irish liberation movement.**

but imperialism's heavy hand can also be seen in the July 9, 1975, arrest near Dublin of Daithi O'Conaill, a longtime IRA leader and a negotiator of the recent ceasefire.

For several years, O'Conaill had eluded the British army, the Special Branch forces in the Irish Republic and even escaped Dutch and other European police when he went to Holland to procure arms for the IRA in 1971.

Despite the well-concerted manhunt for him, O'Conaill was

able to appear and speak at many IRA gatherings, as well as grant many press interviews, while in disguise.

When asked at his kangaroo-court trial if he wanted bail, O'Conaill replied, "I am not interested in bail whatsoever. I am interested in freedom, peace and justice." The court sentenced him to one year in prison.

**PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS SCHEDULED**

The continuing internment

policy, the brutal conditions of prisoners in the Irish Republic and England, the imprisonment of IRA supporters in the U.S. and Canada and the recent arrest of Daithi O'Conaill have prompted demonstrations in many U.S. cities and in Ireland.

A protest is planned at British Airways in New York City, August 9 at 2 p.m. This will follow a 1 p.m. march from Columbus Circle called by the Joint Action Committee for Irish Political Prisoners.

Photo: LNS

- 1—Big banks take over New York: Counterrevolution raises head in Portugal
- 2—IRA leader jailed in Dublin; Vietnamese delegates greeted in NY; Decline & Fall
- 3—Pickets arrested at Buffalo Forge; Harvard kitchen workers win contract; Texas farmworkers resist union busting; Iranian students stage hunger strike
- 4—Editorials: (1) Helsinki; (2) Hiroshima; (3) Ford and Solzhenitsyn (right and ultra-right); Portuguese soldiers kill 20 in Angola; Letters
- 5-8—Sam Marcy: Capitalist economic stagnation and the revolutionary perspective; The real nature of the current crisis
- 9—Protest fare hike in NYC; Congress votes itself wage increase
- 10—Joann Little support firm; Boston benefit for Joann; Milwaukee WWP takes Joann's case to streets; San Quentin 6 chained, gassed, caged
- 11—Political Prisoners
- 12—Black people rebel against Detroit racism; Lifting of OAS sanction against Cuba

**WORKERS WORLD**

Editor: Deirdre Griswold  
Technical Editors: Bob Dobrow, L. Stein  
Editorial Staff: Julio Ghigliotti, P. Meisner, T. Mitchell, Sharon Shelton, Andy Stapp

Published by:  
World View Publishers, Inc.  
46 W. 21 St.  
New York, N.Y. 10011  
Editorial office: 212-675-2555  
Business office: 212-255-0352

Published weekly, except for the first week of August and September.

Closing news date: August 4, 1975

Subscriptions: one year, \$7.00; 6 months, \$3.50. Please address requests for bundles to World View. Make checks payable to World View Publishers.

Second Class Postage paid at N.Y., N.Y.

**Vietnamese UN delegates greeted on arrival at Kennedy Airport by cheering crowds**

By ANDY STAPP  
NEW YORK, July 27—Greeted by a cheering crowd of over two hundred supporters, a delegation from the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam arrived at Kennedy Airport here today. Ambassador Dinh Ba Thi and Mr. Huynh Huu Nghiep waved, shook hands, and applauded as

they passed through a narrow corridor opening into the crush of enthusiastic people chanting "Long live the victory of the Vietnamese people!"

Members of various organizations, including the Union of Vietnamese Students in the U.S., the Indochina Peace Campaign, Workers World Party, and Youth

Against War & Fascism, comprised the majority of the welcoming party, although others who happened to be at the airport when the Vietnamese arrived also joined in the clapping.

After a brief news conference in the airport pressroom, Ambassador Thi walked out into the parking lot to say a few words to

those who had come to meet the PRG delegation.

"We are deeply moved by your reception," he told the crowd, "and we want to see you again on different occasions."

As Mr. Thi and Mr. Nghiep prepared to depart for the city, the PRG ambassador smiled and remarked, "We are sorry to say goodbye, but we will see you all again."

Delegations from the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea who had come to the airport to greet the PRG representatives left as Ambassador Thi and Mr. Nghiep were driven off in a station wagon for Manhattan.

Later a reception was held to celebrate the arrival of the PRG delegates, which was attended by most of those who had met them at the Air France terminal plus diplomatic personnel from Poland, the USSR, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic,

(Continued on page 9)



**Part of crowd greeting PRG delegation at airport.**

photo: Dick

**DECLINE AND FALL****PROFITS GALORE**

From a brochure, "Profit Island, U.S.A.," 1974:

"The strategy of Bootstrap is to attract U.S. and foreign manufacturers to Puerto Rico, with advantages such as tax incentives, an intelligent, willing work force and a strategic location at the center of the world markets. . . . Puerto Rican average income is now nearly \$2,000 annually (U.S. Labor Dept. defines poverty as below \$2,100—WW). . . . Industry has burgeoned on the island. From Union Carbide's \$500 million complex to other giants in the field, such as Phillips Petroleum, Commonwealth Oil, Sun Oil—the petrochemical industry is pushing the \$2 billion mark in total capital investment.

"Corporate and personal income earned in Puerto Rico is not subject to Federal taxation! No area in the United States can

offer this distinct benefit to manufacturers. And, thanks to the Island's Industrial Incentive Act, qualifying manufacturers enjoy 100 percent exemption from all Puerto Rican taxes for periods from 10 to 30 years."

**FAR FROM THE MADDENING CROWD**

The New York Times, July 13:

"The lure of exclusivity, of lunches, dinners, cards, backgammon and dancing far from the maddening crowd has drawn more than 2,200 apparently recession-proof men and women to two recently opened clubs, and a third is still on the drawing board.

"We're flabbergasted at the response," said Earl Blackwell, one of the organizers and prime movers of Doubles, the club that hasn't opened yet but has all the earmarks of being the most chic of the three establishments. . . . The club is scheduled to open in

the Sherry Netherlands Hotel, home of the former Raffles Club.

"One member, recalling the waning days of the Raffles said, with a delicate shudder, 'I remember walking in there and recognizing less than half the people—they were giving memberships to just anyone.'

"Despite the emphasis on congeniality, personal attributes and business and social stature, the one essential for all the clubs is a healthy personal or corporate bankbook. Money alone won't get one into the clubs but, without it, charm, family or fame won't do the trick."

**U.S.—AND DRUGS—NOW OUT OF VIETNAM**

The New York Times, July 20:

"In the aftermath of the Indochina war, Thailand has become the production and distribution center of a drastically revised international trade in narcotics.

"The lucrative market of South Vietnam has dried up in the wake of the Communist take-overs in Cambodia and South Vietnam.

"One kilo (2.2 pounds) of heroin in Burma or northern Thailand sells for \$3,600 to

\$4,500. And by the time that kilo arrives in New York, its price may be \$45,000 or more, and then, cut and marketed for street sale up to \$500,000.

"...Officials said local entrepreneurs were turning to the large American community in Bangkok as sources for customers and couriers."

**EMPLOYMENT DOWN—SUICIDE UP**

Moneysworth, July 21:

"According to the National Center for Health Statistics, the suicide rate, after declining for over two decades, has jumped about 25 per cent in the last year.

"Most of the prevention center's callers list the financial crisis as their reason for doing away with themselves. President Ford has suggested that Americans 'bite the bullet' to cope with inflation. This year, many citizens are responding by attempting to bite bullets at muzzle velocity.

"At least 20,000 people in the United States will kill themselves this year, and another quarter of a million Americans will take unsuccessful stabs at self-murder."

**Company refuses to negotiate; arrest 25 pickets**

# Support grows for Buffalo Forge strikers

**Special to Workers World**  
In November 1974, members of the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) locals 8267 and 8269 who had just won the right to unionize at Buffalo Forge walked off the job when the company refused to negotiate for their first contract. The office and technical workers at the plant, who are mainly women, have conducted very militant picket lines and sustained over 25 arrests in the months they've been out.

On April 10 of this year, the USWA locals held a demonstration calling on all Buffalo labor to picket in support of the strikers. Cheektowaga police broke up the action, arresting a USWA staff representative, a member of the IBEW, and a cab driver who were on the line.

In the following Workers World interview Tom Comar of the IBEW and Bill Covington, the arrested taxi driver, talk about the arrests and the growing support for their case.

**WW:** You were arrested at the picket line on April 10 at Buffalo Forge. As neither of you are members of the striking union, what brought you to the line?

**TOM:** The Buffalo Forge workers who have been out since last November are fighting for the basic rights to negotiate for adequate wages and benefits, rights that are important to all workers. The company has used every dirty trick it has to try to break the strike. They've had Buffalo cops moonlighting as company guards, and have used scabs and other strike breakers to try to crush the union through decertification.

These tactics have worked before in Buffalo to break other strikes and unions and the only answer the workers have to these attacks on their unions is the kind of labor solidarity that was called for at the mass picket line at Forge. Members of AFSCME, Textile Workers Union, Operating Engineers, IBEW, steel-workers locals, and others joined in with the strikers in a tremendous display of support.

**BILL:** The mass picket lines at Buffalo Forge are some of the most militant I've ever seen. The strikers seem to really understand

the role of the police in terms of siding with the company to break the strike and in not giving a damn about the livelihood of the workers.

The most vocal among the strikers seem to be the women, and this is no surprise because they were paid the lowest wages and worked under the worst conditions. As a matter of fact, their wages were so low that they are making more collecting unemployment and strike benefits!

We don't have a union at the cab company that I work for, but we have in common with the Forge workers the low wages and lack of job protection.

**WW:** What occurred on the picket line on April 10 that led to your arrests?

**BILL:** There was an orderly picket line of about 75 to 100 people, mostly strikers and workers from the various unions that Tom mentioned and the delegations from several steelworkers locals. The company called the local Cheektowaga cops because they couldn't hear themselves think, but actually I think they were more disturbed by the show of labor solidarity outside their windows.

**TOM:** The cops came not only from Cheektowaga, but from Depew, state troopers, and county sheriffs, and they were out for blood. Every cop in the area has known how militant the Buffalo

Forge picket lines have been in standing up to them in the past. They charged the line at full speed, driving right into the middle of the line, shouting an illegal order to disperse. They jumped three of us to try to break up the line by intimidation. Bill and I were roughed up and thrown into a squad car with Joe Benbendek, a USWA staff representative.

On the way to the station and at the jail, the cops demonstrated their close alliance with the company by insulting and beating us, and crying that "the company was hurting" and that they (the cops) were out to break the strike. Joe suffered three broken bones in his wrist as a result of their attacks at the station, and we were charged with disorderly conduct, blocking governmental administration and resisting arrest.

**WW:** What is happening with the charges now and the work around the defense?

**TOM:** Originally the Buffalo Forge strike was a fight for a decent living and the right to organize. Now it appears that the right to free speech is also at stake. The USWA has provided a lawyer to defend the three of us, but as he handles mainly arbitration cases, we have also retained a criminal lawyer for counsel in the case and that involves further legal fees.

We've made an appeal to all area trade unionists and other workers to support the defense and labor's right to free speech by donating to the legal defense fund. We've gone with friends and co-workers to plant gates to leaflet about the case and to take up collections in the last few weeks. At the court ap-

pearance last week, over 80 people filled the room in our support. The charges of disorderly conduct were dropped at this court appearance where motions were made by our lawyers to dismiss all of the charges.

