

# workers world



Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite

As the liberation of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola gets closer, the Portuguese colonialists are desperately seeking ceasefires. All three liberation organizations reaffirm their refusal to lay down their arms until total independence has been won. See page 8

Vol. 16, No. 12

June 14, 1974

25 cents

# New war spending to spur inflation

By ANDY STAPP

The American people, already suffering the ravages of the most persistent and budget-busting inflation in this country's history, got another kick in the teeth on June 12 when the U.S. Senate voted a whopping \$21.9 billion military procurement bill demanded by the Pentagon.

Economists agree that vast U.S. military spending has been the prime cause of the astronomical rise in prices since the beginning of massive U.S. involvement in Vietnam in the mid-sixties. The failure and subsequent withdrawal of half-a-million American troops has not reduced the appetite of the military brass for even greater

funds. On the contrary, in 1973 the Pentagon budget was the highest in the country's history.

The Associated Press reported on June 2 that with "cost overruns" (code word for the graft skimmed off by military-industrial profiteers) of \$22.6 billion, the American people shelled out \$134.2 billion to feed the war machine last year!

Currently the U.S. has over half-a-million troops stationed in 40 countries overseas, including tens of thousands in West Germany, Spain, Great Britain, Italy, South Korea, Taiwan, Panama, and the Philippines.

The U.S. has over 7,000 nuclear weapons in West Germany alone!

What then is this new \$21.9 billion of the people's tax monies that Congress handed over to the Pentagon bosses?

### DEATH RAYS AND NERVE GAS

It's for new weapons; death machines like minicarriers for vertical takeoff aircraft, laser-equipped vehicles to burn "enemy" targets, a more deadly binary nerve gas, hydrofoil missile ships, and the B-1 nuclear bomber.

The Brookings Institution, one of the Pentagon "think tanks," estimates that the U.S. military budget will hit \$142 billion by 1980 (not including inevitable cost overruns!)







But what about the "detente," many people ask? Why do we need this monstrous spending on weapons of mass killing in peacetime?

The answer is clear. For the U.S. imperialists, "detente" is just a period of preparation, a breathing spell to plot for a new military aggression somewhere on the globe.

"We now have TV cameras the size of a cigarette pack we could put in battlefield missiles," a top U.S. army planner says in the April 22 *Newsweek*. "We need these for the next war."

The next war. More uncontrollable inflation.

This is capitalism's only outlook for the future. Is it yours?

 <p><b>Dragon Antitank Missile</b></p> <p>Original estimate <b>\$1,600</b></p> <p>Latest <b>\$7,400</b></p>	 <p><b>Condor Antiship Missile</b></p> <p>Original estimate <b>\$132,000</b></p> <p>Latest <b>\$736,000</b></p>	 <p><b>Main Battle Tank</b></p> <p>Original estimate <b>\$341,000</b></p> <p>Latest <b>\$745,000</b></p>	 <p><b>F-111 Bomber</b></p> <p>Original estimate <b>\$4 MIL.</b></p> <p>Latest <b>\$14.9 MIL.</b></p>	 <p><b>F-14 Fighter</b></p> <p>Original estimate <b>\$12.6 MIL.</b></p> <p>Latest <b>\$17.9 MIL.</b></p>	 <p><b>Destroyer</b></p> <p>Original estimate <b>\$86 MIL.</b></p> <p>Latest <b>\$103 MIL.</b></p>
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Source: General Accounting Office

# New York cop acquitted in Mississippi-style justice

**BULLETIN**, New York, June 14—The Black community of Jamaica, Queens, enraged at the acquittal of killer-cop Thomas Shea, erupted last night in violent protest. Hundreds of specially trained riot police were rushed into the area to stifle the people's anger.

By GREGG BATSON

**NEW YORK**, June 13—The Black community has received another racist insult. Thomas Shea, a New York City cop, was acquitted yesterday of the cruel and cowardly murder of a 10-year-old young man in the South Jamaica section of Queens.

People in Third World communities get shot, beaten, attacked, and abused every day. This case, however, was so vicious, and

the Black community erupted with such fervor at the time of the killing that the district attorney was forced to indict Shea for murder. It was the first time in New York history that a cop was finally brought to trial for an "on-duty" murder.

On April 28, 1973, 10-year-old Clifford Glover and his step-father were walking down New York Boulevard at 5 a.m. to go to work as they normally did. As they were walking, an unmarked car screeched to a halt behind them. According to Clifford's father, Shea got out of the car in plain clothes and shouted, "You black son of a bitch!" while pulling his revolver. Not knowing who this man was, Clifford and his father started running.

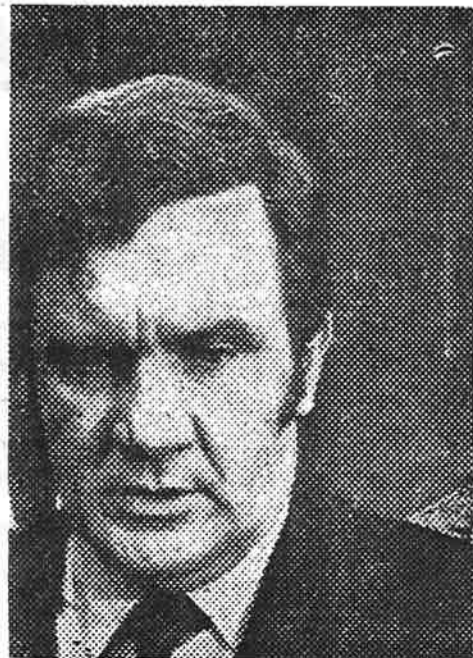
Without a word or a second thought, Shea fired into young Glover's back, killing him.

However, Shea, who still has to face other charges of pistol whipping a 14-year-old boy in Queens, concocted an insulting

(Continued on page 3)



CLIFFORD GLOVER—MURDERED



KILLER-COP SHEA—ACQUITTED

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## Racist terror leaves six Chicanos murdered

By ANDY STAPP

The terror campaign against Chicano people living in the U.S. reached a bloody crescendo at the end of May when six Mexican-Americans were assassinated by time bombs in Boulder, Colorado.

On May 27 Reyes Martinez, Una Jaakola, and Neva Romero were killed instantly when a time bomb under the front seat of their car exploded. Two days later, Florencio Granado, Heriberto Teran, and Francisco Dougherty were murdered when their automobile parked at a Burger King was demolished by a similar explosion.

#### ACTIVISTS IN CHICANO STRUGGLE

Four of those slain were activists in the struggle of the Chicano nation.

Florencio Granado, an activist in the Raza Unida Party, had been prominent in the attempt to recall Eugene DiManna, a City Councilman in the North Side of Denver. This was part of an overall fight to win Chicano control of the Chicano community.

Heriberto Teran was an organizer in a program for Chicanos who had been in prison.

Neva Romero, a member of the Boulder United Mexican-American Students, had been fighting for the right of elementary school children to a bilingual education.

Reyes Martinez was a lawyer for the Colorado Rural Legal Services.

Antonio Alcantar is the only surviving victim of the bombings, but doctors have stated his condition is "serious."

The immediate reaction of the Boulder police, notorious for their racism against Chicanos, has been to get a judge to issue a special order sealing off any information "uncovered" by their investigation of the assassinations.

#### 'HIGHLY SKILLED KILLERS'

The reaction of the Chicano community was swift and angry. Corky Gonzales, a leader of the Crusade for Justice, told a packed press conference, "We have reason

to believe we are dealing with highly skilled killers, who have access to the most technical and sophisticated resources and materials. Their methods have been used in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Cambodia, Africa, Asia, Chile, and across South America." Supporting Gonzales' statement at the news conference were leaders of the Colorado Raza Unida Party, the Escuela Aztlan, the United Farm Workers, and the National Chicano Welfare Rights Organization.

A little over a year ago, Colorado reactionaries, spearheaded by the police, unleashed a wave of terror against Chicano militants.

On March 17, the cops attacked the Escuela Tlatelolco, a Crusade for Justice school, and in the process blew the building to bits with high explosives, killing Luis Martinez.

Since that attack over 100 Crusade and Raza Unida Party workers have been arrested on various frameup charges.

This repression has not stopped the Chicano people from fighting back.

A rally will be held on June 16 at Columbus (Raza) Park in Denver to honor these six martyrs who were murdered in the struggle.

## Funds for Mound Bayou Hospital axed by HEW

By CAL BONNER

MOUND BAYOU, Miss., June 1—In the "multiracial" towns and villages in the vicinity of this all-Black village, a visitor observes a generations-old early morning ritual. White, middle class Mississippians drive their domestic workers from the shabby "colored quarters" (the Black-inhabited part of town) to their own meticulously clean and richly furnished abodes where the workers perform arduous chores. Customarily, if the white family has a dog, it sits in the front seat with its mistress or master while the Black household worker sits in back.

Many, if not most, of the older Black women in the Mississippi Delta are now or have been household workers who scrub floors, wash dishes, clean windows and babies, etc., at \$15 to \$30 a week. They've little choice.

#### NO JOBS FOR 'HANDS'

The Delta region of Mississippi is one-crop country where cotton is still king. But the vast plantations are no longer worked by Black fieldhands; the big landowners have

found it more profitable to employ machines, whose long-range labor costs are negligible even in comparison with underpaid human beings.

Mississippi Delta whites, scions of plantation owners, have preserved an exasperatingly paternalistic attitude toward the descendants of their former slaves and field laborers which closely resembles that Northern "liberal" solution to the Black question called "benign neglect." They and a very few affluent Blacks are sufficiently well off. Most of their needs, including health care, have been met by the capitalist system or the administration in Washington.

The plight of the majority of the inhabitants of this all-Black town, however, is quite distressing. The Black Belt of the Deep South—so named because of the unusual fertility of its soil—contains one of the deepest pockets of poverty in the U.S. and can hardly afford the loss of any of its resources.

Yet this is exactly what happened on May 30 when two of Mound Bayou's most precious resources, its community hospital

and its health center, were cut off from funding by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW).

Since the Hospital Board of Governors and Administrators were informed by the regional office of HEW (Region IV, Atlanta) that all funds were being cut off, there had been a game struggle on the part of the townspeople of Mound Bayou, with some help from the Black Congressional Caucus, to keep the doors of the hospital and the health center open.

The answer the HEW bureaucrats give is that they do not fund hospitals. The Black Congressional Caucus considers this position unacceptable since HEW supports hospitals under the Public Health Services Act and through the Indian Health Service Program.

This government's indifference to the health needs of the people it has itself impoverished is growing in notoriety. The protests against it, too, are growing. One can register one's disgust with this state of affairs by writing letters to representatives of the Black Congressional Caucus or to HEW. But an even better and surer way to stop capitalism's attack on the living standards of poor and working people is to organize into a fighting force capable of smashing the very foundations of this antilife system.

Guadalupa Granado, wife of one of the six Chicanos killed in car bombings in Boulder, Colo., appears at press conference with son Che and her attorney. Photo: Guardian-LNS

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## LONG LIVE THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE CHICANO PEOPLE!



Low wages, runaway shops and speedups brought an end to "labor peace" last week when 110,000 members of ACWA walked away from their sewing machines and cutting boards and onto the picket lines.

## UFW supporters defy court, picket scab grape shipment

By JULIO A. GHIGLIOTTY

NEW YORK, June 4—Close to 1,000 workers and supporters of the United Farm Workers (UFW) defied a court injunction this morning with a 5:00 a.m. picket line at Hunts Point. The action at New York City's biggest wholesale produce market was to protest the arrival of the first shipment of California scab grapes.

Participating in the demonstration called by the Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO were Local 1199 (of the drug and hospital workers' union), District 65, District Council 37, and 200 members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the Center for United Labor Action (CULA), a rank-and-file organization to promote workers' solidarity.

The picketers marched up and down the Hunts Point unloading pier chanting, "Don't buy lettuce, don't buy grapes, don't buy wine that Gallo makes." The response from the Teamster workers involved in the unloading varied from quiet support—one Teamster remarked, "If they're scab products, they shouldn't be unloaded"—to just stepping aside when the demonstrators went by. The protesters would cheer every time a box marked with the UFW eagle was unloaded and jeer when scab products appeared.

(In Boston, over 700 supporters of the UFW marched on May 30 from Everett Station to the Chelsea Market.)

As labor activity and militancy have been reborn in the last few years, the

companies have been using the courts to an increasing degree to break strikes. One of their most widely wielded weapons has been the injunction. Several of these, limiting pickets, were in effect at Hunts Point, but they were challenged by the workers who refused to bow under to that tactic and expressed their support for the farm workers' struggles in spite of the courts.

Recently, the use of the injunction has been more widespread than usual, even though injunctions have been used against the labor movement from its inception. A recent example is the threat to issue an injunction against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) for allegedly violating secondary boycott laws in the Farah strike.

Of course, the ACWA won that strike just last February, but an attack in the courts continues today against the whole labor movement. CULA, one of the most militant supporters of the boycott, was charged with being an agent of the ACWA because it led a secondary boycott against Sibley's department stores in Rochester.