**BILL:** In the plant collections Tom mentioned, we've received an overwhelming show of support from workers and the unemployed in the area who have already given over \$400 in donations and real encouragement to continue the fight. We will also be holding a benefit on August 2 to raise the issues of the strike and subsequent arrests and money for legal defense.

Letters of support and contributions can be sent to: Legal Defense Fund, 91 Albany Street, Buffalo, N.Y. 14213.

## Harvard University kitchen workers win historic contract

**BOSTON, July 23**—Six hundred fifty members of Local 26 (Hotel, Restaurant, and Institutional Employees, AFL-CIO) reached tentative agreement last Tuesday on a proposed one-year contract with Harvard University.

One member of the local's Rank and File Committee said that the agreement provided the largest wage-benefit package in Harvard's history. He said, "We feel the

University was forced to make major concessions because they feared a job action in September. They know the food service workers are well organized and this would have meant disaster for Harvard."

Negotiations had been conducted under the guidance of the Rank and File Committee which had demanded a 50-cent across-the-board wage increase and a 1-year

contract. These demands came out of a series of meetings in all the Harvard kitchens and two mass meetings where the organization and determination of the kitchen workers were especially evident. Harvard has agreed to meet both these demands; and additional concessions were won on vacations, holidays, overtime pay, and a safety committee.

### Texas growers use mass arrests, fines

## Farmworkers resist union busting

**By JOANNE GAVIN**  
**PECOS, Tex., Aug. 1**—Mass arrests and high fines are being used in this area in an attempt to break the will of the struggling West Texas farmworkers here. Working hand-in-glove with the big growers, the county or someone in "authority" has installed "private property" signs on roads shown as public on county maps. This obviously makes organizing extremely difficult.

United Farmworkers (UFW) organizer Antonio Orendain has told Workers World that he

suspects the influence of the Texas Rangers who used similar tactics some time ago.

Volunteers from an earlier organizing effort in Rio Grande City—during which 11 workers were shot on Memorial Day—are helping to get people to strike the onion and melon fields in the Pecos area. It is the success of these efforts that is antagonizing the local police and their bosses, the big growers. Hundreds of people are coming out of the fields to join the picket lines.

In one instance, the police gave

the strikers 10 seconds to get off "private property" when they were a mile and a quarter from the main road. Since this was impossible, the strikers were arrested. Bail is being set at \$400 each and property bonds are not accepted. Nor will local bondsmen handle the cases.

One group of arrestees totaled 18 persons and another 27.

In another case, a worker was simply kidnaped by the police. They gave her no warning—didn't even tell her she was under arrest—simply came up in a car

and pulled her into it. In another episode, a law student was arrested because she was advising people of their legal rights while they were being booked.

Authorities will not release information on who has been arrested, what they are charged with, or any further information to anyone, including lawyers and news media. But usually it boils down to "criminal conduct on private property" and a \$400 fine—payable in cash.

It is in this tactic that Orendain sees the hand of the Texas Rangers. In a similar strike in Rio Grande City in 1966, where Texas Rangers were used to crush the strike, similar tactics were used.

Orendain says that since the melon crop has a short picking season that moves north and west as the melons ripen, it was chosen for this organizing effort. The workers here cannot sustain a long strike because the same poor wages against which they strike impoverish them so much that they have difficulty feeding and clothing their families even when they are working.

However, the weather has been cold in some areas and the melons in these places may not ripen until October which have added to the difficulty of organizing.

A support committee has been formed in Houston. At a rally on Sunday, August 3, food, clothing, and money will be collected to be sent to Pecos. Help is urgently needed. Contributions can be sent to the Rio Grande Valley Organizing Committee, Rural route 1, Box 149-B, Alamo, Texas 78516.



WW photo: Barbara

**Masked to conceal their identities from authorities in Iran, Iranian Students stage hunger strike in Houston, Texas to protest the vicious torture and prison conditions in their country.**

here, only a glass wall away from unused air-conditioned meeting rooms and lobbies, that weakened many of the strikers and pared the original 50 on July 22 to 9 today.

Another 50 or so persons had leafleted on campus and in town and had obtained at least 5,000 signatures on a petition in Houston alone. Similar activities were carried out in other Texas cities as

well as across the nation.

Today's rally was attended by about 50 strikers and supporters on the lower level of the "Arbor", while perhaps 100 more persons watched from the upper level.

A large banner spelling out the strike demands hung from the top railing, and signs lay on the stone floor. The observers above may

(Continued on page 9)

## Iranian students win 11-day hunger strike

**By JOANNE GAVIN**  
**HOUSTON, Tex., Aug. 1**—An 11-day hunger strike here and in 2 other American cities by members of the Iranian Students Association of the U.S. ended today when the National Lawyers Guild and Amnesty International sent a message stating

"We extend our full support for your just demand that a team of observers be allowed to investigate the torturous prison conditions in Iran.

"We have been alerted about the gravity of the situation. We sympathize with you and fully support your cause. We shall take up your just demand and press for its realization. So, we earnestly urge you to end your hunger strike."

The hunger strike was the latest in a series of actions in which

Iranian students in this country express their solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Iranian people, against what may be the most repressive of all fascist regimes; that of the CIA-puppet Shah who rules the ancient land of Iran (Persia) by the grace of the American imperialists, who restored him to power in 1953, after the people threw him out of the country.

Today at noon, the hunger strike ended as it had begun—with a rally in the "Arbor" of the University Center at the University of Houston. It was in this 3-story glass-roofed patio that the strikers were forced to sit, when the University authorities ignored a request from the Iranian Students Association for a place to hold the strike vigil.

It was the extreme humid heat



## Helsinki

The imperialist drive to trap the Soviets and the world working class into a phony, not to say treacherous, "detente" reached a peak in Finland last week with the signing of the so-called Helsinki Accords.

Not even firmly recognizing the borders of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe (Imperialism has not even signed a peace treaty for World War II yet!), the U.S. did nevertheless promise the Soviet Union that it would not "interfere in the internal affairs" etc., etc.

What is this promise worth?

The fact is that the CIA and all other agencies of imperialist subversion are constantly being employed by the U.S. to overthrow the socialist governments and they will continue to do so until they are stopped by the workers.

The proverbial ink was not dry on the Helsinki agreement, for example, when Ford complained (on August 3) how terrible it was that Washington could not do enough to stop communism in Portugal.

"I think it is very tragic," he said, "that because of the CIA investigation and all the limitations imposed on us in the area of covert operations" that "we" in effect cannot get the counterrevolution going any faster.

"But detente shouldn't prevent us—and it doesn't prevent us—from going in and meeting the challenges where we know the Soviet Union is involved," he added.

If Ford says this so openly about Portugal where the counter-revolutionary drive is more immediate, how obvious it is for those who have eyes to see, that he and his crew are working day and night to undo whatever good, if any, that he promised to do at Helsinki!

## Hiroshima

August 6 marks the 30th anniversary of the atomic holocaust of Hiroshima, followed two days later by that of Nagasaki. In these bombings a total of 300,000 human beings of all ages were destroyed by imperialism.

Supposedly the last act of a drama begun by the imperialist Japanese attack upon the U.S. imperialist outpost of Pearl Harbor, it was in reality the first act of the Cold War and consciously intended as a colossal threat to the workers and colonial toilers of the world.

With all our sorrow for the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, we rejoice that the struggles of the oppressed have been so intransigent and the wars of liberation so successful that the U.S. war-makers have not dropped another such bomb on any peoples in all these years.

Their intentions, of course, are always the worst. But their actions are something else. They are making bigger and bigger bombs, to be sure. But they are getting bigger and bigger death blows and defeats, too. They will drop the bomb again if they can, but the working class will inevitably disarm them.

We have every reason to feel that Hiroshima will be fully avenged by the destruction of all nuclear and other bombs with the socialist victory of the human race.

## Ford and Solzhenitsyn (Right and Ultraright)

The above headline is in itself almost enough to say about the Russian author and his failure to see the U.S. President last month. But to elaborate somewhat, the fact is that the U.S. ultraright is trying to break up the already shaky detente that a treacherous U.S. imperialism is negotiating with the Soviet Union.

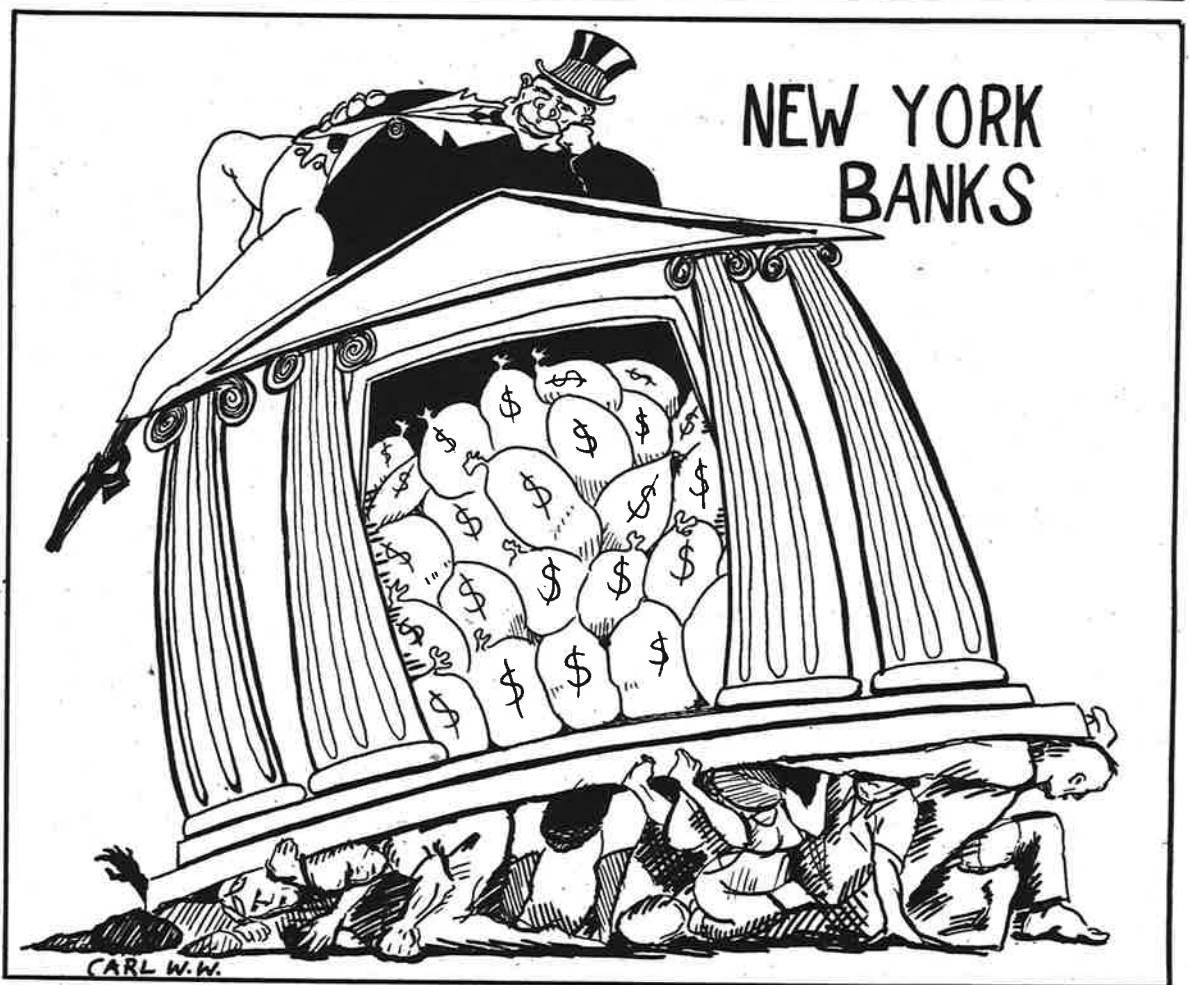
It is trying to use Solzhenitsyn to compromise Ford's international diplomacy, which is too "liberal" for their taste.