Friends of the farm workers will also be threatened if this attack on CULA is upheld in the courts, since the secondary boycott has been a major weapon of the farm workers. While the UFW has been exempt from legislation on secondary boycotts, the government has been seeking ways to get around this in light of the widespread success and public sympathy generated by the boycott.

and condone his action.

Looking at the jury itself, we see it consisted of 11 white men and 1 Black woman. The Black woman, Mrs. Ederica Campbell, is a supervisor of probation investigations with the State Supreme Court. After the trial she said, "They almost killed me, and I almost killed them," which tells what stresses she was under during the deliberations.

Throughout the country white policemen take extreme liberties in Third World communities because they know that they have been handed a virtual licence to do whatever they want. They know they can murder Black Panthers in their sleep, conduct barbaric "Zebra" searches, murder Black and Latin suspects first and ask questions later, and abuse Black and Latin women. But lately we have seen the most cowardly of all their acts: shooting children in the back, where murder becomes a "tragic mistake in the line of duty." The cops all over, North and South, know the racist ruling class will back them up to the very end for they need these mercenaries to protect their wealth.

## Garment workers break 53-year peace; strike back at inflation

BULLETIN, Rochester, June 10—Over 2,000 ACWA members turned out tonight at the ratification meeting for a new contract for the men's and boys' clothing industry. Pay will be increased 30 cents on June 30 and 15 cents on Sept. 30, then 27½ cents in each of the next 2 years for a total of \$1, bringing the average pay up to \$4.50 an hour by 1976.

Pensions will now range from \$80 to \$100 a month. A cost-of-living clause allows 4.2 cents for every 1 percent increase in the cost-of-living index, but not until the second year of the contract, and then only if this year's 45-cent increase is entirely eaten away by inflation.

When the manager of the Rochester Joint Board of the ACWA read the terms of this contract, the workers began booing. The union pie-card answered: "What do you expect? We're in a weak industry, not like steel and auto."

Under the pressure of this defeatist misleadership, and because their militancy and opposition to the settlement were largely unorganized, the workers were eventually talked into ratification.

By a Rochester clothing worker

ROCHESTER, N.Y., May 9—Fifty-three years of "labor peace" in the men's clothing industry came to a sudden end on June 3 when 110,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) struck for higher wages and improved benefits. The strike hit the clothing bosses at a key time, with work just getting started on the fall line of men's suits and overcoats.

Triggering the strike was the breakdown in negotiations between the ACWA and the Clothing Manufacturers Association (CMA), representing 750 companies. The union is seeking a \$1.10-per-hour wage increase over 3 years, a cost-of-living clause, improved pensions, and other benefits. The CMA's last offer was 80 cents per hour over 3 years and a meaningless cost-of-living escalator in the third year only. It's clear to everyone that taking this offer would mean a continued loss of real wages.

### LOW WAGES, RUNAWAY SHOPS, PIECEWORK

Galloping inflation, a plague for all working people, has had an especially vicious effect on the clothing workers. Even the best paid cutters (who are almost all men) rarely make more than \$5.00 an hour, and that's after 20 years on the job. The great majority of workers are women, many of whom average \$70-85 a week and sometimes less. As one New York worker flatly put it, "We've just got to get more money."

In the largest clothing centers, New York and Philadelphia, most of the workers are Black and Latin women. Working in the ancient sweatshops of the garment district (some of the buildings date back to the Civil War), they face a daily routine of harassment, job insecurity, and speedup.

In the garment industry, 95 percent of

all production is piecework. If you don't work fast enough and cheap enough, the bosses tell you they just might pack up and move South, where they hope to find workers who will. Many of the shops that haven't run away have automated, throwing thousands more out of work.

If you're lucky enough to seek retirement before your shop runs away or lays you off, you're guaranteed the "right" to live out your life in poverty. Pensions range from \$85 to \$167 per month—among the lowest for any unionized workers.

### STRIKE A SURPRISE

The strike came as a surprise to both the bosses and the workers. When we punched out on Friday, May 31, few thought there was any real chance of a strike. Nevertheless, support for the walkout is solid.

At a mass meeting attended by several thousand workers in Rochester on the first day of the strike, there was loud and enthusiastic applause for the demands and the work stoppage. On the picket lines many have echoed the sentiments of one older worker who said: "We should have struck a long time ago. The bosses have gotten the idea they could offer us anything and we'd take it. I guess they'll have to think a little differently now."

(In Philadelphia, the 18,000 ACWA members on strike received a unanimous vote of support from the Philadelphia Coalition of Labor Union Women.)

### RANK & FILE STIRRING

Under the long-term leadership of Jacob Potofsky and Frank Rosenbloom, who retired in 1972, ACWA members saw a steady decline in their economic situation. The successors to the top union posts, Murray Finley and Jacob Sheinkman, recognized the need to organize the runaway shops in the South and Southwest if the union was to survive.

The successful 2-year strike against Farah, spearheaded mainly by the Chicana women workers, was a giant first step in this direction. The victory of the Farah strike and boycott has had an impact on other clothing workers. In the words of one woman striker here, "The Farah workers struck because they were only making \$69 a week. Well, I don't make much more."

Growing discontent on the part of the rank and file is clearly a major factor in the leadership's decision to call a strike. When the last contract, in 1971, provided only a measly 60 cents over 3 years, there were wildcats and demonstrations against the leadership in New York, Philadelphia, and Allentown, Pa. These actions served notice that the rank and file was awakening and won for the workers the right to vote on future contract settlements.

The ACWA, like all unions, was built through strikes, sacrifice, and solidarity. The clothing strike of 1974 signals a renewal of that spirit of struggle, a spirit which is as necessary today in a time of rampaging inflation as it was 50 years ago.

### REACTION OF BLACK COMMUNITY

The reaction of the Black people in the courtroom at the Shea trial and in the community where Clifford Glover was murdered was unanimous. The people have decided this insult will be the last insult. From the people who had "faith" in the system to those who never have, the feeling was shock, anger, and disgust. This one incident has brought out a feeling of unified anger throughout the entire community.

It would not be surprising to see some "tragic mistakes" in the line of survival. Several members of the audience asked Shea when he was coming back to work.

One day after Shea was acquitted, it was made public that another cop has been indicted on the charge of murder. The announcement was admittedly delayed until after Shea had been acquitted in order not to

"prejudice his case."

William Walker shot 21-year-old John Brabham because, he said, Brabham had pulled a gun on him. However, Walker's story hit a snag when the starter pistol supposedly aimed at him by Brabham was identified as Walker's own gun. Walker probably would still be running around today if John Brabham's mother and sister had not diligently demanded an investigation into John's death.

Who knows how many deaths of Third World people have occurred around the country under the guise of "self-defense," or anything else? It once again illustrates the absolute lack of justice in this racist society. But we all know that justice will come. All the racists and their flunkies will get the justice they so vocally stand for. Justice for Shea? Time will tell.

## —cop gets off

(Continued from page 1)

story for the trial. Shea said he had fired when this 10 year old pulled a gun and aimed it at him. If this was so, why was this young man shot in the back?

Shea even further by saying this 10 year old tossed the gun up to his stepfather after he had been shot and was dying. But no gun was found. Shea's answer to this was that the stepfather had plenty of time to get rid of it.

### RACIST COURT SYSTEM

No man would stick behind such a thoroughly ridiculous story unless he was sure of the racist nature of the judicial system. No man would stick to a story like this unless he knew that a racist, law-and-order, "why are they picking on poor little me?" campaign would work perfectly in his behalf. Shea wasn't getting mystical when he said, "Thank God for the jury system." He knew this very system would approve

# Hiring discrimination spurs Black dockworker walkout

By a longshoreman

BALTIMORE, June 10—Last week Black members of Baltimore's largest longshore local (International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 333) walked off their jobs to protest discriminatory hiring practices on the waterfront. Their action prompted a 4-hour meeting with union officials. The session was a stormy one in which many Black longshoremen bitterly complained of

mistreatment.

One of the key complaints was the widespread hiring of dock workers at various halls instead of at the central hiring hall. The companies have used this to continue a system whereby Black longshoremen are assigned to all-Black gangs and white longshoremen to all-white units. As a consequence, many men here in the busiest port on the East Coast are not

# NY postal workers protest slashed hours for 'subs'

By a New York City postal worker

NEW YORK, June 11—An outpouring of over 1,500 angry and bitter workers condemned the U.S. Postal Service last week in a mass demonstration at the General Post Office (GPO) headquarters in New York. On the highly spirited picket line in front of the GPO, postal workers repeatedly chanted, "Strike! Strike!" as one speaker after another denounced the inexcusable stupidity and brutality of the Postal Service's big bosses.

The protest was called by Branch 36 of the National Association of Letter Carriers and by the New York Metro Area Postal Union in response to rising pressure from the rank and file, who are being subjected to a tightening noose of work restrictions and speedups. This noose is the bosses' answer to the earlier postal strike of 1970 in which, panicked by a largely paralyzed capitalist economy, they had to give up to the victorious workers a huge 40 percent wage increase between 1970-1972.

## TWO DO WORK OF THREE

Enraged and frustrated, these tight-fisted managers of ruling class wealth have embraced a vindictive strategy of recouping

their "loss" by crushing the last ounce of productivity out of the hides of the postal workers. Delivery routes are being "reorganized," with two workers assigned to large truck routes that had three before. Foot delivery routes are being dismantled and portioned out to other, already overburdened routes, with little or no additional time granted for extra delivery.

But the most atrocious back stabbing of all by the postal bosses, and the issue protested most vehemently in the demonstration, involves a scheme to "save" even more money by literally denying work to those with little seniority. These "subs," many of whom are Black and other Third World men and women, have been forced to exist month after month on a 20-hour work week.

With inflation going out of control, many of these federal postal workers are being forced onto federal welfare programs, and these workers are hired by the Post Office not as temporary help, but supposedly as career employees!

Branch 36 charges that "they cannot make enough money to support their families; there is work to be had, but management is curtailing the mail so that

getting jobs they are entitled to under a system of seniority.

Ironically, just last year a federal court ordered the merger of a previously white local and a Black local into what is now ILA Local 333. Many of the Black workers claim that under the old system they were at least receiving an adequate share of assignments, although in many cases the hours were spent handling fishmeal and fertilizer, while white gangs were handling clean cargoes such as containers and automobiles.

When the two locals merged, the white local was near bankruptcy, having been bled to death by corrupt union officials. In fact, former president, Bill Schonowski has been convicted of embezzlement and is out

on appeal. On the other hand, the Black local had \$60,000 in its treasury. Now, many of the Black members feel that the same gang of crooks has access to their money.

Feelings were running so heavy that the Black workers urged John Kapp, the union's international vice-president, to recommend to the international that the locals be allowed to separate.

This demand has so shaken the bureaucracy that a number of verbal concessions were made, including the key demand for a central hiring hall. It remains to be seen whether the promises will be converted into action. As one Black longshoreman said after the meeting, "If he (Kapp) does what he said he'll do, then it'll all work out."

work would not be given to subs and in this way stay below the Post Office budget. The subs were shocked that the Post Office would put money before the welfare of the public."

The union further charges that it believes the Postal Service is in criminal violation of its requirement to move the mail. "Shop stewards call in every day to say that mail has been curtailed. Parcel Post is being curtailed, COD packages are being curtailed, circular (third class) mail is being curtailed, all types of non-preferential mail are being curtailed which definitely do not have to be curtailed."

## 'SUBS' LEAD CALL FOR STRIKE

It is no wonder that the angry young women and men "subs" were leading the call for a strike as they marched defiantly in last week's picket line. Even if this show of angry sentiment was intended by the unions to let off steam and discourage more militant action, such a powerful display of militancy couldn't help but threaten the postal management bosses.

Just to make sure they got the point, 100 to 150 "subs" broke away from the main picket line and blockaded the Post Office's main driveway as a more dramatic expression of their willingness to take action.

The oppressive measures of the haughty postal bosses are making inevitable the kind of organized resistance they dread, but which will be an effective antidote to their shameful schemes.



At New York rally, postal workers in 1970 strike made clear their determination to fight speedups and layoffs.

# Midwest meeting hears world position of WWP

By JILL ROUNDTREE

CHICAGO, June 9—Youth Against War & Fascism held a Midwest meeting here last night to examine the "Legacy of Lenin." It was attended by over 150 people, including friends and members of YAWF from Detroit and Milwaukee.

The meeting featured a discussion of the tendencies in the international communist movement since the death of Lenin, presented by the editor of Workers World newspaper, Deirdre Griswold. This analysis was preceded, however, by reports from several Midwest speakers focusing on the militant record of YAWF and Workers World Party in the day-to-day struggle against capitalism.

The point was clearly made that these organizations consider theory as "a guide to action," in the words of Frederick Engels.

Deb Sole from Detroit opened the meeting, citing the active participation of Workers World Party and YAWF in the anti-imperialist working class movement. She reviewed YAWF's unique demonstrations in the early 1960s when it was the only group exposing the war in Vietnam. Also noted was the consistent support YAWF has given to the national liberation struggles here, which included in the Midwest a confrontation with the racist Ku Klux Klan in Michigan and support for the framed up De Mau Mau Brothers in Chicago.

The next two speakers reported on concrete activities YAWF is presently involved in. Saturnino Sanchez, who recently

returned to Chicago from Houston, Texas, spoke of the struggle to free the Houston 12 and the ongoing support work there.

Dennis Anderson, himself facing 10 years on trumped-up charges arising from his prison support work, spoke on fascism and a recent Nazi attack on Milwaukee YAWF's office. He defined fascism as the most oppressive form of racist, anti-working class rule that the capitalists resort to in time of crisis. He spoke of the importance of fighting against fascist groups like the Nazis and confronting them on every occasion.

YAWF's position had been dramatically put into practice earlier in the evening when 15 Nazis who attempted to infiltrate and disrupt the meeting were swiftly ejected from the hotel by YAWF defense guards.

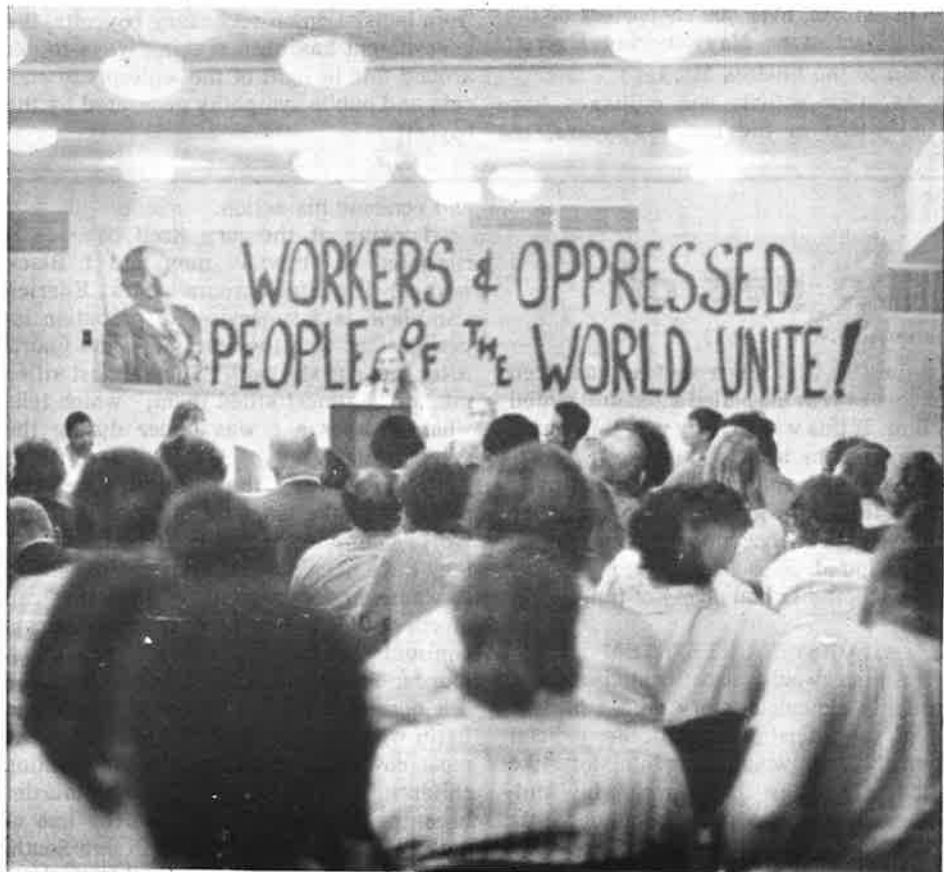
The tremendous achievements of Lenin's party in making the October Revolution in Russia, and the ensuing terrible hardships endured by the first workers' state in history were examined by Ms. Griswold of Workers World. In exploring the rise of a privileged bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, Griswold pointed out that it was desperate material conditions which brought about the degeneration of the party and its leadership after Lenin's death. Stalin and his followers, she said, served as the vehicle by which a conservative grouping, seeking self-aggrandisement rather than the fulfillment of revolutionary ideals, rose to political power.

This backswing of the revolution, however, has not to this resulted in the overthrow of the basic socialist property

forms in the Soviet Union, despite the monstrous character of bureaucratic deformation. Here Griswold distinguished the position of WWP from that of the leaders of People's China. The degeneration under Khrushchev, she argued, was merely a continuation of the move to the right that had begun in Stalin's time. While further abandoning the international class struggle, Khrushchev did not lead an outright counterrevolution as charged by the Chinese

CP today.

The meeting was concluded with a strong statement of solidarity with the African liberation movements fighting for independence from Portugal, and with the revolutionary Portuguese working class, delivered by Bill Roundtree of Chicago YAWF. The discussion that followed showed that the meeting marked a great step forward in the ideological development of the revolutionary movement in the Midwest.



More than 150 people attend Midwest meeting to hear members of Workers World Party discuss the "Legacy of Lenin" and the tendencies in world communist movement since his death.

WW photo

3 years of decontrol in NY bring

## Skyrocketing rents and still no repairs

By MYRON JEFKA

NEW YORK, June 5—Since the infamous vacancy decontrol law was passed in July 1971, the tenants of New York City have lost the elementary security they once had under rent control. Rents have skyrocketed to astronomical levels and the real estate-banking interests have reaped in billions of dollars in extra profits, over and above the normally high profits they were making when rent control was in effect.

Under the old rent control law, rents of controlled apartments could only be raised when improvements were made by the landlord. Tenants moving into a rent-controlled apartment could not be charged more than 15 percent above what was paid by the former tenant. But with the vacancy decontrol law of 1971, all rent-controlled apartments have become decontrolled as soon as they were vacated.

### RENT INCREASES DIDN'T BRING PROMISED IMPROVEMENTS

The landlords argued that they weren't making enough profits on their rent-controlled apartments to afford needed modernizations and building improvements. Only if they could get more rents, they said, then they could start renovating, building, and relieve the acute apartment shortage so that rents would eventually stabilize. But they've done nothing of the kind.

Instead of investing the increased profits in constructive improvements, the landlords have pocketed an extra half a billion dollars a year. They have made even less improvements than before, when they were forced to make minor improvements in order to get rent increases. If a landlord can double or triple the rent for an apartment by getting the present tenant to move out, what incentive does he have to make improvements, that would encourage tenants to stay in their controlled apartments, for a mere 15 percent increase?

Thus, landlords have done everything they could to make living conditions as miserable as possible in order to drive tenants out of the remaining controlled apartments in their buildings.

### RECENT REFORM LEGISLATION IS TOKEN IN NATURE

As a sop to the outcry of various tenant groups and the increasing number of rent strike struggles, Governor Rockefeller, before he left, called for the formation of a Temporary State Commission on Living Costs and the Economy, under the

leadership of Representative Andrew Stein (Dem. Manhattan).

After numerous hearings and investigations, the Stein Commission released its report last January, which was greeted with outrage by the landlords. The stated purpose of the report was to provide the basis for new statewide legislation to tone down the excesses of vacancy decontrol.

Legislation has been passed by the recent session in Albany and signed into law by Governor Wilson. However, the decontrolled apartments will stay decontrolled, exorbitant rents will not be rolled back, and rent-stabilized apartments will still be subject to cost-of-living increases, which could skyrocket in the near future.

The revelations of the Stein Commission, startling as they may be to the liberal middle class conscience, were merely designed to circumvent possible mass struggles of those who suffer most from rent gouging.

### ONLY MASS STRUGGLE CAN BRING LOWER RENTS

The legal structure of profiteering lawyers and corrupt judges, most of whom are landlords or real-estate speculators themselves, cannot be substantially reformed on the basis of any Rockefeller-initiated liberal revelations. Rockefeller himself controls many of the banks which have mortgages on most of the real estate in the city, and they are the real beneficiaries of vacancy decontrol. The petty slumlords are in most cases merely errand boys for the real estate-banking interests.

It is the poor and oppressed who have suffered most from vacancy decontrol. Since the July 1971 law was passed, about a quarter of a million apartments have been decontrolled. In the first year alone, the average rent increased by 52 percent. However, the Stein Commission report admits that in Brooklyn and the Bronx (the poorest boroughs), the average increase for apartments renting for \$30 or less per room was 74 percent.

The landlords are now getting almost every penny they possibly can from their tenants in poor and oppressed communities. No paltry reforms to limit future excesses can undo the damage that has already been done.

Only a struggle to roll back the already exorbitant rents to at least the July 1971 levels, to restore rent control to all decontrolled apartments, and to extend it to all apartments that were never on rent control can inspire the masses to actively enter the political arena around the housing question, which is so vital to their lives.

## Mass. tenants win one year of rent control

By ALAN BALSAM

BOSTON, May 24—As part of a statewide mobilization of tenants in Massachusetts, several hundred persons rallied today in the Boston Common, across the street from the State House. Speakers from the Tenants First Coalition spoke to the gathering, emphasizing the need for the extension of present rent control legislation as the first line of defense against the greed of the millionaire landlords. Another key demand was to include Federal Housing Authority (FHA) tenants under the rent control act.

The need to unite with Black and Latin tenants was stressed, citing the series of rallies and demonstrations which took place



Boston CULA joins tenants rally to fight for rent control.

several weeks ago against the miserable conditions in Boston public housing projects. These protests were sparked by the death of Alfonso Johnson, a 9-year-old Black youth, in an elevator shaft of the Mission Hill Extension project (see May 17 Workers World).

Following the rally, the tenants marched through the crowded downtown Boston streets to picket at the offices of the Boston Realty Association, and later the march swung back to the Massachusetts State House.

### RENT CONTROL IN MASSACHUSETTS

Between 1960 and 1970, rents skyrocketed in Massachusetts, rising by 63 percent in Boston alone. In 1970, more than 44 percent of Boston area renters were forced to pay at least a quarter of their income for rents, as the availability of decent housing decreased sharply. While tenants benefited by increasing profits and stepping up arbitrary evictions.

It is within this context that rent control became an issue during the 1970 governor's race in Massachusetts, with the candidates outdoing one another with promises in an attempt to capture the tenant vote. By August of 1970, Massachusetts tenants got the state legislature to pass a local option rent control enabling act, providing that rent control could be adopted by any Massachusetts city and by some towns.

While most agree that rent control is far

from the solution to the housing crisis in Massachusetts (more fundamental changes must take place), there is little doubt that rent control has helped poor and working people to stabilize this expense. In Boston, Cambridge, Lynn, Brookline, and Somerville, where tenants have forced through rent control laws, these laws have offered protection against arbitrary rent increases and evictions, and rents have subsequently risen more slowly in the Boston area than have overall living costs. In many cases, rent control has allowed poor and working people to remain in their neighborhoods in the face of destructive market pressures.

But most important of all, the passage of rent control has opened the door to community organizing on a vast scale.

Scores of tenant unions and organizations have been born and grown over the past several years throughout the state, developing the type of support which not only can back up the rent control act with political muscle, but can also mobilize for the further extension of rent control. It is this independent organizing by tenants, without relying on the good graces of "liberal" politicians, which is truly the most promising development for the future.

### THE STRUGGLE ESCALATES

In the early part of 1974, the landlords and bankers, along with the politicians they control, made strong moves to discredit rent control and pave the way for letting the legislation expire next April. It was proposed that the entire question be placed in "study" for a year and then a vote would occur on whether or not to extend the law. Traditionally, "studies" of this type have been used to diffuse public pressure so that a reform measure can be killed with less of a fuss.

On Wednesday, April 10, a hearing was held in Gardner Auditorium at the State House to consider 30 bills, all relating to rent control. Over a thousand angry tenants jammed the auditorium, with many people kept out of the room by police lines. The police so inflamed the crowd that they broke through and stormed the auditorium. Tenants inside the auditorium unlocked the doors and held them open until everyone was inside, at which point pandemonium broke loose with chanting and banners flying.

As the politicians took their places to lead off the testimony, the tenants became more boisterous, demanding, "Let the tenants speak!" One politician who was brazen enough to side with the landlords, was shouted down and prevented from speaking by the militant crowd.

During the 8 hours of testimony by tenants, the horrendous housing situation in Massachusetts was explored. Steven Kirshbaum of the Center for United Labor Action linked the struggle over rent control to the battles against inflation waged by poor and working people in Massachusetts and around the country. "Tenant union organizing and labor union organizing in workplaces," said Kirshbaum, "are two fronts in the workers' struggle to wrest some degree of security from bankers and billionaires who run our lives."

On May 20, a compromise measure was adopted by the Massachusetts House of Representatives to extend rent control to December 1, 1975. Although this is only a partial victory, it does open the way to more struggles, such as extending rent control to the 30,000 FHA apartments in the state.

"LYNN, Mass., June 7—The Lynn City Council voted this week to abolish rent control, responding to pressure from the large landlords and banks. The Council chambers were the scene of angry protests by the several hundred tenants present and the cops dragged many people out of the room. Lynn tenants are developing a strategy to win back rent control with or without the City Council."

Americans against discriminatory employment practices and to widen job opportunities for Chinatown residents. Over the past 3 weeks more than 50 members and friends of AAFEE have been arrested by the police at demonstrations and sit-ins at the Confucius Plaza construction project. It is also noteworthy to mention that several Black and Latin workers, in solidarity with their Chinese brothers and sisters, were arrested at the sit-ins.