Ford was correctly advised by the ever-conniving Kissinger that the writer was actually "to the right of the Czars" and that a visit with him would be an automatic signal to the Soviet leadership that the U.S. was openly and frankly out to overthrow the Soviet regime. (Kissinger and Ford would like to do exactly that and they flatter themselves that they can do it much better than the ultra-right can.)

Solzhenitsyn in essence calls for open and immediate all-out war. He obviously regards detente as more helpful to the Soviet Union than to U.S. imperialism.

The ultra-right in the United States may have some 1976 election maneuvers in mind, too. But they are in agreement with the mad author just the same.

It is true that the liberals and even some of the ultra-liberals (Anthony Lewis, etc.) have joined the pro-Solzhenitsyn chorus, but this only proves they can't tell left from right, much less right from ultra-right.



## Portuguese rightist soldiers kill 20 Angola freedom fighters

By NICK DE FREITAS

In a brutal blow against the Angolan people, colonialist Portuguese troops attacked the headquarters of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in a suburb of Luanda on July 27.

This blatant armed assault on the progressive MPLA, which left 20 liberation fighters dead and another 22 savagely wounded proves that there is still a powerful rightist faction operating in the Portuguese Armed Forces command, a fascist clique equally determined to abort the advance of the revolution in Portugal itself and sabotage the process of decolonization in Angola, too.

The decision of the Lisbon government to censor news of this racist massacre in the nation's press can only embolden the ultraright elements who perpetrated

this atrocity in the first place.

Instead of following this self-defeating course, the progressive elements in the government could order the arrest of the officers responsible for these murders and

immediately withdraw all Portuguese troops from Angola. This is the only course that is both principled and practical.

All the more shameful, then, is the news coverage on Angola appearing in the Daily World, an organ reflecting the views of the revisionist Communist Party in the U.S.

The Daily World has not printed one word on the Portuguese attack on the MPLA or reported the MPLA's demand for the immediate evacuation of Portuguese troops from the colony. Such paralysis in the face of reactionary attacks in Africa in no way serves the interest of Communists and progressives in Portugal who are locked in a life and death struggle with right-wing Social Democrats.

(Continued on page 9)

### GULF OIL DECLARES INDEPENDENCE

AUGUST 1—A so-called "liberation group" in Cabinda declared its independence from revolutionary Angola today. The small territory of 80,000 population has been a part of Angola for generations.

However, the Gulf Oil Company is making hundreds of millions of dollars out of the fabulous oil deposits there, and has been financing Portugal's counter-revolutionary war against Angola.

## LETTERS

### Bankers buy and sell—a city

Dear Editor:

These are my sentiments about the New York City crisis.

Not with bombs or with tanks Was New York conquered by the banks

How did New York come to be sold? Beame loves status; Beame loves gold.

Did he rally the people to stand and fight? No, he surrendered all in sight.

In the bankers' vault the profits mount The workers' blood is the golden fount.

So it is with reason Beame is charged with treason

Big MAC lies and robs. Tax the banks; save the jobs!

signed, H. Deane

### Argentina Ford strikers had idea; arrest the boss!

I have just finished reading the very informative article about the General Strike in Argentina that appeared in your July 11 issue of Workers World. I would like to pass on to you a story about the takeover of a factory in Argentina in 1969, told to me by an active participant in that action who now works beside me on the assembly line at the Ford Motor Co. plant in Mahwah, N.J.

The subject came up when we were talking about the terrible conditions we work in and I was wondering what we could do to change things. He sure had a better idea!!

The workers at the John Deere tractor factory in Buenos Aires had years of unanswered grievances piled up, the hand of management was brutal (all the managers were foreigners from the U.S.) and wages were unbelievably low.

At 8 o'clock one morning the 3,500 workers on the day shift took over the entire plant and controlled it for two whole days, when all of their demands were finally agreed to.

One group of workers disarmed

the guards and cut the alarms and telephone lines. Other groups of workers rounded up all the foremen, supervisors and managers (except one who was found later hiding in a stock-bin) and herded them into an office. Meanwhile, other workers patrolled the plant on the tractors they had built, and fork-lift drivers and welders sealed off the main entrances with huge steel barricades.

Soon the factory was surrounded by tanks, machine guns and troops. However, inside, the management was also surrounded by tanks of naptha and gasoline attached to a short fuse which the workers' negotiating committee generously offered to light.

Even though the agreement signed by the government and the company was torn to shreds as soon as management had the plant back in its own hands—they fired every single worker—when they were finally able to re-open after three and a half months many important concessions were made, including a big wage increase and an improved grievance procedure.

But the most important thing my friend showed me was the complete confidence he now had that workers could win everything if they are organized to fight.

C.B., Mahwah, N.J.

# Capitalist economic stagnation

## —and the revolutionary perspective

By Sam Marcy

NEW YORK, August 1—Beneath the official optimism exuded by the Ford administration, there is also a deep-seated and profound pessimism that recent indications of an upturn in the economy are of a purely ephemeral character and that the country and the capitalist world in general face a long and protracted period of economic stagnation fraught with violent political convulsions and fateful class conflicts.

The very social system which sustains the possessing classes may once again, as in the thirties, be at stake—indeed, it already is in many parts of the capitalist world, especially in Southern Europe and most of all in Portugal, Spain, Greece, and Italy.

Even the richest capitalist countries such as West Germany and France are desperately trying to find ways and means of banding together in some way to ward off the deepening crisis. Japan, too, formerly the showplace of capitalist prosperity in Asia, is in its own way once again trying to ally itself more securely with the U.S. as one way of mitigating the ravaging effects of the economic crisis which has engulfed her.

This does not at all impede the U.S. monopolies from continuing to undercut Japan by commercial, economic, and monetary measures. The havoc Nixon brought to the Japanese economy in 1971 with the devaluation of the dollar and the ensuing trade offensive against her has by no means been overcome, even though 3 years have passed since that blow was delivered!

Each capitalist country is seeking new ground and new allies to save itself from the disastrous effects of the world capitalist crisis. But at the same time they are all pursuing anew the worn-out reactionary schemes of the thirties, with exhortations for so-called "national self-sufficiency" and cries of economic protectionism, all of which brought on the virulent nationalist and jingoist propaganda of that day. The U.S. is today the primary leader of this trend.

As in the thirties, "Buy German," "Buy French," "Buy Italian," "Buy Japanese," "Buy U.S.," are being pushed with ever greater vigor. Yet all vigorously affirm that the world is economically interdependent and needs a new peaceful world order for mutual salvation—provided each capitalist power gets its "just" share of world markets, of the robbery of the poor and undeveloped parts of the world. And all entertain the deepest hostility to the economic successes of the socialist countries and more than ever see them as the greatest threat to their existence.

### DECLINE—AND "RECOVERY," BUT NOT FOR THE WORKERS!

But to return. Let us not be accused of saying there will not be an upturn in the capitalist economy. There already may be some signs of it at the present time, even amidst the frightful rise in unemployment and the spectre of yet another spiral of galloping inflation.

The government's index of leading indicators of the economy (released July 29, 1975) is said to show a significant rise for the fourth consecutive month. So claims the Commerce Department.

This index is supposed to foretell economic trends. Assuming it to be accurate, it is still worthy of notice that the one leading indicator that is usually regarded as a bellwether for the economy—that is, contracts and orders for plants and equipment—registered a decline!

However, contesting the government's ever-increasing flow of inspired and tendentious press releases and surveys demonstrating "that the recession is bottoming out" is a fruitless task and leads us nowhere.

Marxists view the nature of each capitalist crisis as already containing the seeds of its own destruction—recovery. In Marxist economics, the crisis is invariably the starting point of a new cycle of capitalist development. According to Marx, the

### A part of the pre-conference discussion for the Labor Day Conference of Workers World Party

capitalist cycle of development goes successively through the phases of crisis, depression, recovery, and capitalist boom.

Thereafter, of course, a new crisis inevitably starts all over again, the last generally being more devastating and destructive than the prior one—always taking in its train an enormous toll in human as well as material resources.

The problem today, however, is not whether there will be an eventual recovery. The problem now is how to estimate its character and duration along with the entire current capitalist cycle. To a worker, recovery means recovering his or her job. It means the end of unemployment and an improvement in the conditions of his or her life. Even Meany, in answer to a reporter's question as to "when the recession will be over," answered, "When everybody goes back to work."

That is not the way the capitalists see it.

### CURE BY SPEED-UP!

The capitalist class views the matter in an altogether different light. Layoffs, cutbacks, "rationalization of industry," or increased productivity (speedup), and the introduction of labor-saving devices—that's their cure for the economic crisis. They have been acting upon it feverishly and with a vengeance. This can be seen not only in the staggering number of unemployed, but also in the steep rise in productivity for the second quarter of this year (according to Labor Department statistics released late in July). What it means is that output per worker rose in that period after a lag of almost 2 years. It indicates not only that labor-saving devices have been introduced, but that speedup in the plants has vastly increased. It signifies a sharp intensification of labor and an increase in the rate of exploitation.

However, the question persists—when will everybody go back to work?

As though to half-heartedly answer this question, the Wall Street Journal of July 31 said, "If you've hung on to your job thus far, you will probably make it through the rest of the recession without being laid off. But if you are among the thousands (Thousands?—Is it not millions!—S.M.) already furloughed, you may have to wait longer." Had this organ of high finance and industry been really frank, it might have added, "much, much longer! And if you have hung on to your job the probability is for more and more layoffs!"

That, indeed, is a far more sobering forecast of the course of the economic crisis. It is once again, as in the thirties, idle workers, idle plants, and idle funds stacked high in the vaults of the giant banks.

A favorite bourgeois solution to get the recovery going is to mount a campaign—not to get unemployed workers back to the idle plants and start to operate them—but to once again start the tried and utterly bankrupt process of getting the government to lower interest rates for big business which in turn will lure the industrial capitalist to borrow money on low-cost terms and in that way start the capitalist cycle functioning once more. It's the old "trickle down theory." First they get the government to give away money to the big industrial capitalists, either in the form of large tax rebates or guaranteed low-interest-rate loans; to start functioning once more. Eventually they will rehire more and more workers (but not all) and in that way some benefits will "trickle down" to the mass of the people.

The class character of these schemes should be obvious to any one but they persist through every capitalist crisis.

A working class solution is to first get all the workers back to work and also guarantee an income to all who cannot go back to work (regardless of what

is involved in the fortunes of the capitalist class so far as profits go). Of course, that is not a solution which capitalist politicians and social-democratic reformers will easily accept except under the most severe pressure and threats of revolutionary struggle.

### THE MATERIAL BASIS OF BOURGEOIS PESSIMISM

Of course, for the plants and the workers to be totally idle has its drawbacks for the capitalists as well. Without exploitation of the workers, without appropriating the unpaid labor of the workers over and above that which is needed for them to barely sustain themselves—in other words, without the extraction of surplus labor from the workers, there is no profit in the long run for the capitalist class either. As Trotsky aptly remarked, "Where there is no work done, there even Rockefeller can get nothing."