Despite the tremendous police repression, the demonstrators at City Hall today explained that they are not demoralized and this demonstration will not be the last, but is part of a continuing struggle that will not end until there is equality in job opportunities for all Asian-Americans.

opportunities in construction to Asian-Americans was presented to the racist management of DeMatteis Corporation. Garment workers on their lunch hours have joined the picket lines, which have numbered nearly 200 every day.

While unemployment is rampant throughout Chinatown, the median income of Chinese working families is more than 25 percent below the poverty level. Most Chinese are confined to employment in the garment industry, restaurants, and laundries, all of which are in a state of decline. This makes the problems of rising inflation and unemployment even more acute.

The organization spearheading the fight for equal employment of Chinese workers is Asian-Americans for Equal Employment (AAFEE), an organization of concerned citizens, workers, and community groups formed in December 1973 to protect Asian-

## Asian-Americans demand Confucius Plaza site jobs

By NICK DE FREITAS

NEW YORK, June 6—Today over 50 Asian-Americans under the banner of Asian-Americans for Equal Employment militantly demonstrated in front of the Mayor's office demanding an end to the racist discriminatory exclusion of Asian-Americans from the construction industry. A most blatant example of a racist hiring policy is seen at the \$40 million construction project underway in the city's Chinese community. Although the Confucius Plaza housing project is right in the middle of Chinatown, the contracting corporation, DeMatteis, has refused to hire any Asian construction workers.

The response from the Chinese community has been a militant one of widespread demonstrations, sit-ins, and protest rallies. In addition, over 8,000 petitions demanding an opening up of job



## EDITORIAL

# Kissinger under attack : are 'great men' overtaken by greater events?

There can always be an element of personal inadequacy or forcefulness underlying historical events. As that early Russian Marxist, Plekhanov, pointed out in discussing the role of the individual in history, the personalities of the absolute monarchs in particular played a large role in slowing down or speeding up historical processes that were generated by evolving technology and shifting class relations. This was because, since the monarchs were chosen mainly by heredity (although often with the assistance of a few timely murders!), there was less opportunity then for the conflicting social forces to sift out their best representatives.

But under capitalism, and particularly in its imperialist decline when the monopolies so control political life, the selection of leading politicians of the ruling class is a careful, life-long process that often grooms the imperialist "statesman" from the cradle.

All the more reason, then, to be cautious in accepting the bourgeoisie's interpretation of the role of "great men" in determining the course of great events.

Take Henry Kissinger, for example. To hear the bourgeois press tell it, this one man alone, through the force of his diplomacy and his brilliant mind, turns enemies into friends, reshapes world alliances, and has rescued the U.S. from several small wars and maybe a bigger one.

## NO LONGER 'SUPER K'?

Or at least that's what the press was saying about him until a month or so ago. Then his "dynamic personality" seemed to undergo a transformation. "He's under too much strain"; "His ego has gotten too big," say this same media.

Since his threat to resign this week, the ins and outs of his personality have been dissected in dozens of columns and commentaries.

Now, Kissinger may have blown his cool in the way he handled the accusations about

bugging his own staff members. He may have "overreacted" from his own point of view.

But these are very secondary questions. He would easily be forgiven if there were not larger policy differences involved. Wasn't Eisenhower forgiven for his inability to express a clear idea; wasn't Truman forgiven for his vulgarity?

It is Kissinger's role that has undergone a change, not his personality. First of all, there is the question of the Middle East. Kissinger was appointed Secretary of State after it became clear to U.S. capital that Israel alone was not a sufficient base of U.S. influence in the Middle East. It seems more than just a coincidence that a Jewish Secretary of State was chosen to carry out a shift toward the Arab regimes which is interpreted in Zionist quarters as a betrayal of Israel.

Indeed, this shift has brought the downfall of the Meir government and the present spectacle of Nixon being welcomed in Egypt to a well-orchestrated outpouring.

But where does it leave Kissinger now? Having arrived at a settlement in the Middle East (a temporary one, at least), the Nixon administration now enters into a new round of negotiations with the Soviet Union on the question of the detente. But a major reason

why the U.S. wanted the detente in the first place was to enlist the aid of the Soviet revisionists in turning back the Arab Revolution, so that imperialism could stabilize its vast economic empire in the Middle East. Undoubtedly there are now strategists in the ruling circles here who feel this has been accomplished.

## WATERGATE AND DETENTE

The efforts to remove Nixon emanating from the ruling class have united forces to both the left and right of the White House. There are those who are frightened by the growing centralized police state apparatus he was trying to construct, and which has become identified with Watergate. But of

late spokesmen for the rightwing—who couldn't care less about Nixon's fascistic tactics, but who are outspokenly opposed to his plan for detente—have joined the impeachment forces.

In the last month Kissinger's name has been brought into the Watergate issue. Since he more than anyone is considered the very architect of detente, we pose the question: Is this a smokescreen for a shift taking place in the top circles of imperialism against detente? Do they feel they no longer need to agree on mutual cutbacks in arms, as demanded by the Soviet Union in return for its "peace-keeping" effort in the Middle East?

(Continued on page 12)

# Women unionists organize nationwide, found N.Y. unit

By LORRAINE BRESLOW

NEW YORK, June 7—On Monday, June 17, the New York Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) will hold its founding meeting for trade union women in the New York area. The meeting is one of many being planned around the country to establish regional chapters of CLUW and to discuss plans for implementing the goals of the national organization.

The National Coalition for Labor Union Women held its founding conference in Chicago on March 23-24. This remarkable and unprecedented gathering of 3,200 women from trade unions nationwide marked an inspiring entrance of women as a powerful force in the union movement. At that conference a statement of purpose was adopted which reads in part: "The primary purpose of this new national coalition is to unify all union women in a viable organization to determine, first, our common problems and concerns (child care, ERA, equal rights on the job, organizing the unorganized, and involving more women in union leadership positions) and second, to develop action programs within the framework of our unions to deal effectively with our objectives. Through unity of purpose, the Coalition of Labor Union Women will seek to accomplish these goals. . . ."

In addition to discussing these aims, the June 17 meeting in New York will also take up support for the United Farm Workers and plan for two future conferences to take

up organizational questions of structure and election for the New York Chapter.

This writer spoke to Kathi Dorsey, New York Convenor of CLUW and a rank-and-file member of the Union of Telephone Workers. Ms. Dorsey, optimistic about the upcoming meeting, said, "We've held numerous planning meetings, distributed thousands of leaflets to women where they work, sent out mailings to hundreds more, and are working very hard generally to get publicity out for this very important event."

"Our main aim is to bring together thousands of rank-and-file women so that they can become actively involved in CLUW and the struggle for the rights of working women."

Ms. Dorsey stressed the priority in CLUW to support the United Farm Workers in their fight for union recognition and said, "Solidarity with the United Farm Workers will be a major task of the women who want to build CLUW." Right now CLUW is working in conjunction with the farm workers for a demonstration at Hunts Point against scab grapes that are being unloaded there.

Other speakers besides Ms. Dorsey at the meeting will be Betsy Wade from the Newspaper Guild, Mary Maddox from the United Farm Workers, and Eleanor Bailey of the United Postal Workers. The meeting will start at 6:30 at District 65, 13 Astor Place (8th St. and Broadway), 11th floor,



## "He's our Hitler"

From *An American Life: One Man's Road to Watergate*, by Jeb Stuart Magruder:

"(Haldeman aide) Gordon Strachan remarked, 'Liddy's a Hitler, but at least he's our Hitler.'"

## Runs in the family

Time magazine, June 3:

"His (Magruder's) grandfather's career as a New York shipyard executive was ruined in the early 1920s when he was convicted and jailed for misapplication of \$300,000 in bank funds."

## Who needs them, anyway

Reuters, May 18:

"IGUALA, Mex.—This small Mexican town was left without police today after all 45 members of the local force resigned in support of a colleague accused of unlawful killing."

## The Klan in Blue

United Press International, June 3:

"CAMDEN, N.J., June 3—Five Camden patrolmen were indicted today on charges of

shooting or pistol-whipping blacks while doing police work.

"The first of two indictments returned by a Camden County grand jury accused Patrolman Gary Miller, 28 years old, of atrocious assault and battery in connection with an attack on Glen Thompson, 16, of Camden, last March 8. The second indictment charged Patrolmen William Berman, 24; Richard DiRenzo, 21; Richard Williams, 35, and Christopher Yeager, 25, with assaulting four blacks last March 4. Patrolman Yeager is the son of William Yeager, who retired last July as Camden's Public Safety Director.

"The Thompson youth was allegedly beaten after a stolen-car chase in which the police said he pulled a knife on Patrolman Miller's partner, Warren Worrell, 28, in a Camden street. The police said Patrolman Miller shot the youth to protect his partner. The youth was hospitalized and lost a kidney as a result of the shooting.

"Police Chief Harold Melleby said none of the indicted policemen would be suspended, but would be placed on 'non-sensitive duty,' or desk work.

"The four policemen named in the second indictment were charged with beating four blacks one day after the wife of

a city policeman was allegedly raped by a black man."

## England abolishes rent (for the Prince)

Los Angeles Times, May 18:

"LONDON—After having lived all of his 25 years with his parents in Buckingham Palace except when he was away at school, on trips, or serving in the armed forces—Prince Charles finally has taken a country home for himself.

"Called Chevening House, it is a handsome, 17th century, red-brick mansion near Sevenoaks, Kent, about 20 miles southeast of London. It is considerably grander and more commodious than the second-floor, three-room apartment the likeable young bachelor heir to the British throne has been occupying and will retain in Buckingham Palace. Prince Charles will occupy the mansion rent free."

## Protect the environment: eradicate capitalism

Expo '74, held in Spokane, Washington, has as its announced theme "Protection of the Environment." The U.S. exhibit shows plastic insects the size of Volkswagens, to call attention to the pesticide problem, and features a 23-minute environmental film.

The Air Force also has a display booth, but its message is drowned by the roar of B-52 bombers on the landing approach to Fairchild Air Force Base nearby.

A visiting Soviet journalist remarked, "It is a great irony. An environment fair down here and the thing that destroyed the environment of Vietnam up there."

## A cancer on the National Academy of Sciences

New York Post, June 1:

"A warning that oil pollution in sea food may encourage cancer, birth defects and other medical horrors has been censored from a scientific study of oil hazards.

"The 405-page study was prepared by the august National Academy of Sciences, which is supposed to be out of reach of oil politics.

"Yet the cancer warning was deleted like one of President Nixon's expletives from the draft report. It may be only a coincidence that scientists from Shell and Chevron Oil companies helped prepare the report.

"Until it is formally adopted, the study is stamped 'Privileged Information . . . Not for Publication . . . Do not Quote or Cite.'

"There is evidence, declares this deleted passage, that oil pollution found in seafoods causes tumors in mice 'even at low concentrations' and 'may be the significant agents in human cancer.'

"The research suggesting oil pollution possibly could cause cancer was omitted without explanation from the draft report. In its place, a powderpuff statement was substituted that "the effect of oil spills on human health appears to be negligible."

"This infuriated the author of the suppressed section, Dr. James Sullivan of the Center for Science in the Public Interest, the staff chief in charge of preparing the oil pollution report.

"'Certainly,' wrote Sullivan sharply, 'the effects of marine oil pollution on human health should have been the primary concern and focus of this report.'"

# Congress backs down again in face of Nixon offensive

By ANDY STAPP

Presumably Nixon should be on his last legs. The evidence against him (ITT case, milk bribes, obstruction of justice, tax evasion, Howard Hughes bribes, illegal wiretapping, illegal spending of \$17 million on his homes, etc.) is so massive and well documented that it seems impossible to the average person that he could hold onto the White House for one more day.

Forty-four of his aides have been charged with various crimes; twenty-nine of them have pleaded guilty.

Twelve corporations have also pleaded guilty to illegal contributions to Nixon's reelection campaign.

Last week it was revealed that a grand jury had voted 19-0 to name Nixon as an "undicted co-conspirator" in the Watergate coverup conspiracy.

Two days later a federal judge blasted him for obstruction of justice in the trial of John Ehrlichman, who is charged with directing an illegal White House secret police break-in of the office of Dr. Louis Fielding (Ellsberg's psychiatrist).

And in the same week, the Senate Watergate committee leaked a devastating report citing Nixon for receiving a half-million-dollar bribe from two large dairy giants and further accused him of plotting to use the entire federal bureaucracy as a pliant tool to further his own clique interests.

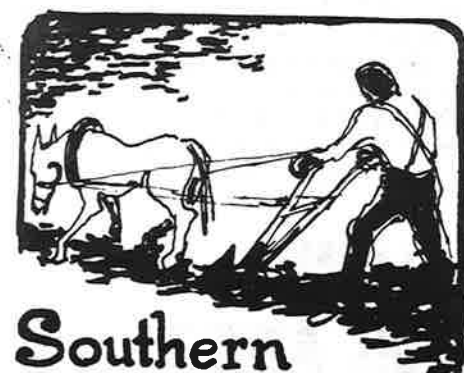
## ARROGANTLY HOLDS ON

Despite all this, Nixon not only refused to resign, but actually left the country for trips to the Middle East and the Soviet Union, with hardly a peep of protest from the Congress which has the responsibility of impeaching him!