The deep-seated pessimism of the bourgeoisie to which we referred earlier is based on more comprehensive and more authoritative surveys and rests on the fundamental premise that the current crisis which the capitalist world is undergoing is not the kind of cyclic crisis which it has experienced over the last 30 years. It is different, more like the 1930s. But the bourgeois economists won't say it quite like that. However, we do.

For instance, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in its last survey (in its "Outlook") forecast a rather gloomy outlook. The OECD comprises the 24 so-called richest capitalist countries. While its surveys are made by representatives of their respective governments, it is nevertheless, of necessity, more objective than the press releases that these respective governments issue, which are destined for home consumption to dupe the masses.

Its survey is not only gloomy, but, in the words of the London Economist (July 26), it forecasts "that economic growth over the next ten (!!) years would be slower than the world is accustomed to." This is a euphemistic way of stating that the OECD's projection is capitalist stagnation for at least the next decade. What the London Economist sees in this on a worldwide basis is "a menacing army" of many, many millions of enraged and hostile unemployed workers in all the capitalist countries.

The U.S. News and World Report has its own comments on the OECD's survey. With its large circulation here at home, this mouthpiece of the right-wing of the bourgeois press also mutes its pessimism and states that "a return to the high economic growth rates and world trade gains of the past 20 years seems unlikely." In plainer words, it's really out of the question for a long time.

One need not rely especially on the OECD's survey. The U.S. government has itself admitted that U.S. industry as a whole has been operating at only 69 percent of capacity (very low indeed!), even over the last 3 months in which the indicators are supposed to show an upward trend. Only mining, oil, and natural gas are operating at high capacity (New York Times, July 31).

### AND THE CRISIS IS EVEN DEEPER!

It need scarcely be added that the unemployment figures are way beyond the 10 million figure around which the official statistics seem to hover. The government itself admits (Bureau of Census Statistics) that 1.3 million people—of all nationalities—have been added to the lists of the poor. (That alone should help cement class solidarity.) That makes a new officially admitted total of 24.3 million below the poverty line, or about 12 percent of the population.

When one adds to this the amount of people who now qualify for food stamps, one gets the true

# The economic and political crisis

dimensions of the current capitalist crisis.

The crisis is unlike any of the previous crises over the last 30 years. The recovery, assuming but not conceding that it's already on the way, could not by any stretch of imagination absorb a minimum of 8 to 9 million unemployed (which would still leave a residue of several million unemployed and partially employed, anyway).

To put the bulk of American industry at the operational level which it experienced during 1972-73 would virtually mean adding 30 percent to the current operating capacity—a very tall order indeed for the capitalists.

One of the really significant economic indicators has always been machine tool orders. While they rose above last year, the rise was only because General Motors reinstated a cancelled order. Otherwise, this indicator, which usually shows what production will be in the near future, showed very little change.

But basic to any kind of real recovery, even for the short term, are autos and housing. This is so because it is precisely these industries which are considered to have so-called multiplier effects—that is, they usually fan out into a host of supplier industries such as glass, road building, sewer systems, auto parts, and so on. This is absolutely incontestable and agreed to by almost all bourgeois economists. But it is precisely these two industries which show the greatest resistance to any kind of general "normal" capitalist recovery.

According to Business Week of July 28, autos, instead of being the bellwether of recovery, are really dragging it down at the present time. The New York Times of July 27 agrees, "In the auto industry, more than any other business, and in Detroit, more than any other city, the recession of 1975 has looked like the great depression of the thirties."

In spite of recalls, the situation is not likely to substantially change or return to even the so-called "normal" employment of 1973. Even during the so-called periods of prosperity, sales of automobiles went way beyond the increases in employment. It is a well-known fact that after the minor recession of 1958 it took 7 years to return to the previous level of employment by which time the companies were producing almost 1.5 times as many vehicles per worker.

So far as housing goes, none other than the National Association of Home Builders, mouthpiece for the building industry, issued a statement attacking President Ford in which it said that "the outlook is bleak" and that the Ford administration was misleading the public by "issuing unwarranted public expressions of optimism." They said that "actual housing starts for the first six months of this year were the lowest for any comparable period in 28 years."

They even went on to say that signs "of any vigorous economic recovery (are absent) despite statements to the contrary from high economic sources."

All of this, obviously taken into account by one of the largest banks in the country, prompted the July Economic Letter of the giant First National City Bank to say "the spark of consumer interest (that is, purchasing power by the mass of the people—S.M.) so vital to a strong recovery, is not yet in evidence."

## COMPARISON WITH 1930s

The larger issue to be considered is whether the economic crisis that began last year is of the dimensions and gravity of the one that was set off in October 1929 by the great Wall Street crash. True enough, there has not been such a cataclysmic crash, but the economic depression which is now in full swing more and more resembles the period of the thirties. Without the economic crash, it has come about or is coming about on the installment plan.

It is important to recall that the economic crisis that was set off in 1929 actually ended around 1939-40. It was the longest period of capitalist stagnation during the imperialist epoch. It rivaled and far transcended in intensity and in acuteness the economic crisis of 1873, which really lasted up until

around 1895. These two long stretches, one in the 20th and one in the 19th century, can be compared only because of their duration. Both of these long stretches were interrupted by brief intervals of economic upswing. But they vary in other respects fundamentally.

They differ most meaningfully in the fact that the 1873-95 period, of course, encompasses the period of competitive capitalism. It was the period when economic crisis brought about lowering of the prices of manufactured goods. In a general way the whole period of pre-monopoly capitalism was characterized by a lowering of prices of manufactured goods brought about by intense capitalist competition and introduction of technological and labor-saving devices. There was no question during the entire period of an inflationary spiral whose stubbornness and intractability could not be overcome. The inflationary period of the Civil War had by and large been overcome.

That whole period which Lenin chronologically put between 1870 and 1914, the outbreak of the imperialist war, was generally the progressive phase of capitalist development. This does not mean that it was any less oppressive, but that it had by and large plenty of room for upward development.

The 1920-40 period was wholly different from the long stretch in the 19th century which began in 1873. The economic crisis ushered in by the Wall Street crash was "solved" by state capitalist intervention which alleviated some of the worst consequences wrought by the havoc of the economic collapse. The Rooseveltian New Deal and its social legislation gave a fillip to the capitalist economy for a while.

The dollar was devalued. A gigantic trade offensive was started against the rest of the capitalist world. A multitude of government-sponsored make-work projects such as the WPA were introduced along with CCC camps, youth labor camps, and a myriad of other projects. Millions of dollars were poured into the coffers of the rich at the expense of a tremendously enlarged budget deficit.

Roosevelt allied himself with the large banks and light industry in order to artificially stimulate the capitalist economy. It was the beginning of the Keynesian era of priming the pump. Nevertheless, by 1937-38, another economic collapse proved that the capitalist crisis had really not been overcome. In reality, it was the turn towards the Second World War which fueled the renewed economic upturn in 1940. Heavy industry grew along with all the ammunition factories and the establishment of new aviation plants and other war-making facilities. This together with the draft set a new phase in the economic cycle.

The truth of the matter is that there has not been a normal, that is, spontaneous, economic upturn in the classical sense of the word for the capitalist economic cycle.

## MONOPOLY AND THE MILITARY

Whereas the 1873 stretch was accompanied by lowering the prices of manufactured goods, the entire imperialist epoch has been characterized by ever-rising prices of manufactured goods. This is so in spite of all the technological developments, innovations, and labor-saving devices. Monopoly maintains (that is, rigs) prices artificially and extracts enormous, extortionate super-profits.

There was a lowering of prices for a while during the most acute stage of the economic crisis of the thirties, but it was short-lived, and the upward spiral of price hikes resumed unabated. This was partly due to the rigging of prices by the giant monopolies, but even more to monumental war expenditures of such size and magnitude that they actually depreciated the value of the currency, not only in the United States but virtually throughout the whole capitalist world. Currency inflation thereafter, the devaluation of the various monetary units of the capitalist countries, made currency wars a prelude to direct military conflicts.

In every way, monopoly capitalism has so distorted and transformed the normal functioning of the capitalist system that it is virtually impossible

for the system to function without some of the strictest controls, that is, the direct fusion of the capitalist state with the economy.

At the end of the Second World War, it was plain that after the havoc wrought by the military conflict and the virtual breakdown of the capitalist system in Europe, a capitalist economic decline was in the offing as soon as the post-war reconstruction period had ended, which might have been somewhere around 1949.

However, the few symptoms of economic decline that made themselves felt primarily in the United States were soon completely submerged by the Korean war. This was followed by the Vietnam war.

Even before the U.S. suffered the catastrophic defeat handed to it by the Cambodian and Vietnamese people last April, it was obvious that American finance capital, and along with it, but to a limited extent, European and Japanese finance capital, would go into a deep tailspin.

As we indicated last year, there has been no normal capitalist recovery. From this it follows that even if there is going to be a limited period of capitalist upturn, the world capitalist economy is headed for a long period of stagnation. And the real question which this poses is whether the capitalist system can survive it, given contemporary political conditions.

## THEY THOUGHT EXPANSION WOULD NEVER END!

Nevertheless, the question may still be validly raised as to why this economic crisis should necessarily differ in duration and intensity from the previous four or five economic crises which the capitalist system experienced over the last 30 years. The bourgeois world has viewed this lengthy stretch of economic history from the end of the Second World War practically up to 1973 as having been characterized by the greatest wave of capitalist expansion and prosperity (never mind the 5 or 6 million unemployed at the time, the millions on welfare, etc.).

The most remarkable aspect of these last three decades has been that the four or five cyclical crises were of a mild and moderate character and of relatively short duration. Not one of them even lasted a whole year. In fact, it appeared to bourgeois economists that the expedients which the capitalist politicians began to apply after the great crash of 1929, especially during the Rooseveltian era and all the way down to the late 1960s, had virtually eliminated crises from capitalist development.

It began to be the vogue in bourgeois liberal circles to speak of Marxism as having been disqualified by experience. In the universities in particular, bourgeois liberal economists, especially such luminaries as Kenneth Galbraith and others, were most lyrical about the expansionist possibilities of capitalism. So pervasive was the idea that

### HOW THE STOCK EXPERTS...

"It was not so much the business recovery nor its anticipation which produced the recent rise in the stock market but rather the fact that business was weak. This weakness permitted inflation and interest rates to subside and the flow of money to shift from inventory-building and real estate to securities (stocks)..."

### ...SEE THEIR SYSTEM!

"Finally, and without pretending to be profound, is Western civilization on the decline? The subject is relevant to the investor because analysis of this would shed light on the parallel question of whether common stocks are entering a long-term uptrend, during which declines can generally be ignored, or whether we have witnessed simply a rally in a bear market."

Both quotes from  
New York Times Financial Section  
August 3, 1975

capitalism was reorganizing itself and eliminating its dangerous defects by self-regulation—that is, by eliminating anarchy and chaos inherent in capitalist production—that in 1969 no less than the Council of Economic Advisors to the President, that is, the principal advisors to the U.S. government on economic matters and generally representative of the views of the dominant sections of the bourgeoisie, took it upon itself to make the following rash statement: “The vigorous and unbroken expansion of the last eight years is in dramatic contrast to the thirty month average duration of previous expansion. No longer is the performance of the American economy generally interpreted in terms of stages of the business cycle. The forces making for economic fluctuations have been contained through the active use of monetary and fiscal policies.”