Two days before "The Spirit of '76" left for Vienna, Nixon hurled his parting insult. Presidential mouthpiece and lawyer James St. Clair opined, "The President has the view that the Constitution rests in him and not in the court."

Perhaps Louis XIV would agree with this statement, but it will hardly satisfy the American people, who for almost a year have made it clear that they want Nixon out, the sooner the better.

The anger of the masses of people suffering under the ravages of inflation, layoffs, and massive government cutbacks of all social services has found virtually no echo in either the courts or Congress. Their vacillation in the face of the crisis is



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becoming a scandal in itself.

## OPPOSITION TIMID

So far the bourgeois opposition to Nixon has been characterized by loud words but timid actions.

For instance, 3 days after Federal Judge Gerhard Gesell threatened Nixon with contempt of court, he meekly backed down and postponed Ehrlichman's trial, an action that in fact works in Nixon's favor.

Similarly, only 2 weeks after sending Congress a letter saying that Nixon's failure to cooperate was making his special investigation "a farce," Leon Jaworski dropped the inquiry into ITT's \$400,000 bribe to Nixon "for lack of evidence" (evidence the White House refused to supply).

Moreover, the perjury charges against former Attorney General Kleindienst were reduced to a misdemeanor and this crook walked out of court untouched after a hearing where Judge George L. Hart praised him for "a distinguished record in the military and in service of the government of the United States."

His honor suggested that this ultrarightist, who in 1969 stated that antiwar demonstrators "should be rounded up and put in concentration camps," had "a heart too loyal and considerate of the feelings of others."

Kleindienst returned the compliment, offering that "There isn't another country



in the world where persons situated in the highest seats of power would have had the application of justice as occurred here."

Nixon too must have smiled that day, knowing that if Kleindienst had been hit with perjury, he himself would have almost automatically faced the related charge of misprision (failure to report) of a felony, a crime which carries a possible 3 years in jail.

## CASE AGAINST COLSON DROPPED

Jaworski was also mighty considerate of Charles Colson, the most feared and hated of Nixon's top aides.

The entire case against Colson in the

Watergate coverup and the Fielding break-in was dropped in return for a guilty plea on one minor offense.

And just to make sure that no pressure can be put on Colson to tell the truth about the other Nixon aides going on trial next September, Judge Gesell thoughtfully scheduled his sentencing for June 21.

Even St. Clair's boast that Congress will never impeach Nixon has not sufficed to get the Rodino Committee to speed up its snail's pace of meeting 3 days out of the week while "resting" the other 4.

Perhaps they could pass a law extending Nixon's term in office beyond 1976 so they can have more time to deliberate.

Of course, Rodino's reluctance to move more vigorously may be understandable since it was revealed last week that he and other members of the Judiciary Committee had taken money from the very same dairy monopolies whose bribes to Nixon they are "investigating."

This is not to say that the Watergate dispute is not bitter or that Nixon won't eventually be impeached. In fact the forces in collision threaten the very stability of U.S. capitalism itself.

But that stability is more deeply threatened by the insoluble economic problems of a dying imperialist empire. The problems of continued inflation, rising unemployment, and the loss of control over millions of colonial people may feed the struggle within the ruling class, but at the same time they also overshadow it.

These more fundamental weaknesses must inevitably bring the masses into motion even if the internal fight within the ruling class is carried on in a manner calculated to exclude the intervention of the working class and oppressed peoples.

# Supreme Court rules against class action suits

By BOB DOBROW

The recent decision of the Supreme Court, which virtually makes impossible the use of class-action suits, is a serious and significant attack on democratic liberties. Its most direct effect will be on the poor and oppressed, who will now be left even more at the mercy of the huge monopolies and of government infringement.

A class-action suit is a legal initiative filed in the interests of a large grouping (or class) of people, as opposed to a singular, individual suit. One example could be a case against AT&T for exorbitant rates in the name of all its customers as opposed to an individual customer filing her or his own suit. Or a prisoner might petition for the right of all prisoners to receive uncensored mail, as opposed to him- or herself personally.

The Supreme Court, the final arbiter of ruling class justice, ruled that in any class action involving monetary damages, all the members of the class represented would have to be notified, with the cost of notification borne by those initiating the suit. Using the above example, it would mean that all of AT&T's customers would have to be notified. (At 100 million people times 10 cents' postage, that would mean a minimum expense of \$10 million!)

Class-action suits have been used in the past in cases involving Con Edison, transit companies, federal prisons, civil rights, abortion cases, and even anti-Nazi protests. Recently, a class action was used effectively to block the New Jersey PATH from issuing a rate increase on mass transit.

Of course, even before the Supreme Court ruling, class actions were very limited and usually dismissed on technical reasons. They were at most a liberal concession. However, they still were available and, in times of division within the ruling class, could be effective.

## WON THROUGH STRUGGLE

The right to use class actions, particularly in civil rights and consumer cases, has been on the books since the Civil Rights Act of 1871. This was granted during one of

the most revolutionary periods of American history, in the wake of the Civil War.

However, after the historic betrayal by the North in 1877, most of the legal gains for Black people that had previously been won were wiped out. (In the betrayal of 1877, the victorious Northern ruling class collaborated with the ex-slave-owning whites against the revolutionary Black masses.) It took the tremendous power and dynamic of the Black liberation movement



A class action suit was recently successful in blocking a fare hike of the New Jersey PATH trains. Photo: ULA

to once again shake the white ruling class and wring concessions from them.

In 1961, in the heat of the civil rights movement, a successful case in Chicago (Monroe vs. Pack) involving indiscriminate police terror against a Black family once again laid the legal basis for the extensive use of class actions.

## FURTHER SHIFT TO THE RIGHT

Although the recent legal ruling seems only to affect suits involving monetary damages, it nevertheless lays the legal precedent for dismissing all class actions.

repressive policy. It deprives the masses of a basic bourgeois democratic right.

But the use of terror and repression against the people has a contradictory aspect. In a country that has been relatively "peaceful" on the class barricades in recent years, it can bring about a sudden and quite "unexpected" shift in consciousness. It can infuriate the masses even more than it intimidates. In a struggle against this kind of repression, where the judges are openly lining up with the big corporations, the people can see more clearly who the real enemy is.

# Liberation forces refuse to disarm until total independence

By P. MEISNER

JUNE 8—The Portuguese capitalist rulers and their new government headed by General Spinoia are still searching for a way out of a desperate and contradictory position with regard to their African colonies. On the other hand, Portuguese capitalism can no longer sustain the cost of three intense colonial wars, while on the other hand, the Portuguese capitalists cannot afford a complete political and economic withdrawal from the colonies.

In trying to resolve this colonial crisis, the Spinoia government has begun negotiations with the leading liberation movements from Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola. But the strategy of Spinoia (backed by the Socialist and Communist parties) and the Portuguese bourgeoisie is to obtain immediate ceasefires without Portugal's clear commitment to total independence for the three colonies.

Thereafter, the Portuguese negotiators indicate they might yield some form of political independence to Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau (after the holding of phony referendums with Portuguese troops still on African soil), but only with neocolonial (economic) and even territorial concessions, such as Portugal keeping the Cape Verde Islands off the coast of Guinea-Bissau. And there is still doubt whether Spinoia would grant formal independence to the richest of the three colonies, Angola.

## MANEUVERS NOT DECISIVE

However, all the desires and designs of Spinoia and his capitalist masters are not the decisive factor in determining the fate of the Portuguese colonies.

The decisive factor at this time would seem to be the continuing revolutionary determination of the African liberation fighters to free their people from the oppressive colonial regimes. There is still the possibility, also, of a revolutionary offensive by the Portuguese people, along with thousands of the army rank and file who are war weary and fed up with Portuguese colonialism.

Since the April 25 coup led by Spinoia, all the liberation organizations in the Portuguese African colonies have declared their absolute refusal to lay down their arms until total independence has been won. This position was made clear by Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front) in a statement issued by its president, Samora Machel, on June 2:

"We are not going to discuss independence with the Portuguese. That is our inalienable right. Our position on this is clear. The Portuguese must negotiate with Frelimo to study the mechanism of trans-

mitting power to the Mozambiquan people and the leadership of Frelimo."

## FRELIMO REJECTS CEASEFIRE

In negotiations held last week in neighboring Zambia between the "Socialist" Portuguese Foreign Minister Mario Soares and Frelimo representatives, Soares blamed Frelimo for not agreeing to an immediate ceasefire so as to "save lives on both sides." What the "Socialist" minister forgot is that the responsibility for the loss (or in many cases, massacre) of lives rests solely on the presence of Portuguese troops on Mozambiquan soil.

Within 24 hours of Soares' June 7 departure from his "unsuccessful" negotiations in Zambia, Spinoia's military junta ordered a general troop alert in Mozambique to put down, if necessary, mass demonstrations calling for the ouster of the Portuguese imperialists.

The Spinoia government has also been conducting negotiations with the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) in London. Even though the PAIGC has been recognized as the legitimate government of Guinea-Bissau by some 90 countries, Spinoia is only proposing "self-determination" for Guinea-Bissau through a "referendum" (leaving the Cape Verde Islands in the hands of Portugal), rather than total independence and a complete withdrawal of Portuguese military forces, as demanded by the PAIGC.

## PAIGC DENOUNCES MANEUVER

Yesterday, PAIGC representatives threatened to call off the negotiations in London when they learned that a force of African and Portuguese mercenaries obviously tied to Lisbon was being readied to set up a phony independent regime in Guinea-Bissau. A communique signed by Aristides Pereira, Secretary-General of the PAIGC, said the mercenary force was en route to Bissau in two ships and was planning to seize the city with the help of black units of the Portuguese army. Consequently, the negotiations in London have been postponed until June 13.

Angola, rich in agricultural and mineral products, is Portuguese imperialism's prize colony and of greatest interest to Portugal's U.S. backers. And while Lisbon must accept "eventual" political independence for Angola, the problem for Spinoia is to keep Portugal's economic foot in a neocolonial type of regime.

But there is an even more powerful force at work in maintaining Angola as at least an economic neocolony—and that is U.S. imperialism, led by Gulf Oil's hundred-million-dollar operation in Cabinda. This

explains why Spinoia, backed by Washington and Wall Street, will resist longer in yielding Angola any independence.

## MPLA VOWS CONTINUED STRUGGLE

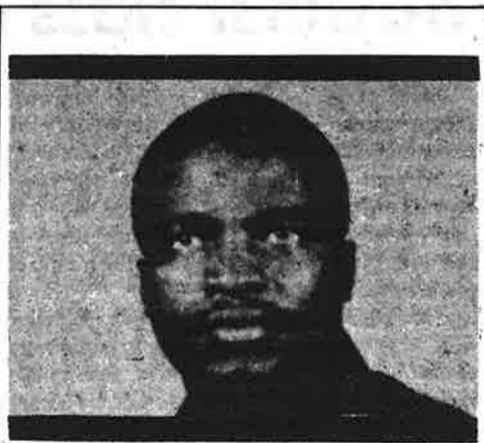
But Spinoia's strategy in Angola has not fooled the liberation fighters in that colony. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has stated that it has always been ready to negotiate with the new



government in Lisbon but that nothing short of total independence would be acceptable to the Angolan people. Otherwise, the MPLA "declares that it will continue the armed struggle until complete independence."

As the negotiations between the Spinoia government and the African liberation movements proceed, the struggles to oust Portuguese colonialism have not stopped for one moment. Strikes, street demonstrations, and scores of guerrilla actions in all three colonies threaten Lisbon's rule more than ever.

The Portuguese imperialists are a dying ruling class, only barely surviving with U.S. imperialist aid (especially through NATO operations). The liberation of the three colonies is close to becoming a reality, and the struggling African masses will soon convince the Portuguese rulers of it.



Many Black militants in the U.S. take African names to identify with their heritage and with the liberation struggles there. But this man, Commander Spartacus Monimambu of Angola's MPLA, took his name from a German slave who in ancient times led a historic revolt against the Roman overlords. What a stirring confirmation of the belief in international solidarity and the unity of all oppressed!

## KNOW YOUR RULING CLASS!

# Mellon's billions engulf Africa

By SHARON SHELTON

Anyone who is rich worked hard for their money, right?

Wrong.

Take Paul Mellon, for instance. His stupendous family fortune has been estimated at nearly \$10 billion. It is based mostly on vast Gulf Oil holdings in Angola and throughout the world; on Alcoa and its many subsidiaries; on Carborundum; and on the powerful Mellon National Bank & Trust Company.

Mellon has mansions in New York City; Washington, D.C.; Cape Cod; Antigua island; and Upperville, Virginia. Hundreds of thousands of people work for him.



Nothing short of independence is acceptable to the fighting for it! Here, in 1970, Guinea-Bissau liberators after colonialists fled.

# Nato & U.S. push back that activate

By AL LONG

With only 9 million people, the lowest average income in Europe, and almost no indigenous industry, Portugal does not seem the most likely candidate to be able to wage three colonial wars in Africa simultaneously. If it were not for one factor, the Portuguese presence in Africa would have ended long ago.

That factor is NATO—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—which single-handedly props up the entire Portuguese war machine and economy. And NATO, in turn, is propped up by the U.S. military and U.S. capital to an enormous extent.