Thus we see that the view of the U.S. government's most able advisors was that the capitalist economy could no longer be regarded in terms of the “stages of the capitalist business cycle.” They in fact boasted that economic fluctuations, that is, the violent ups and downs of the capitalist economy, had “been contained” through the hocus-pocus of “active use of monetary and fiscal policy.”

The external laws of capitalist development had been eliminated, they claimed, and capitalist prosperity was from now on apparently to be an eternal process.

## MILITARY COLLAPSE AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCE

The learned counsellors to the imperialist establishment had however inadvertently left out two minor details regarding that 8-year period—the Vietnam war and the military budget.

From 1961 to 1969—the period covered by the report of the President's economic council—U.S. spending for military purposes amounted to no less than \$546 billion! In the year 1969 the military budget alone was \$81 billion, or 56 percent of the federal government's total budget of \$146 billion (Pentagon Capitalism by Prof. Seymour Melman, p. 72).

Imperialist finance capital regarded the largest

chunk of this fabulous sum of money as a “sound investment” from which it would derive enormous super-profits if the Southeast Asia adventure turned out to be a success.

The collapse of this mad dream began to make itself felt soon after the 1968 Tet offensive. Johnson's resignation underlined this. And the collapse of the Penn Central (basically civilian) and Lockheed (almost all military), which had been artificially maintained by further subsidies, brought home that the post-World War II era of U.S. imperialist expansion and imperialist successful adventures was nearing an end.

Military investment is only a “sound one” when it is successful, when it is able to conquer vast territories with an abundance of raw materials and sources of cheap labor and a means for the disposal of capitalist surplus production.

## \$104 BILLION TO PRODUCE INFLATION AND DISASTER

Military expenditures, especially of the gargantuan dimensions of the last few decades, and particularly in a period of the contracting fortunes of finance capital, *instead of acting as a stimulant to capitalist expansion and accumulation turns into its dialectical opposite and becomes a depressant. Like any drug, it may operate to accelerate recovery from illness, but if administered on an ever-continuing and ever-increasing basis without let up, it becomes toxic and poisons the organism.*

Only recently, Senator Kennedy after a visit to the Middle East ventured to remark that “the U.S. is becoming hooked on the heroin of arms buildup in the Persian Gulf.” But it is not only the Persian Gulf, it's also in Europe, Latin America, parts of Asia, anywhere on the face of the globe where the U.S. can dispose of its ever-increasing military equipment. Kennedy's cure for the heroin-addicted military-industrial complex was to “declare a moratorium for six months.” He has no more a solution to the problem than the “heroin addicts” in the Pentagon.

From the foregoing it follows that the military budget, which for 1976 is calculated to be \$104 billion,

is not likely to have the effect it had in the previous decades, when military adventures paid off by enslaving huge sections of the globe. In the final analysis the manufacture and sales of planes, guns, missiles, and tanks must show an exchange, even if not an equivalent one, in the form of other commodities or other visible means of economic wealth.

Even when the military expenditures operate as an economic stimulus, they distort the functioning of the capitalist system in an irretrievable way. In the first place, military production preempts vast resources and skills to a degree which undermines and makes virtually impossible an easy, or even protracted, conversion to civilian production. The caste system, and the military-industrial complex which feeds it, becomes stubbornly entrenched and even great progressive political struggles of a mass character can barely move them.

Military spending is one of the principal causes of absolutely inordinate price inflation. This in turn affects the entire civilian economy. The military does not really buy in the open market with open competitive bidding. Prices are continually rigged upward, and woe unto those administrators who even disclose the more malodorous wheelings and dealings! Because price inflation as a result of military spending is so steep, it permeates all levels of civilian production and disrupts the civilian capacity for normal capitalist development.

The eagerness with which the liberals in the Senate and the House are reversing themselves on the military budget—witness the turnarounds on the Diego Garcia naval base, the B-1 bomber, and the very recent House subcommittee approval to build the F-18 Navy plane—is a certain harbinger that the worthy representatives of the liberal establishment have taken to the “heroin of arms building” themselves, and with a vengeance.

It will be of no avail. The results will be of a catastrophic political character and can only lead to the most dangerous military adventures.

We shall consider next the general causes of inflation which were slowly building up over the past 30 years but which are more intractable in this period, the period which has been ushered in by the collapse of the U.S. war effort in Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam.

August 1, 1975

## More on—

# The real nature of the current crisis

Economic historians of the current capitalist crisis will undoubtedly—and correctly—regard last year's collapse of the Herstatt Bank and the Franklin National Bank as its starting point. It may however also be traced back to the financial crisis of 1970.

The latter ushered in the collapse of one of the giant railroad networks in the country, the Penn Central. Not at all coincidental was the virtual bankruptcy of Lockheed, one of the multi-billion dollar defense contractors.

(The collapse of these two corporate giants should be seen against the background of the Vietnamese Tet offensive which marked the turning point in the fortunes of U.S. imperialism although not fully recognized as such at the time.)

It is deeply significant that five years afterward, both of these great capitalist establishments are as sick as ever. Transfusions of many millions of dollars have been of little avail.

These two establishments are in many respects representative of the most substantial portion of capitalist industry in this country. One, the Penn Central, is a civilian firm, and the other an arms producer. The fact that both could be so terribly ailing at the same time bolsters the view that it is not one of the “moderate” cyclical crises that occurred in the past three decades but the beginning of a protracted period of capitalist stagnation in many respects similar to the period of the thirties, which were also marked by brief periods of recovery.

## REAL CAUSE AND EFFECT

The resurgence of the current spiral of inflation is evident in the sharp upturn in the Consumer Price Index for June and probably for July.

But there are much more serious indications, such as the impending price increases in aluminum, steel

and copper, which in turn affect most of the products destined for popular consumption. Price increases in monopolized industries such as these are the ones that really set the pattern for all the rest. The general inflation grows directly out of the unchecked price hikes of the monopolies.

Inflation, however, is usually considered to be the *cause of the crisis* rather than the *effect*. Capitalist theories of inflation abound and all, without exception, are calculated to throw the onus of responsibility for the ravages of it from the shoulders of the ruling class onto those of the working class and the oppressed people. (They are too greedy for bread!)

At the moment, capitalist economists, the press, and other news media are hard at work making the Soviet grain deal and Arab oil the principal cause for the renewed surge of the inflationary spiral.

Capitalist theories of inflation almost always lump together the inflation of ancient times, the feudal period, the period of commercial capitalism, the competitive stages of capitalism, along with that of monopoly capitalism.

What they extrapolate from these different modes of production and different periods in the capitalist system itself are meaningless generalizations which do not throw any light on the causes of present day inflation, but rather obscure them.

## WHO GAINS, WHO LOSES

By lumping all periods of inflation into one pot they hide the driving forces behind each inflationary period and ignore the various classes which gained or lost in the course of the inflation. It is true that in the current period there are present some of the same characteristics prevalent in different historical situations. But the results were different.

For instance, the inflationary period in the United States resulting from the Civil War was followed thereafter by a deflationary period. However, the Civil War itself, of which the inflation was merely a monetary expression, gave an impetus later to a tempestuous forward development of American capitalism.

Today there may be some remnants of the kind of inflation that existed in ancient times, in feudal times, and in the period of competitive capitalism. (The devaluation of the dollar is no less a coin clipping operation than that which the princes and monarchs of the period of early commercial capitalism employed!)

Under modern capitalism, price inflation as well as monetary inflation has existed and can exist wherever commodity exchange exists on a large-scale basis. All price inflation, of course, is a symptom of instability. And currency manipulation is a symptom of the inherent instability in the capitalist system as a whole.

The currency wars following the First World War, including the one begun in the early seventies, are symptoms of decay and a manifestation of sharpening antagonisms in inter-imperialist relations.

## FROM COMPETITION TO MONOPOLY

The inflation which has been most characteristic since the First World War—with slight declines between the First and Second World War—differs fundamentally from the inflation of all previous epochs.

In particular it differs from the inflation of the *competitive stage* of capitalism. During the competitive stage of capitalism the prices of manufactured goods, commodities as a whole, were in a more or less *constant decline*. One must remember what

Marx said in the Communist Manifesto. That it was cheap commodities that heavily contributed to "breaking down the Chinese walls."

Because there were so many competitors, competition was a spur to the production of cheap commodities and in that sense capitalism was, of course, on the upgrade in its developing state.

Of course capitalists are always interested in higher prices, not only for investment, but because it brings higher profits. But the competition during the so-called progressive stage of capitalism operated as a barrier to higher prices and the success of this or that manufacturer lay in underselling his competitor and in lowering the price of his product.

But the centralization of the means of production in fewer and fewer hands converted the capitalist competition into *capitalist monopoly*, and prices began to artificially sky-rocket and, in fact, became still more rigged.

Therein lies the general cause for chronic capitalist inflation.

If we compare the whole price range of commodities, particularly of wholesale prices, beginning with the first worldwide capitalist crisis of 1825 all the way down to the turn of the century, we cannot but note that the prices of manufactured goods were generally on the decline during that entire period but only began to rise steeply with the development of monopolies on a large scale.

There is absolutely no way to get around this except to abolish monopoly capitalism in the means of production and for the workers to take over the economy and plan it on a rational basis.

## WAR DREAMS DOWN THE DRAIN

However, on top of the general cause of inflation arising out of monopoly capitalism, there is the inflation that is caused by military expenditures and imperialist wars which still further heighten the inflation and accelerate the tendency towards capitalist stagnation.

As we mentioned earlier, during the 8-year period from 1961 to 1969, that the Council of Economic Advisors to the President alluded to, the government spent \$546 billion for military purposes.

The IOUs (that's what the dollars really are which are floating all over Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe, not to speak of the United States which paid for the military equipment) are really that much water in the circulatory system of the capitalist economy. The real equipment has either been destroyed, given away, or tucked away in mothballs.

But the primary consideration for it—we speak here of the monetary considerations for these IOUs—was the dream of obtaining vast new markets in Southeast Asia and other parts of the world which, with the collapse of the Vietnam adventure, went down the drain. And hopes for reviving it are the dreams of madmen in the Pentagon.

The current economic crisis differs from the moderate cyclical crises of the last three decades in that the U.S. has literally run out of imperialist wars—for the moment at least.

The crisis also occurs at a time when the total area available to the U.S. for the extraction of surplus value and for the disposal of surplus production at a profit has become circumscribed and narrowed, making a renewed cycle of capitalist production

reaching a peak higher than the previous one, as was the case after the previous crises, exceptionally remote.

## PROPAGANDA AGAINST ARAB OIL COUNTRIES

It will not do to explain the resurgence of the capitalist inflation on the basis of the rise in Arab oil prices and the enormous surpluses which the Arab oil-producing countries are supposedly filling their treasuries with.

A year ago, the capitalist media was dominated even more than it is today with the oil crisis and the giant surpluses which the Arab oil countries were said to be accumulating in their coffers. The propaganda virtually turned into a veritable anti-Arab hysteria which only slightly receded as of now.

Last year, we must recall, the bourgeoisie was predicting that the surpluses from oil revenues in the OPEC countries would be so large that it would almost be impossible to "recycle" (to get back) into the Wall Street banks. The amount of billions the OPEC oil-producing countries were said to be accumulating ranged all the way from \$250 billion to \$650 billion (the latter figure representing half the wealth of the United States itself).

We pointed out at the time that even if this were true, all that it meant was that paper money, or checks drawn to the accounts of the OPEC countries, would be ultimately deposited in the huge banks of the imperialist countries such as Chase Manhattan, First National City, Morgan Guaranty Trust, and the big London, German, French, and, of course, Swiss banks.

The way we answered the questions regarding the so-called OPEC surpluses was, that as long as the OPEC countries remained under bourgeois comprador domination and as long as they were in the orbit of the capitalist world and remained dependent on it, it merely meant that in exchange for oil the oil-producing states were in return given IOUs by the imperialist countries which, under contemporary conditions, were destined for deposit in imperialist banks.

Of course, some of this money would be utilized for industrial equipment, agricultural and manufactured commodities, and a variety of other imports. But this would be only a drop in the bucket and even over an extended period of years would come nowhere near to attaining the technical know-how and equipment necessary to create a modern industrial bourgeois state.

The reality of the situation is that the bulk of the imports into Arab oil-producing states is in the form of military equipment, which to date comes close to \$20 billion worth.

## REASON FOR THE TURNAROUND

But what has happened to the predictions of the tremendous flow of "surplus dollars"—so-called petrodollars—into the treasuries of the OPEC countries? The very banks and government officials who raised such a fierce storm about these petrodollars have now quietly changed their approach without letting the broad public know about it.

The \$250 to \$650 billion surplus has now been downgraded almost to a *deficit*. This fantastic turn-

around is not altogether due to capitalist propaganda turning the faucet on and off as they generally do whenever it suits their purposes.

The turnaround is also due to the ravages of the capitalist depression. The cut in oil consumption in some of the capitalist countries is the result of the industrial slowdown—of a decline in capitalist world production due to the depression. (This, of course, has not forced, as of now, the OPEC countries to cut the price of oil.)

Thus, the monthly Economic Letter of the First National City Bank for June 1975 makes the following cynical observation about the oil surpluses in OPEC countries.

"So what began in 1973-74 as a ferocious tiger was first declawed and is now becoming a Cheshire Cat." Two other giant banks, the Irving Trust Co. and the Morgan Guaranty Trust, have made similar observations.

What an object lesson in the manipulation of public opinion by the banks and the government! One only has to remember that it has been barely six months since Kissinger, Schlessinger, Ford, The New York Times, The Washington Post, and the Los Angeles Times let loose the most ominous sabre-rattling, shaking their nuclear fists at the Arab countries and shouting themselves hoarse that it was these Arab oil surpluses and price increases which were strangling the world capitalist economy. It now turns out, as they admit themselves, that the exact opposite is the case.

Of course the oil price increases have added to world inflation but that is not the basic cause of the galloping global character of the inflation. The OPEC in its mid-year report of a year ago credited the oil price increases over-all with a mere two percent.

## COLONIAL OIL AND IMPERIALIST OVER- PRODUCTION

The fabulous wealth in the form of oil buried beneath the ground of the OPEC countries remains wealth all right. But so long as the OPEC countries remain oppressed nations and imperialism controls the basic fabric of the world capitalist economy, the OPEC countries, in spite of undoubted economic advances, are nevertheless the dominated ones and by no means the domineering ones in the world capitalist order.

The roots of the general capitalist crisis lie in capitalist overproduction and the inability of the capitalist class to dispose at a profit of the tremendous products which continually flow out of the giant mines, mills, and factories.

This over-all crisis coincides with the general crisis of capitalism which was ushered in as long ago as the end of the First World War and has only been interrupted by brief periods of capitalist recovery and devastating imperialist wars and military adventures.

What imparts particular acuteness to the present economic crisis is that it comes at a time of maturing over-all political crisis in all the leading imperialist countries. It is to this crisis that we must now address ourselves for the economic crisis will be solved by political means and not by the automatic processes of capitalist development.

—August 4, 1975

Two pamphlets for further discussion—

**Portugal:** Revolutionary developments  
April, 1974—July, 1975

**A series of WW Articles**  
—on the Soviet Union, Cambodia,  
national self-determination, and India

order from WORKERS WORLD PARTY

46 W 21 St. N.Y., N. Y. 10010

## —the banks put it over

(Continued from page 1)

services this city provides its citizens. . . . In order to achieve the required fiscal austerity. . . . it is indispensable that productivity be increased." More speed-ups are scheduled for the workers.

A simple, easy-to-understand program. Take away all the gains the working class has won in New York City, and bring them down to subsistence level (or below).

Then MAC makes it clear that the ruling class doesn't intend to make any contribution to even that low level!

"Further taxes on individuals (i.e., million-dollar-a-year individuals) would be unduly burdensome."

The 40 percent increase in subway and bus fares is all right; that comes out of the pockets of poor individuals.

"Further taxes on businesses would serve to accelerate the loss of jobs in New York City."

This is a clear threat of run-away shops if the costs of the capitalist crisis are not put entirely on the backs of the workers.

How can this program be forced on the city? Only through the direct rule of the banks.

"It follows that the city's management must be supplied with the tools which its vast responsibility requires. Recourse to professional advice in this area is unavoidable."

This "advice", of course, is to come from MAC and the banks it represents. To keep up the illusion of democracy, MAC says, "We do not wish to govern New York. We hope only to assist the elected leaders of the city through a very difficult crisis."

Their real feelings come through in another statement. "New York's largest employer needs the services of a sophisticated, experienced, skilled management apparatus (directly appointed by the banks, of course!). That is the condition of its survival. . . ."

## —Portugal

(Continued from page 1)

parties, both allied with and subservient to the U.S.—are doing Ford's dirty work right now, with the CIA supposedly crippled by the spotlight of recent "investigation."

And in the event Ford cannot do it himself with U.S. troops, open intervention etc., he will pay the necessary price to his "socialist" servants for their attempt to wreck the socialist revolution.

## —PRG

(Continued from page 2)

Hungary, the Ukraine, and Puerto Rico.

After refreshments were served, Dinh Ba Thi spoke of how it, "is a historical day for the Vietnamese people and the American friends who have supported us for the last ten years.

"Our coming here," he added, "is a victory for a just cause. As you all well know, our President Ho Chi Minh in his testament expressed a desire to travel all over the world to thank everyone for their support. We are deeply sorry that he is not here now when victory has come at last."

Mr. Thi also spoke about how everyone in Vietnam knew of

"your struggle here to help us and we will always remember those who shed their blood at Kent State."

In answer to a question about how Saigon has changed since liberation, Ambassador Thi replied proudly:

"There are no more beggars, no more prostitution. Venereal disease, which is especially terrible because it poisons the future of the youth, is being eradicated. But perhaps most important, everyone now has enough to eat."

## —Iranians

(Continued from page 3)

have been attracted by the singing of the beautiful Iranian Freedom Song.

The courage of the Iranian people in the face of such total and barbaric repression is an inspiration to all freedom-seeking people, and certainly demands that all revolutionaries support their struggle in all possible ways.

Victory to the people of Iran!

## —Angolan fighters

(Continued from page 4)

the fascists, and the U.S. imperialists.

In Angola itself the two main groups contending for state power are split along irreconcilable class and ideological lines.

The 14-year-old MPLA, the oldest and only genuine anti-imperialist liberation movement, has consistently favored the total liberation of Angola under a socialist program free from imperialist plunder and big business domination.

Its main rival the pro-Western and anti-communist National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA) has enjoyed the backing and active support of the U.S. government and its profit-hungry multi-national corporations, such as Gulf Oil, who has large investments in Angola.

The MPLA has continually stated that Gulf Oil is heavily financing and backing the neo-colonialist FNLA in order to maintain its investments and keep draining the wealth of Africa into its own coffers. FNLA leader, Holden Roberto, is brother-in-law of the notorious pro-U.S. Mobutu of Zaire. He is being used as a cover to funnel support and weapons to the pro-Western guerrillas.

The CIA-installed Mobutu has allowed the FNLA to set up its headquarters and training centers for its soldiers in Zaire. While MPLA soldiers are arrested if found in Zaire, Holden Roberto has spent the last 14 years outside of Angola under the protection of the Zaire government.

On July 9 heavy fighting broke out between the MPLA and the FNLA and Roberto's forces were driven from the capital in Luanda by the liberation forces after 8 days of bloody combat.

Although the Portuguese high commissioner in Angola, General Silva Cardoso accused the FNLA of starting the fighting, it was the leftist MPLA that the Portuguese troops subsequently massacred. The Portuguese army did not of course slaughter the pro-U.S. FNLA.

This massacre is sure to provoke more bitter resistance to the fascists by both the revolutionary Portuguese workers at home and the freedom fighters in Angola.



Thousands of New York City workers, including many members of Transport Workers Union, join in a City Hall demonstration against the latest attack against them—another transit fare hike. WW photo: Pam

# 'No fare only fare for poor,' say transit workers at City Hall

NEW YORK, July 29—Three thousand people, many of them transit workers, members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), and delegations from a number of other organizations, demonstrated in front of City Hall this afternoon. They were there, some on less than a day's notice, to let Mayor Beame and his banker friends know that they can't spring a 60-cent fare on the millions who ride public transportation daily.

The "immediate" fare hike is part of a package which includes a wage freeze, layoffs, and wage cuts that Mayor Beame and the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) will offer the banks to meet their ever growing demands.

A leaflet distributed by the TWU calling for the demonstration

proposed a much more practical solution: free fare!

A free fare is long overdue, considering the fact that for years the banks have gobbled up the largest percentage of fare revenues in interest on bonds, some of which date back to the original purchase of the subways.

Signs carried by the unionists from the TWU, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and 1199 of the Hospital Workers told who the real culprit is:

"Don't let the banks steal N.Y.C." "Big business profits; Make big business pay for mass transit." "No fare is only fare for the poor." With angry emphasis, the workers chanted "No fare hike!"

On the march around City Hall outraged workers discussed how

impossibly high even the present 35-cent fare is. A petition circulated by members of the Center for United Labor Action demanding a free fare won unanimous approval.

In a rally at the end of the march, labor leaders called for a unified battle. A spokesperson for the International Longshoremen's Association and the Maritime Union said:

"If you want our help—if you want us to stop working the port of New York—just call on us. We'll be with you."

A leader of the Transit Workers Union finished the rally by threatening to strike if the fare is raised. He told Beame, "We'll all do a lot more than tell you not to raise it and we'll be fighting for a free fare."

# EXTRA! EXTRA! Congress votes big wage increase!

By ANDY STAPP

With the U.S. in the throes of the worst capitalist economic crisis since the great depression of the 1930s, Congress has moved at last to do something to counter the effects of the devastating inflation that has so eroded the weekly paycheck.

Finally awakening to the reality of skyrocketing prices and the suffering caused by the diminished purchasing power of the dollar, members of the House of Representatives last week ordered a \$100-a-week pay increase—for themselves.

No longer will these representatives of the people have to struggle

along on their former paltry income of \$42,000 annually, plus free mailing, plus free medical care, plus free transportation on government airlines and in government-supplied chauffeured limousines.

Of course some spoilsports might charge that the \$48,000 per year they just awarded themselves, which will cost the taxpayers an additional \$50 million a year, is a slap in the face to the two and a half million workers who have been laid off in the last six months. They might say that Congress did nothing to help these victims of capitalism's inability to provide jobs. Critics might even point out that Congress went along with

Ford's veto of the jobs bill that could have put hundreds of thousands of the unemployed back to work.

Others, like New York City workers who are being forced to take a pay cut dictated by powerful New York bankers might wonder why Congress doesn't show a little of the sacrifice that is being demanded of them.

Now the senators and representatives are quite aware that some of their constituents are quite likely indeed to ask these very questions. So, as a precautionary measure they decided that their vote on giving themselves the \$5,000 pay boost should not be recorded; should be done in secret so no sorehead who just lost his house in a bank mortgage sale, or lost her job in the current depression, would be able to find out how "their representative" voted on this particular occasion.