Under the NATO charter, arms supplied to NATO countries are not allowed to be used south of the Tropic of Cancer. But this is true only on paper. Until recently, all the NATO members have pretended not to notice that Portugal uses U.S. airplanes, napalm, and ships; French helicopters and jets; Belgian automatic rifles; British ships; and West German jets in its futile attempts to defeat the African liberation movements.

In addition to direct arms supplies, the NATO countries have also financed the Portuguese colonial wars through increased imports from Portugal and through huge loans by the U.S. and West Germany. The NATO partners even established Portugal's small arms industry, which operates under foreign licenses and control.

But Portugal is not the first NATO member to use NATO arms and equipment in imperialist wars. From the very beginning of the alliance, it has extended beyond its "legal" boundaries whenever the interests of the imperialists so dictated.

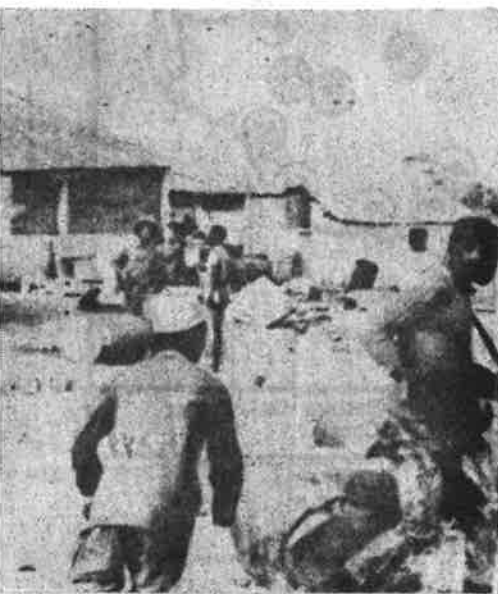
NATO backing was crucial to the U.S. in its aggression against Korea—only a year after NATO was founded. The British used NATO weapons in armed interventions in Kenya, Malaya, Northern Borneo, and



CHICAGO, June 2—The unfolding revolutionary events in Africa and in Portugal were felt in downtown Chicago yesterday, as over 25 members and friends of Youth Against War & Fascism brought a message of international solidarity to tens of thousands of shoppers.

A positive response greeted the chants of "African land for the African people" and "Portugal-NATO, out now; Support the struggle in Guinea-Bissau." The need of Portuguese workers and of the African liberation movements to continue their struggle against the capitalist regime of Portugal was capsulized in the rhythmic calls for "Down with Spinoia, liberate Angola" and "Down with the Portuguese military clique, self-determination for Mozambique!"





to the African people and they will continue liberation fighters seize a Portuguese camp

## buttons te Portugal

Sarawak. In 1956, NATO backed the British-French-Israeli attack against Egypt. Belgium used NATO arms in the Congo, as did the Dutch and the French in Indochina. The French used NATO-equipped regiments in Algeria. And, of course, the United States had the full political backing of the NATO countries when it first embarked on the war in Vietnam.

It was from NATO bases in Europe that the U.S. launched the notorious spy flights over the Soviet Union, and more recently it was from NATO bases in Greece and the Azores that the U.S. armed the Israelis during the October War, in spite of the objections of nearly all the NATO members.

### NATO IN ANGOLA, 1961

So there should be little surprise that when the liberation struggle began in Angola in 1961, the first troops the Portuguese sent were NATO-assigned divisions, carrying NATO-supplied weapons.

Actually, NATO's involvement in the Portuguese colonies extends far beyond the military sphere. In Angola, for instance, coffee is practically the only resource exploited by Portuguese companies. Angolan oil is claimed by French and U.S. companies. Angolan diamonds are taken by a South African-Belgian-American consortium. The Krupp industries of West Germany own Angola's rich iron deposits. The cotton goes to Belgium, and South Africa controls fishing rights. West German companies are in control of uranium deposits recently discovered in Angola.

In Mozambique, Texaco, Gulf, and other U.S. oil companies own the oil rights. The coal of Mozambique goes to West Germany and Belgium. The French have huge match factories, and General Electric is one of the companies that will profit most from the Cabora Bassa Dam.

These facts prove Portugal's real

million to "needy" schools like Harvard, Yale, and St. Johns, he's given away hundreds of paintings, whole libraries, and once even one of his mansions. Handily, not only does his gift giving make him look good, but it hasn't cost him a cent, providing convenient and even lucrative tax write-offs.

That is, all except for the illegal \$100,000 donation he gave to Nixon's 1972 reelection campaign. That one he couldn't write off. It came from the bottom of his heart.

While leisure-loving Paul Mellon likes to fill his life with art and "philanthropy," his enormous empire is built daily on the brutal exploitation of those people who do work, such as the masses of people in Angola where Mellon's Gulf Oil rakes in millions.

Angola is important to Gulf Oil. Especially in Cabinda, an oil-rich area separated from the northern part of the territory by the Congo River, Gulf has sunk in its tentacles with investments of over \$200

# Portuguese revolution deepens despite reformist brake on workers' struggle

By DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

The massive strike wave that swept Portugal after the downfall of the hated fascist regime seems to have subsided, but has the explosion of revolutionary energy behind it begun to ebb? The answer appears to be no.

The workers have gone back to their jobs only because of extreme pressures put on them by the new government headed by Gen. Antonio de Spínola. A major factor in this back-to-work move has been the Portuguese Communist Party, which has branded the strikes as fascist inspired, and has even gone so far as to say that the workers must build up the Portuguese (capitalist!) economy before there can be any significant wage increases. The Socialist Party, also in the bourgeois government, has added its voice to the campaign.

But the workers themselves must know that their grievances are not fascist inspired—this is a vile slander! The strikes are a genuine response to the abysmally low wages and terrible working conditions that are the heritage of 48 years of fascist rule. If the workers have for the time being obeyed the government, it can only be for lack of a better strategy at the moment.

### WHY TEXTILE WORKERS STRUCK

A strike at one of Portugal's biggest textile plants, the Fabrica Simoes in Lisbon, gives an example of the militancy and initiative shown by the workers in the first weeks after the overthrow of Caetano.

On May 15, some 1,200 workers, 75 percent of them women, struck and occupied the factory, demanding a wage hike of 1,000 escudos a month (about \$40). According to the June 7 British weekly Militant (organ of the youth of the Labor Party), the average wage of the women workers was only 1,600 escudos a month, or about \$15 for each 6-day week!

One worker showed a reporter her pay check for 2 weeks' work. After deductions for taxes and meals in the company

relationship to the imperialist exploitation of Africa. The Portuguese are nothing more than mercenaries, hired by the U.S. and Western European companies to do more cheaply what their own governments would be unable to do directly.

The NATO governments don't just support Portugal—they are the ones who are really conducting the colonial wars. And the U.S. government, acting on behalf of the most powerful corporations in the world, is at the head of them all, waging a war against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, and using Portugal and NATO as tools in that war.

million. Dominating Angola's economy for the past 10 years, the huge oil monopoly just this year announced it was planning even further expansion of its operations there.

Of course, "benefactor" Mellon is far too busy as a patron of the arts to ponder the source of his millions and billions. He sees no reason to question that the same land that provides him with such fabulous oil revenues has a per capita income for Blacks of an outrageous \$60 a year. So long as the money rolls in, Mellon does not ask questions. He prefers to leave the more sordid tasks of running his empire—the cutthroat maneuvers, the brutal suppression of whole populations—to others.

Is it any wonder that the Mellon family has hired a public relations firm to keep news of the family and its fortune out of the papers? Paul Mellon knows only too well that he must hide his real face from the masses of workers he exploits to keep them from recognizing their enemy.

cafeteria, she took home \$16!

This is why the workers occupied the Simoes plant. By 3 a.m. the next morning, representatives of the "Junta for National Salvation"—the so-called "democratic" group of army officers who had seized power—came to the factory and talked with management. They then asked the workers to be "calm and civil and take note of the problems of the economy."

The strike continued.

After electing their own representatives, the workers sent a delegation to the Ministry of Labor, which is now headed by Communist Party member Avelino Pacheco Gonsalves. After a 7-hour discussion with the government and their bosses, they were offered a 15 percent raise, or about 5 cents an hour.

They refused the offer.

The workers discovered that the directors of their plant had been paying themselves between \$1,200 and \$1,600 a month. So they decided to get rid of the managing directors and run the factory themselves.

These are the workers who are being accused of "ultraleftism" by the reformists in Portugal. These are the workers who are being warned that their strikes may produce "economic chaos" and pave the way for the fascists to return.

### HUNGRY FOR REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS

But there are, at latest count, 53 political parties in Portugal today. The workers, the students, and the soldiers are hungry for revolutionary ideas and experience. A Briton in Lisbon reported on May 28:

"Everywhere there are groups of workers, soldiers, housewives, professional people, young and old, black and white, heatedly discussing, absorbing the real meaning of the revolution which has swept 48 years of Fascism into the rubbish bin.

"Crowds of pedestrians stop to read avidly any little broadsheet stuck up on the walls by any leftwing political group or sect. There are big queues at any newspaper kiosk. Demonstrations are taking place every hour of the day—protests at the continued imprisonment of the Cuban captain Penalta, protests at the arrival of a new Brazilian ambassador with a background in the secret police, street-corner meetings, above all, workers' strike marches.

"New strikes break out every day—today the bakery workers, yesterday the buses, the day before the Metro. Old official Government or Sindicato buildings are

occupied by workers' political parties or the new trade unions.

"A red banner proudly proclaims the creation of a 'free construction workers' union,' demanding big reforms in wages, hours, holidays and conditions. The bakery workers have stuck up posters demanding nationalization of the bakeries: 'We want to be employed by the state.'

"Everywhere people are angrily recounting the tortures and repression of the old regime, greedily and exuberantly devouring the fruits of political freedom."

It is at this time of sweeping advances in revolutionary consciousness that the reformist parties are assuming the "responsibility" for stabilizing capitalism.

### END THE COLONIAL WARS!

Just as bad as the moves to dampen the strike movement are the concessions to the bourgeoisie on the question of freedom for the African colonies. It was the long-drawn-out colonial war in Africa that brought Portuguese fascism to its knees in the first place. The progressive parties in Portugal should be thanking their revolutionary comrades in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola for their new freedoms—not the bunch of fascist generals led by Spínola who merely recognized the handwriting on the wall!

But the reformist parties that have joined Spínola's government have gone on their knees before these brass hats, telling the workers that only the "armed forces" can hold back a fascist counterattack.

If they were talking about the rank-and-file soldiers acting in solidarity with the workers, that would be one thing. But they are talking about the army under the discipline of a bourgeois officer corps—the same kind of army that drowned the Chilean workers and peasants in blood last fall, after having also been praised as a democratic buttress against the rightwing.

But despite the support given Spínola's strategy in Africa by the CP and SP, there is a growing struggle in Portugal to end the colonial wars. On May 25, a demonstration of 6,000 workers and soldiers swept through Lisbon demanding the immediate withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Africa.

And despite the abandonment of class struggle by the reformists, the revolution continues to develop in Portugal, spurred on by the whip of starvation wages and cruel inflation.

There is still time for the emergence of a genuinely communist leadership with the will to represent the revolutionary masses in their struggle for power.



Portuguese workers, soldiers, and sailors march to demand immediate independence for African colonies. "Demonstrations are taking place every hour of the day—protests at the continued imprisonment of the Cuban captain Penalta. . . street-corner meetings, above all, workers' strike marches."

# U.S. bosses planning to exploit Puerto Rican copper

By GREGG BATSON

Puerto Rico, the colonial "autonomous Commonwealth of the U.S." which has suffered from years of domination and exploitation of its land by large U.S. corporations, is being set up for a new rip-off: copper.

The Economic Development Administration of the colonial Puerto Rican government held meetings last month with U.S. companies promising that the exploitation of the precious mineral can begin in September. Included in the negotiations was David Ackerman, Vice President of American Metal Climax (AMEX) and one of the presidents of Kennecott Copper Corporation (which helped sponsor the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile).

## PUERTO RICO RULING CLASS SELLS OUT WORKERS

In a report given to the Puerto Rican Congress, Governor Rafael Hernandez Colon mentioned the fact that the copper deposits in the Utuado-Lares-Adjuntas area had a potential yield established at 1.5 million tons per year.

"The objective of my administration," he said in his report, "is to make 1974 a year of final decisions on exploiting the mines under conditions most favorable to the country." Looking back at a slew of "conditions most favorable to the country," we can interpret this hollow statement to mean: an unconditional handing over of the mineral wealth, incredible tax breaks for the U.S. companies, and a license to exploit the labor and dignity of the Puerto Rican people.

Being the colonial agent of imperialism, Colon represents U.S. business interests in their greed for profits, not the

Puerto Rican people who need to survive with dignity.

## PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE FEAR FOR THEIR COUNTRY

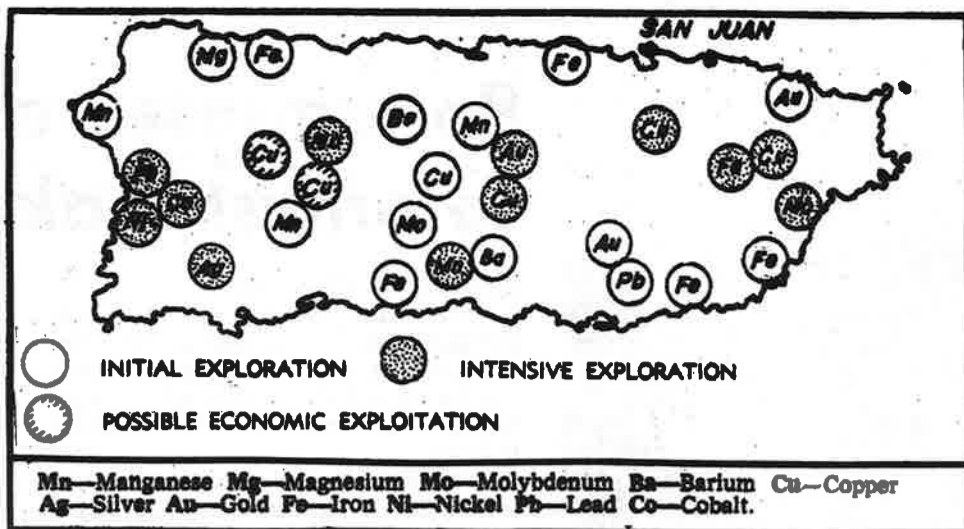
Looking back historically at colonialism, we can see that the colonizing country always leaves the colonized country decimated after it has extracted all its wealth. All one has to do is pick up a newspaper to see that U.S. businesses in their own country have no respect for the land, water, and air. You can imagine the amount of respect they give to another country.

A student of mining in Puerto Rico said this: "The most terrifying thing is that although these projects or exploitation plans would start off in the Utuado area, in a little while they would spread all over the country and affect huge sections of land and water everywhere." AMEX and Kennecott Copper Corp. have obtained rights of mining exploitation covering half of Puerto Rico.

Add to this the already extensive exploitation of other minerals, including manganese, magnesium, barium, silver, gold, iron, lead, and cobalt. Also, 13 percent of the arable land on the island is used by the U.S. military. So there can be no doubt of the colonial relationship between the U.S. and Puerto Rico.

## INDEPENDENCE GROUPS FIGHT BACK

Groups advocating independence and other progressives have been continually exposing and denouncing the actions of the colonial government. The people are quickly realizing who the enemy is and it can only be a matter of time before they will claim the resources that are necessary for their survival.



# Brazil: U.S.-backed model for repression

By NICK DE FREITAS

When the recent coup in Portugal ousted the fascist dictator Caetano, he quickly asked to be extradited to Brazil, where the military junta gladly offered him political asylum. Few were surprised by this, since it is a well-known fact that a mass murderer like Caetano differs very little from the barbaric and inhuman "gorillas" in Brazil.

Ten years ago, a U.S.-engineered coup overthrew the nationalist-leaning Goulart government of Brazil and replaced it with a pro-imperialist rightwing military regime. Since then, the vast Brazilian nation has been opened for plunder. Within a few years, Brazil was transformed into a haven for profit-hungry multinational companies.

Parasites on Wall Street enthusiastically cite Brazil as an example of a place with ideal investment conditions, where superprofits can be reaped off the backs and soil of the Brazilian people. To militarists, Brazil is the model for ruling a nation through repression and terror.

## INDIANS MASSACRED

One example of the torture and misery brought by the so-called multinational companies can be seen in Brazil's vast Amazon basin hinterland. There the Trans-Amazon highway, a road network extending over 3,000 miles moves exports all the way from the Peruvian border across the Amazon basin to harbors on Brazil's northeast coast. Its construction has brought destruction to Indians in the interior. The Xingu National Park once contained more than 2,000 Indians belonging to 14 different tribes. A Newsweek report described their extermination:

"When one of the roads reached the reservation it cut right through the reserve. Now helpless before the diseases of civilization—tuberculosis, measles, malaria and alcoholism—the Indians of Xingu stand on the edge of extermination."

But the destruction of the native Indian population has not been merely "accidental," as this report implies; it has been calculated and effective. Under the genocidal "Indian Protection Service," the Brazilian junta has acted, Newsweek admits, as "an active accomplice in the decimation of the tribes." Bloody massacres, attacks on settlements from the air with dynamite, the extermination of others with gifts of food laced with arsenic, the supplying of blankets infected with smallpox, and the dropping of poison in the water supply have all been documented.

## PEASANTS BOUGHT AND SOLD

New settlers in the Amazon basin, if they are poor, fare almost as badly. The French Press Agency reported in 1970 that 210 peasants were arrested in the municipality of Belem do Soa Francisco where they were "to be sold for \$18 a head to rural land owners in Minas Gerais state."

The sale of workers to rich land owners in other areas continues. Drought has driven ruined peasants and starving farm workers into the tender mercies of the plantation owners and their foremen. For 50 cents a day, states a report in the San Francisco Chronicle, they work from sunup to sun-

down, fed just enough to keep going.

## FOREIGN CAPITAL BENEFITS

For whose benefit have slavery and misery come to the Amazon? Among those who have found happiness in the jungles, reported Newsweek, "are the giant multinational companies that are exploiting the area's riches. Five years ago geologists of the U.S. Steel Co. located what are believed to be the world's largest iron ore reserves in a range of hills between Xingu, Tocantins and Araquai rivers.

"Elsewhere in the Amazon Alcoa is mining bauxite, Bethlehem Steel is working on a manganese deposit and W. R. Grace & Co. is taking tin from the earth. King Ranch is clearing thousands of acres for cattle ranching, while Georgia Pacific and Bruynzeel of Holland are gearing up for huge timber operations."

It is obvious that the Trans-Amazon highway network serves chiefly to haul the riches of the earth and forests away to the ports and towns for export.

Today a total of 220 foreign companies are operating in Brazil. In 1973 they exported 43 percent of the total manufactured goods produced in the country. While foreign investments, according to the Central Bank of Brazil, total nearly \$4 billion, the national debt has soared to more than \$13 billion!

The main source of direct foreign investment is the United States, with \$1.3 billion, 37.4 percent of the total. This dependency on foreign capital means, of course, dependency on imperialist nations, especially the U.S.

## MORE POVERTY, INFLATION

The results of Brazil's economic policy can be seen in the official 1970 census on the distribution of national income. The 5 percent of the population making up the national bourgeoisie received 36.5 percent of the income. On the bottom was 80 percent of the population, mainly workers and peasants, receiving 36.7 percent while the remaining 15 percent, the petty bourgeoisie, received 27 percent.

By 1972, a worker had to put in 113.25 hours of work a month just to buy food for a family of four, while in 1965 only 87.20 hours were necessary.

It is only through a vicious policy of terror that the Brazilian regime is able to continue with its bankrupt economic policy. Millions of dollars are spent to train its military forces to violently repress the discontented workers. The United States is actively backing this policy of social terror. The Agency for International Development has trained more than 100,000 goons of the regime. It has devoted special attention to the neofascist Death Squadron. It actively worked on the creation of the Bandeirantes groups and the Command for Operations and Internal Defense.

But despite the massive repression and the millions spent on "internal security," it's inevitable that the mass of workers and peasants who now live in misery will eventually rise up and destroy the rotten capitalist system that has oppressed them for so long.



The seventh contingent of the Venceremos Brigade showed their revolutionary solidarity by helping to build a new town near Havana! Photo: Granma

# Venceremos Brigadistas aid Cuba's socialist construction

NEW YORK, June 6—Seventy-six North Americans, making up the seventh contingent of the Venceremos Brigade, landed at Kennedy Airport here yesterday after doing 2 months of voluntary construction work in revolutionary Cuba.

The Brigadistas, who came from all across the U.S., and included a delegation from Youth Against War & Fascism, worked on the construction of Los Naranjos, a new town, about 30 miles from Havana. This center for dairy workers will, when finished, have 400 houses, several apartment buildings, a hospital, a primary school, a day care center, and recreation facilities.

This showing of revolutionary solidarity with the Cuban people and the Cuban revolution is also a blow at the U.S.-imposed economic and information blockade that has been in effect since 1960. During the last 5 years the Venceremos Brigade has contributed towards Cuban economic development by cutting sugar cane, doing agricultural work in citrus orchards, and constructing peoples' housing.

Much to the dismay of the U.S. government, the information blockade has been broken as well. The frustration of the

government in its efforts to keep the lid on information about Cuba was apparent at the airport. In an attempt to intimidate the returning Brigadistas and to remind them that the U.S. government did not approve of their action, customs officials seized passports from 59 returning Brigade members. The officials were so determined to make a show of force that they took the passports of seven tourists who had not even been in Cuba.

The Justice Department quickly issued an apology and a denial that orders to seize the passports came from the State Department, contradicting what customs officials had said.

Support for the Cuban revolution from revolutionary and progressive organizations and individuals will continue in the form of future Venceremos Brigades, including Los Venceremos, a children's brigade this summer. And Brigadistas not only will continue to materially aid in the development of socialist Cuba, but will bring back an internationalist spirit to the working people in this country in our struggle to defeat imperialism.

# U.S. seeks to divert issue of Palestinian homeland

By NAOMI COHEN

NEW YORK, June 10—Last month, Syria and Israel announced they had reached an agreement on the separation of their troops on the Golan Heights after over a month of intensive negotiations carried on by U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger. This agreement, the first between Israel and Syria since 1948, followed a similar disengagement agreement between Egypt and Israel earlier in the year, also negotiated by Kissinger.

These agreements, particularly in the light of U.S. imperialism's deep involvement, have signaled a new shift in the policies of the Arab governments and pose a great problem for the Palestinian people, who have been systematically excluded from all the negotiations.

The announcement of the Syria-Israel pact has, however, brought into bold relief the question of the fate of the Palestinian people. This question has in reality been the central issue in the struggle between Israel and the Arabs since the very inception of the Israeli state, which expelled the Palestinian people from their homeland in 1948. Today, the question can no longer be ignored or suppressed. The Palestinian liberation movement has forced the issue out into the open, so that it is now generally agreed that the plight of the Palestinian people must be resolved, in one way or another, before there can be any kind of peace in the Middle East.

## WHAT SOLUTIONS ARE POSED?

Since the creation of Israel, the Tel Aviv rulers, with the backing of their U.S. sponsors, have tried to ignore the existence of the Palestinian people and their right to live in Palestine, claiming that the Arab governments should take care of them. But the Palestinian people, who feel a strong national identity, have not allowed themselves to be completely dispersed or forgotten. Particularly in the last decade, their struggle has taken on the character of a national liberation movement that cannot be suppressed by mere military or terrorist tactics, as the U.S.-backed Israeli regime has tried to do.

This movement has also been strengthened by the support it has won among the masses in the entire Arab world. This base of support has forced even the most reactionary puppet regimes, like that of King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, to give financial support and some lip service to the cause of the Palestinians.

While in the past, Washington has been content to use Israel as a military base for striking out against any revolutionary developments in the area, the October war last year and the ensuing oil boycott forced the U.S. policy makers to take a sober look at their Mideast strategy. Secretary of State Kissinger's month-long negotiations and President Nixon's trip to the Mideast next week (the first by a U.S. president since Roosevelt went there during World War II) are all signs that the U.S. imperialists recognize the need to deal more directly with the Arab regimes.

On their part, the leaders of Egypt and Syria have shown an increasing willingness to compromise with the U.S., not only in negotiations with Israel, but also on the question of increased U.S. aid and invitations to foreign capitalists to invest in their countries. (Iraq and Libya alone have voiced their disapproval of the pacts with Israel.)

## A PALESTINIAN STATE?

While in the midst of all these shifting relations the Palestinians have been shut out; nevertheless, the question of their status has undoubtedly been a topic of long discussions behind closed doors. The emerging strategy of the U.S., in collaboration with Egypt and Syria (and, it appears, with the approval of the USSR), seems to be to set up a Palestinian mini-

state on the West Bank and in Gaza. The creation of such a state, they hope, will defuse the issue of the rights of the Palestinians to a homeland and will remove the Palestinians from the Arab states, particularly Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt, which border on Israel.

The question of whether to accept such a "solution" was debated for 8 days by the delegates to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) meeting in Cairo. The Palestinian movement is faced with a particularly serious situation since Egypt and Syria, once considered to be the mainstays of support for the movement, have chosen to negotiate with the U.S. and Israel over their heads. The strengthening of the U.S. position in the Mideast in recent weeks has also shored up the position of all the Arab reactionary regimes that would gladly abandon the cause of the Palestinian

people for improved relations with U.S. imperialism.

This critical situation resulted in a sharp debate at the PLO meeting over whether to attend the Geneva conference on the Mideast and/or negotiate a settlement with Israel. After 8 days of heated debate, on June 8, the Palestine National Council voted to send its leaders to the Geneva talks provided that the national rights of the Palestinian people are recognized as an issue at the conference. In effect, this means that the Palestinians are demanding to be invited as a national delegation and would raise the question of setting up a Palestinian state on the West Bank and in Gaza.