Giving themselves a huge pay increase does present Congress with one golden opportunity, however. Many people have felt that by allowing Ford to veto so many needed measures that would have helped in some way to alleviate the growing social misery, Congress showed itself to be totally spineless, a bunch of demagogues who have in fact ratified Ford's reactionary and anti-people method of rule by veto. Well, now they have their big chance to prove they can stand up to the White House.

Just let Ford try to veto their pay raise....

## Solidarity with Meatcutters

By PEGGY GEDDEN

MILWAUKEE, July 26—A caravan of over 350 cars poured through the busy downtown today, filling the area with banners that read "Scabs out, workers in!" and other militant slogans. The action represented the growing strength of the fighting Meatcutters union, Local 248, which has been on strike for 7 months.

Members and representatives of about 30 other major unions participated in the caravan in a strong show of working class solidarity.

Despite police attempts to break up the chain of workers' cars by abandoning their traffic-control posts, the caravan successfully completed a several mile route

ending at Serb Hall for a rally.

Speakers from the Meatcutters and other unions denounced the meatpacking companies' efforts to smash the union by employing scab labor. (If the companies can operate with scabs for one year they will be able to decertify the meatcutters union!)

The participation of so many unions in today's demonstration clearly indicates a growing feeling of class solidarity among workers here. The combination of workers' unity and militant struggle by the Meatcutters themselves contains the explosive force that will crush the meatpacking companies and kick the scabs out and put the workers in!

**Black wrath at DA's hysterics****Joann Little support firm**

By P. MEISNER

NEW YORK, August 2—The racist, sexist court system of North Carolina is proceeding with the first-degree murder trial of Joann Little just as expected.

The state prosecution opened up its case last week all but saying that the killing of a white male jailer by a Black woman prisoner was ipso facto a case of murder. However, most of the evidence points to the fact that the jailer, Clarence T. Alligood, had sexually attacked Joann and that she managed to grab an icepick and stab the jailer to death in self-defense.

Last Tuesday, July 29, a pathologist and medical examiner of Beaufort County, N.C., testified that examination of the still warm body of Alligood clearly indicated "sexual climax just prior to, or at the time of, death."

Much was brought out that

showed sexual attack, premeditated on Alligood's part, with the clear implication that Joann was spontaneously defending herself.

The state prosecution, which includes an ex-Ku Klux Klan lawyer, has twisted the events of last August 27 by contending that Joann Little had gotten hold of the icepick earlier while making a telephone call, lured the white jailer into the cell, with the promise of sexual relations, all as part of an "escape plot."

The prosecution's case is so desperate that it has resorted to trying to implicate Joann Little's reading material as having influenced her into a murder-escape scheme. Defense lawyers contended that seizure of the material without a warrant, even from a jail cell, constituted unreasonable search and seizure and violated safeguards against self-

incrimination.

(The material seized by the prosecution included at least one Black radical publication.)

The chief prosecutor, however, said on Thursday that if Judge Hamilton H. Hobgood ruled to suppress the books and magazines, it will be "like excluding the gun left at the scene of the crime." The hysterics of the district attorney are obviously designed to prove that radical politics motivated Joann Little.

Were it not for the mass nationwide support behind Joann's defense, she probably would have already been railroaded through the racist North Carolina court for murder. But now the racists must face the wrath of millions of Black, women, and other progressive supporters of Joann Little.

They won't make the frame-up charges stick.

**Boston benefit for Joann brings hundreds of friends to join the fight**

BOSTON, July 25—Today more than 250 people gathered at the Arlington Street Church here to express their support for Joann Little.

This benefit forum for Joann's defense fund was jointly sponsored by Youth Against War & Fascism, Workers World Party, and Greater Boston People Against Racism, a group that is fighting the current racist anti-busing mobilization in Boston with leafletings, street rallies, demonstrations, and other actions.

Supporters heard several speakers and saw "The Woman's Film," a movie depicting the special oppression of working class and Third World women and their fight back against it.

Kathy Dorsey of the Joann Little Solidarity Day Committee in New York City explained the nature and importance of this case—how it involves the right of Black people to defend themselves against racist attacks, the right in particular of a Black woman to defend herself against a white rapist.

She also described the horrible degradation and brutality of the prison system, explaining that this, too, was at issue. She described

how white men have raped Black women since slavery days as a matter of "property right" without fear of reprisals from the white racist court system, while Black men have been executed for even looking at a white woman.

Julio Ghigliotti of Youth Against War & Fascism and Workers World Party, who was present in Raleigh for the opening of the trial, gave an account of the latest developments in the case. He told of the tremendous support shown for Joann at the courthouse, and pledged the continuing all-out support of YAWF and WWP to Joann's defense.

Kim Heller of Greater Boston People Against Racism explained how the Joann Little case and the racist attacks in Boston are connected. She outlined some of the background of the racist mobilization in Boston, and how the big businessmen are using it to keep poor and working people from fighting back against the economic crisis.

Mina De Filippo of East Boston People Against Racism (part of the Greater Boston group) described how her own section had organized multi-national defense guards

for Black families facing racist attacks in her community. She called for support for a demonstration in August to demand the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development kick ROAR, the anti-busing group, out of the rent-free offices they now occupy in federally subsidized housing in one part of Boston.

This strong show of support for Joann Little was given TV coverage by a major Boston channel on its weekly Black News program. All progressive people must continue to build support for Joann's case.

Free Joann Little! Stop all racist attacks!

**San Q 6 chained, gassed and brought to court in cages**

By MONICA MOOREHEAD

SAN RAFAEL, Cal. July 24—The San Quentin 6, Willie Tate, Fleeta Drumgo, Luis Talamantez, Hugo Pinell, Johnny Spain, and David Johnson, are Black and Brown men who are accused of murdering three white guards and two white prisoners on August 21, 1971.

(George Jackson, a Black leader in the California prison movement and author of *Soledad Brother* and *Blood in My Eye*, was gunned down by prison authorities on the same day. No one to this date has been indicted for the murder of George Jackson.)

On July 15, three of the San Quentin 6 were beaten and gassed before being brought to trial in Marin County. Hugo Pinell, David Johnson, and Luis Talamantez refused to leave their cages because the chains were cutting into their skin. (Five of the six men are chained and shackled every day on their way to court and also to their seats in the courtroom. Willie Tate, who is free on \$100,000 bond, is the only defendant that is not chained.)

When they protested this inhumane act, they were beaten with sticks, teargassed, and forcibly put into their cages in a van. The fumes from the gas were so



Joann Little: the fight for her freedom continues.

**Milwaukee WWP takes Joann's case to streets**

MILWAUKEE, July 19—"Free Joann Little" echoed through downtown Milwaukee today as demonstrators joined with thousands of Joann Little supporters throughout the country demanding her freedom.

The rally was sponsored by several organizations, including Workers World Party (WWP), and Youth Against War & Fascism banners demanding freedom for Joann Little and the right of self-defense were seen by women inmates at the rally site near the county jail.

From behind those bleak walls came chants of solidarity: "Right on, brothers and sisters! We're in jail, too!" And the rally quickly

responded with warm greetings of solidarity and clenched fists to the women inmates.

In addition to the women speakers, Mike Murphy, a Black spokesperson for the SWP, told the more than 60 persons at the rally that a recent assault on him by members of the Nazi Party ended in him being charged with disorderly conduct. One Nazi pleaded guilty (and he was), and Murphy pleaded innocent on grounds of self-defense. The trial date has not been set.

In addition to the speakers, letters were read from women's coalitions supporting Joann's right of self-defense.

Free Joann Little! Self-defense is a right!

strong that the rest of the Six were affected by the gas, too.

When the Six were brought into court, Luis Talamantez tried to protest the beatings to Judge H. J. Broderick. The judge refused to listen to him and ordered a recess. When court resumed, the judge ruled that the defendants should not be brought into the courtroom and that their trial will be conducted without their presence.

The judge also said that he had "no authority to make a statement" on the brutal and inhumane treatment of the Six. Jury selection continued for the rest of the day.

On July 17, jury selection was completed, including alternate jurors. After the alternate jurors left the courtroom, the judge made the comment that the six defendants were guilty until proven innocent!

Several defense motions were heard, including one to have all charges dismissed because the jury does not represent the defendants. (There is only one Black person on the jury.)

Other motions included a change of location of the trial from Marin County (the second richest county in the country and a change in seating arrangements because some of the defendants are too far

away from their attorneys.

Judge Broderick denied all of these motions without explanation.

The trial starts on July 28 and is expected to last from 6 to 9 months. The San Quentin Six are victims of racist and brutal oppression being perpetrated by the State of California.

We must not let these six brothers be railroaded to the gas chamber. Anyone who wants more information on this case should write to the San Quentin Six Defense Committee, 3169 16th Street, San Francisco, Cal. 94103.

Free the San Quentin Six! Tear down the walls!

**Why landlords don't like Portugal**

A Portuguese revolutionary told a crowd of home-seekers in Braganca last week:

"We can't have one unoccupied house in this city as long as we have people here who don't have any place to live.

"... If the landlords or the Municipal Council doesn't want to resolve the problem, then occupy the houses. Take them! We (the Armed Forces) will defend you!"

—Prensa Latina

# POLITICAL PRISONERS



## Colonial-type injustice in Florida

NEW YORK. Aug. 1—Two Black men, Freddie Pitts and Wilbert Lee, have served 12 years, 9 of them on death row, in the Florida State Prison for the supposed killing of two white gas station attendants. Curtis Adams, a white man, has confessed to the Port St. Joe, Fla., slaying but the state refuses to release the two Black men.

Countless letters and petitions bearing thousands of signatures demanding the release of Pitts and Lee have been ignored by Florida's governor Rubin Askew, including one from Chris Burkett, the son of one of the slain men, who is convinced of their innocence.

A statewide demonstration on August 16 will be held in Tallahassee in front of the governor's mansion at 1:00 p.m., according to the African

People's Socialist Party (APSP). Faye Williams of the APSP-Committee to Free Pitts and Lee states: "It was organized protest that forced Askew to reopen an investigation into the case of Pitts and Lee. It will take continued protest to finally free Pitts and Lee and end the 12 years injustice they have suffered."

"Blatant cases of colonial injustice," Ms. Williams pointed out, "such as the cases of Pitts and Lee and Joann Little, will continue as long as there is no organized efforts, led by Black people, to end the racist colonial oppression of Black people."

For more information on the case and the demonstration, write the Committee to Free Pitts and Lee, P.O. Box 12903, Gainesville, Fla., or call Faye Williams: (904) 376-9614.

## BLA sister denied medical rights

NORFOLK—A leader in the Black Liberation Army, Safiya Bukhari (sn Bernice Jones) continues to suffer extreme harassment from Virginia prison officials following her frameup imprisonment by a Norfolk, Va., court.

Sister Bukhari was sentenced to 40 years in prison on phony charges of robbery, attempted murder, and possession of a machine gun after the white owners of Green's market in Norfolk had opened fire on her and two of her comrades while they were shopping.

One BLA member, William Butler, was murdered, and Safiya and Masai Ehezi (sn William Gibson) were charged and sentenced to 40 years each in order to cover up the murder of Butler, and as the prosecutor said to the jury, "... to get a message to these kind of people to stay away from Norfolk."

Now the racist prison system of Virginia is making an effort to slowly assassinate Safiya

Bukhari by denying her essential medical treatment. Five days after her arrival at the women's concentration camp in Goochland, Virginia, Safiya was told by a doctor that she had a fibroid tumor in her womb. Besieged with pain, she finally got the prison doctor to see her.

"He asked me how much time I had... I told him 40 years; he said, 'Come back to see me in 10.'"

Sister Bukhari has filed a petition in Federal Court demanding the specialized medical treatment that she needs. Her petition was denied last week by U.S. District Court Judge John MacKenzie who claimed that the denial of needed medical treatment does not amount to "cruel and unusual punishment." He's right, it is not unusual, but its cruelty is proven by the scores of inmates who have died over the years in Virginia prisons due to lack of proper medical treatment.

Letters of protest can be sent to: Jack Davis, Director, Division of Corrections, 429 S. Belvidere St., Richmond, Va. 23220.

## Demand no death cells at Waupun

David DuBois, editor of the Black Panther newspaper, and a spokesperson for the Black Panther Party (BPP), was guest speaker at a rally held Sunday, July 20, in Malcolm X Peoples Park in Milwaukee. The Milwaukee BPP chapter held the rally to expose recent construction death chambers at Waupun State Prison in Wisconsin.

BPP is circulating petitions here and throughout the country to gain community support of demands for investigation of the racism and brutality prisoners suffer under in Waupun.

**Demand the abolishment of the underground isolation cells!**

**Prisoners have rights!**



## Pat Swinton keeps the faith

By JOYCE BETRIES

On March 12, 1975, FBI agents arrested Pat Swinton at her place of work in Brattleboro, Vermont.

To her friends in Vermont, Pat's name was Shoshana, the name she now prefers. She had helped to start the Women's Center in Brattleboro and lived at Parker Corner Farm, the longest existing commune in the area. Her excessively high bail—\$200,000—was met in part by the commune members, who put up their farm as collateral.

In 1969, when the antiwar movement was at a peak of activism, Shoshana was indicted for conspiracy to bomb federal properties, attempt to bomb U.S. Army trucks, and possession of explosives with intent to bomb U.S. Army trucks.

The government charged that she was part of a conspiracy that included Sam Melville (who was killed by state police during the Attica prison rebellion), David Hughy, and Jane Alpert. Shoshana has pleaded "not guilty" to the charges. If convicted she faces up to 30 years in prison.

Shoshana has been a familiar figure in the New York movement. She did research for the North American Committee on Latin America (NACLA) into corporate and government interference in Latin America, and was a frequent participant in

antiwar demonstrations and direct action projects.

Shoshana needs support. It is estimated that a strong legal defense may cost up to \$40,000. Additional funds may be needed to combat the grand jury investigations and to provide legal help for those subpoenaed.

Shoshana says:

"As a woman I have felt the frustration and humiliation of sexism. In fighting against it, I have gained strength and an understanding of the necessity for each person to combat oppression on all levels. The struggle against sexism is part of the same struggle against racism and capitalism-imperialism—it is all one. Therefore I support my Attica brothers and victims of the prison system across the country, my sisters and brothers underground—in short, I proclaim my solidarity with people everywhere who participate in the struggle for human dignity and liberation.

"I could never betray this solidarity by abandoning these principles nor by in any way cooperating with, or aiding the forces which seek to divide and destroy us. It is our vision they want to wipe out. If we stand together, they will fail."

Please send donations and requests for further information to: Shoshana (Pat Swinton) Defense Committee, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10022.

## Get in the struggle with Youth Against War & Fascism and Workers World Party!



For information, contact: **WORKERS WORLD**  
46 WEST 21 STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010; TEL: (212) 255-0352; (212) 989-3932

## Literature from World View

46 West 21 Street New York, N.Y. 10010

- ALBIZU CAMPOS AND THE PONCE MASSACRE—By Juan Antonio Corretjer—An account of the Puerto Rican struggle against Yankee imperialism during the 1930s and the role of Albizu Campos. .35
- THE BATTLE OF THE BOYCOTT—By Kenny Lapidés—Labor's free speech on trial in Rochester, N.Y. .50
- BLAST FURNACE BROTHERS—By Vince Copeland—The struggle for Black-white unity in the steel mills of Buffalo. .50
- CHILE: 1970-1973—Reprinted from Workers World—A Marxist analysis of the events in Chile from Allende's election to his overthrow. .75
- CHINA: THE STRUGGLE WITHIN—By Sam Marcy, Deirdre Griswold, Naomi Cohen—Major articles from Workers World from 1959-1972. 1.00
- COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA—By Sam Marcy—Articles from Workers World written before and after the Soviet intervention in '68. Why we supported the intervention. .50
- EXPANDING EMPIRE—By Vince Copeland—A concise, clear, yet thorough documentation of the economic driving forces behind U.S. imperialism. .75
- FEMINISM AND MARXISM—By Dorothy Ballan—A Marxist, materialist analysis of the roots of women's oppression and the key to its dissolution. 1.00
- THE FIGHT AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM AND CHILEAN FASCISM—Statements from the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) .10
- INDONESIA: THE 2ND GREATEST CRIME OF THE CENTURY—By Deirdre Griswold—A detailed expose of the role of U.S. imperialism in the counter-revolution in Indonesia in 1965-66 which left over a million people dead. .75
- SOUTHERN POPULISM AND BLACK LABOR—By Vince Copeland—A history of American Populism, its weaknesses, and its significance for today's struggle. .75
- TILL EVERY BATTLE'S WON: THE BROOKSIDE STRIKE OF HARLAN COUNTY—By John Lewis—Tells the story of the fight for a union in the Brookside mines of the Eastover Mining Co. .50
- TODAY VIETNAM, TOMORROW KOREA?—An interview with Kim Il Sung. .35
- UP AGAINST THE BRASS—By Andy Stapp (pub. by Simon & Schuster)—The story of the birth of the GI anti-war movement in the '60s written by the founder of the American Servicemen's Union. 1.95
- A VOICE FROM HARPER'S FERRY—By Osborne T. Anderson—A moving account of the Harper's Ferry raid by a Black participant. This pamphlet hasn't been published since 1861. With an up-to-date introduction by Vince Copeland. 1.00
- WELFARE: WHY WORKERS NEED IT, HOW BILLIONAIRES GET IT—By Elizabeth Ross. .35
- FAMINE OR FEAST—By Elizabeth Ross—An account showing how the capitalist system holds back food production and is responsible for famine and starvation and how only under socialism will there be enough food on the earth for everyone. .50

**workers world**

August 8, 1975

...help build one!

**SUBSCRIBE** 1 YEAR—\$7.00 6 MOS.—\$3.50  
Special offer—3 months for \$1

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

STREET \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

Please make checks payable to:  
**WORLD VIEW PUBLISHERS**  
46 West 21 Street, New York, N.Y. 10010

What about Portugal's African colony Angola? Why isn't it free? Why aren't Portuguese troops out of there? Read Nick De Freitas' story on page 4.

## Black people rebel against Detroit racism



Stores and cars go up in flames in Detroit's Black community last week, as angry residents express their outrage over the racist murder of a Black youth, and the constant economic and racial attacks against their community.

By P. JENNINGS

**DETROIT, July 30**—Hundreds of heavily armed Detroit cops have been occupying the Black community block by block around Fenkel and Livernois, tear-gassing local residents, beating up and arresting youth and blockading streets.

What is the excuse for this military occupation?

On Monday, July 28th, Obie Wynn, a Black youth, was fatally shot in the head by a racist white bar owner. Andrew Chinarian, owner of Bob Bolton's Bar, a place that refuses to serve Black people, shot Obie because he was sitting on his car. Obie Wynn died a few hours later.

The bar owner was freed on a \$500 bond while Black and Third World people cram this city's jails

because they can't afford to pay extremely high bails set for ordinary "crime," much less 2nd degree murder.

About 100 persons have been arrested, gassed, and brutally beaten by the vicious, racist cops of the 10th precinct, a place infamous for its dope sales, while Chinarian walks the streets free, emphasizing once more the blatant two-sided system of justice in this country.

This reporter was at the scene on the second night of the rebellion. Tensions were high in the area. Black Mayor Coleman Young tried to calm down an angry crowd of about 400 to 500 residents of the community, but he was greeted with rocks and bottles by the angry Black citizens.

The Mayor and white police chief

Philip Tannian then made a hasty retreat and ordered more than 300 heavily armed police to converge on the crowd.

Street fighting continued for hours and at the end of the night, two police cars had been burned and the police helicopter had been hit by a shotgun blast.

The shooting of Obie Wynn only touched off an explosion from the deep-rooted anger that already exists in the Black community.

Widespread anger and disillusionment from being one of the hardest hit by poverty and massive layoffs makes it clear that there will be one rebellion after another until poverty, racism, and unemployment are wiped out—until the racist and brutal cops are removed from the community and jobs are provided for all.



## End of OAS blockade victory for Revolutionary Cuba

By JULIO GHIGLIOTTY

**NEW YORK, Aug. 2**—The lifting of political and economic sanctions against the Cuban government by the Organization of American States (OAS) last Tuesday marks a major victory for the Cuban Revolution against the attempts of U.S. imperialism to destroy it.

The 21 to 16 vote in Costa Rica signaled a major defeat for U.S. imperialism in its efforts to "hold the line" against communism in Latin America. When the sanctions were first imposed in 1964, a note from Venezuela was included in the document charging that the Cuban people were suffering under a system "alien to the democratic and Christian traditions of the American family of nations."

Now, Venezuela has been one of the Latin American nations

pushing the hardest for lifting the sanctions against Cuba. This is just one more sign of the weakened position of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, where it can hardly control its puppet governments anymore.

Since its birth, the Cuban Revolution has been threatened with extinction by U.S. imperialism. The Cuban people have survived intensive attacks ranging from military invasion during the Bay of Pigs in April 1961 to the threat of nuclear extinction during the so-called "missile crisis" in 1962.

The public policy of the U.S., subscribed to by both capitalist parties, was the complete extermination of the Cuban Revolution—to "wipe out com-

munist in the Western Hemisphere."

With the significant aid of the socialist countries, who rallied to its side at the same time the U.S. rushed to destroy it at birth, Cuba survived.

The lifting of the sanctions of itself was not so important for the economic well-being of Cuba, since 11 Latin American countries were already trading with that revolutionary country. The sanctions were already falling apart.

What is important is the public defeat of the U.S. in its stated goal of destroying the Cuban Revolution. The U.S. has been forced to recognize Cuba—just as it was forced to recognize the German Democratic Republic despite the 1948 airlift and the building of the Berlin Wall.

## Destruction of Cuban people's Revolution still U.S. goal

**NEW YORK, Aug. 2**—A CIA plot to assassinate Premier Fidel Castro through poisoning in 1961 has been receiving news exposure for several weeks now. Last Wednesday, Robert A. Maheu, former aide to Howard Hughes and ex-FBI and CIA agent, revealed his role in this plot. He hired mobsters Pete Roselli and Sam Giancana to carry out the actual assassination.

Maheu said he agreed to make the contact because "I felt we were involved in a just war."

That "just" war is the war to

exterminate the shining example presented to the peoples of Latin America by the Cuban Revolution.

The present lifting of the OAS sanctions against the Cuban government brings into stark relief the defeat of the U.S. attempts to crush the first socialist revolution in the Western hemisphere. But the exposure of the assassination plots against Fidel Castro also shows that U.S. imperialism will continue to try to subvert and destroy the gains of the workers of the world until imperialism itself is destroyed.