Yasir Arafat headed the faction that argued in favor of participating in the Geneva talks in order to demand a Palestinian state. He argued that failure to participate would shut the PLO out of any negotiated settlement at a time when Israel is being forced to withdraw from territory seized in previous wars.

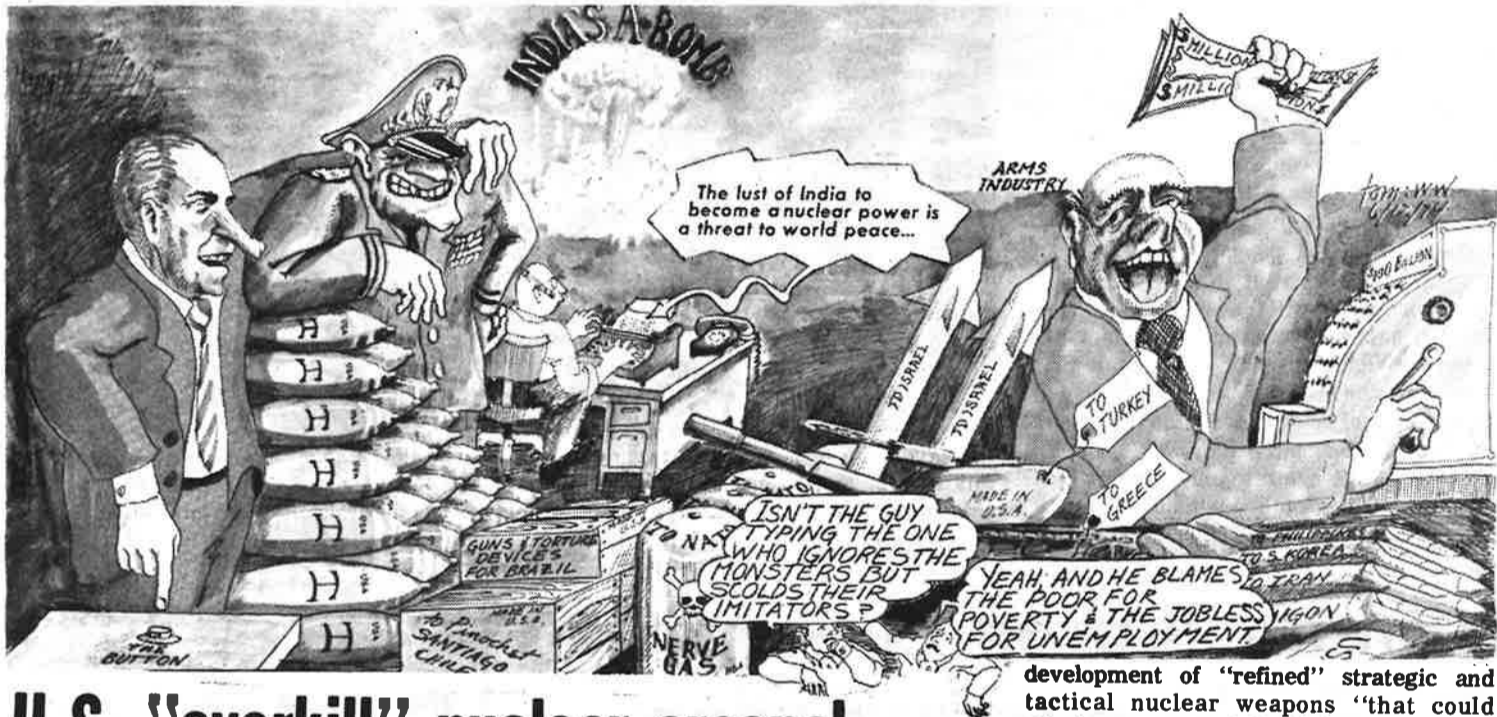
The opposition to this faction was led by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), headed by Dr. George

Habash. The PFLP labeled Arafat's position as "defeatist" and one that would abandon the struggle to create a secular state in all of Palestine (now called Israel), where Moslems, Jews, and Christians could live on the basis of equality.

If a Palestinian delegation does go to Geneva (they have not been invited yet), it is clear that they would be forced to settle for a compromise solution only if the leaders of the Arab states betray their cause in favor of settling with the U.S. and Israel.

But even if a compromise is negotiated in Geneva, the outcome of the struggle in the Middle East will ultimately be decided by the Arab and Palestinian masses themselves. Their intervention in the struggle for liberation from imperialist domination brought the U.S. and Israel to the bargaining table in the first place, and forced the issue of the Palestinian people out into the open for debate.

Whatever deals are made in Geneva, no signature on paper will mean anything if the negotiations fail to reflect the needs and will of the great majority of people whose lives are to be affected.



# U.S. "overkill" nuclear arsenal belies furor over India's A-bomb

By BOB McCUBBIN

Since May 18, when India became the sixth nation to successfully detonate a nuclear device, much has been said in the bourgeois press about the grave danger posed by nuclear proliferation. It is being said that at least 9 other countries, and perhaps as many as 23, have or will soon have the potential for developing nuclear weapons.

The image projected by the media to the masses is of a world besieged by "second-class" nations belligerently threatening the stability of international relations with excessive demands backed up by the threat of nuclear war, of nuclear blackmail by otherwise powerless countries, of nuclear accidents resulting in mass death and destruction.

But is this where the real danger comes from? Wasn't it the U.S. that inaugurated the holocaust of nuclear mass death less than a month after its first atomic test at Alamogordo, N.M., in the summer of 1945?

In August 1945, in spite of overwhelming evidence of the imminent collapse of the Japanese military, the U.S. dropped atom bombs on the Japanese working class cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing and maiming hundreds of thousands of civilians and reducing these cities to rubble. Though most people in the U.S. were fooled into believing that these acts of genocide and mass terror were necessary (and even humane!), the superoppressed and exploited people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America had a somewhat different interpretation.

For them the bombs meant that the U.S. imperialists now had a means to impose

their reactionary will against the national liberation movements and the socialist countries with a minimum of effort and a maximum of repressive effect.

## USSR BROKE U.S. A-BOMB MONOPOLY

It was only in 1949, when the Soviet Union successfully detonated an atomic bomb, that the U.S. nuclear monopoly was broken. This event created nothing short of hysteria in U.S. ruling class circles. The world bully boy now faced the prospect of atomic retaliation should he dare to rain atomic death on the Soviet Union or its allies. Soviet nuclear capabilities made the possible use of U.S. atom bombs against revolutionary China and Korea much less likely.

And were the world's masses of poor people appalled when People's China exploded its first atomic weapon in 1964? On the contrary, they applauded it. At that time the Chinese bomb represented a tremendous defensive advance against U.S. imperialism, which could not tolerate China's own profound revolution or its generous and widespread aid to Vietnam and many other national liberation struggles.

## U.S. IS BIGGEST PROLIFERATOR

But speaking of proliferation, why isn't this subject raised when the U.S. ships atomic weapons to its NATO allies in West Germany and Turkey, or to Israel, Taiwan, and other U.S. garrison states? And isn't it proliferation when the Pentagon amasses enough atomic weapons to incinerate the whole planet many times over? Wasn't it a case of proliferation when the U.S. announced, 10 days after the Indian explosion, that it was opening a whole new field of

development of "refined" strategic and tactical nuclear weapons "that could eliminate a single industrial installation or destroy a tank concentration"?

Of course, it's like the argument that the pigs in major U.S. cities used when they first introduced mace and other "special" weapons in the middle 1960s: Wouldn't you rather be sprayed with mace than shot at with a gun? The oppressed communities responded with more than a touch of irony: Then are the police going to throw away their guns?

No, and neither is the Pentagon dismantling any of its atomic weapons. It's adding to them with a \$22.6 billion-a-year budget for weapons research and procurement.

## BILLIONS FOR BOMBS, NONE FOR FOOD

Of course, India, along with the other capitalist atom powers, the U.S., France, and Britain, is not about to use its new-found military resource in the interests of the world's exploited or even in the interests of its own terribly oppressed population. Billions have already been spent on developing the bomb, while Indian masses continue to lose ground in their struggle against starvation. It is a criminal government which answers the threat of mass starvation by flaunting an atomic bomb. The "prestige" of it all may please India's bourgeoisie, but the 2 million railroad workers who were forced back to work last month at starvation wages and their 600 million class sisters and brothers are not quite so ecstatic.

The World Bank has stated that India will need \$12 billion to avoid mass starvation within the next 5 years. The U.S. bankers who provided billions for India's profitable atomic energy industry (the basis for India's ability to build the bomb) are hemming and hawing about emergency food aid and "unprofitable" loans.

India's people need socialism and they need it soon. Onward with the proliferation of proletarian revolution!

# Conference in Canada hails 5th anniversary of PRG

By JOEL MEYERS

MONTREAL, Quebec, June 9—A friendship meeting today ended a 3-day conference here called to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG).

The conference was sponsored by the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in Canada (AVPC) and was attended by over 600 people, mostly representatives of the United States, Quebec, and Canadian anti-war movements. Also in attendance were a number of Chileans, Brazilians, Zimbabwians, Haitians, and other nationals showing their solidarity with the Indochinese and representing liberation and resistance movements around the world.

At a press conference Friday night, AVPC representatives explained some of the repressive measures being carried out by the Canadian government against Vietnamese living in Canada. Among the most dangerous of these measures was a recent refusal on the part of the Canadian government to renew the visas of Vietnamese students, especially those who had stood out by playing an activist role.

Most, if not all, of the Vietnamese students here are South Vietnamese and have a Saigon visa. If the visas are not renewed, not only will they be expelled from Canada, and a vital means of contact between the Vietnamese and North American populations be broken, but the students will be in danger of being deported to the bloody hands of the Saigon tyranny.

Canada recognizes only the Saigon government in South Vietnam, claiming that diplomatic propriety will not allow it to

recognize the PRG, since both are in the same country. Ottawa does, however, recognize the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), which the Paris Agreements define as forming, together with southern Vietnam, one sovereign entity. Still, Canada has refused to exchange ambassadors with the DRV.

Further, it has insisted that in order to enter the country, PRG diplomats must travel under DRV credentials, thus making a precondition of their entry that they first renounce the legitimacy of the PRG and by implication declare it to be a mere extension of the DRV. Of course, this precondition is not acceptable and makes it impossible for



Aggravated by long years of war and imperialism in Indo-China, deteriorating conditions in this Phnom Penh high school led students to take hostage the Cambodian Minister of Education, Keo Sangkim (rear). The minister and a chief assistant were later killed when Government troops stormed the school.

PRG representatives to enter the country.

The conference served as a basis to plan further actions in solidarity with the Vietnamese in order to mobilize and pressure the U.S. to honor the agreements it signed. Some of the more glaring violations of the agreements are U.S.-Thieu's continued detention, torture, and murder of 200,000 political prisoners who remain hidden away in Saigon's dungeons; the illegal, continuing compulsory press-gang of Vietnamese youths into the pro-imperialist Army of South Vietnam; the use of this ARVN to invade PRG territory; and U.S. guidance, finances, and "advice" in these violations, among many others.

Most important, the agreements specified that there was to take place an election in which the PRG, Saigon, and neutralists were supposed to be allowed to organize political parties to compete for positions in a government of National Concord and Conciliation—that is, to heal the wounds from which the Vietnamese

people have shed so much blood. These neutralists, which the Vietnamese call the "Third Force" in the Saigon-controlled areas, were to play a crucial role in implementing the democratic conditions promised by the agreements. Thieu, however, denies that there is such a Third Force and has a standing policy of imprisoning those whom he calls "criminal neutrals."

The liberation forces, who have stuck scrupulously to the agreements, have been able to successfully defend their territory and to raise tremendously the level of life of the people who live on it, redistributing land, wiping out illiteracy, setting up hospitals, increasing agricultural productivity, rehabilitating the devastated land, and developing global commerce. The Thieu regime is riven by internal conflicts, while life under its rule continues to decay and breeds rebellion. It is doubtful it can survive much longer against its own inner contradictions. Needless to say, the rank and file, and even many officers, of its military are thoroughly demoralized and largely sympathetic to the liberation forces.

Laotian representatives also told of the struggle in Laos, where liberation fighters have been able to enter the coalition government in Vientiane on their own terms, the result of the Vientiane Agreements in which the U.S. and its allies were forced to recognize the growing strength of the revolutionary forces there. Nevertheless, the U.S. continues to finance Thai mercenaries in Laos, as well as trying to exploit domestic tribal conflicts in a similar way.

Also, in Cambodia, liberation forces under the National United Front continue to make progress, while the U.S. intervenes with at least 10,000 "advisors."

The groups in attendance at the friendship meeting resolved to apply "pressure to U.S. imperialism" that will "leave it no choice" but to implement the agreements and get out of Indochina.

# Women charge Great Lakes Steel with discrimination

By a member of the GLS Women's Committee

DETROIT, May 31—Chants of "Great Lakes discriminates, EEOC Stalls" and "Does Great Lakes Steel own the Government too?" rang out today in front of the Michigan Building in downtown Detroit. The voices could be heard all the way up to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's sixth-floor offices. Over 20 members and friends of the Great Lakes Steel Women's Committee angrily picketed there for an hour and a half.

The GLS Women's Committee has filed a class action complaint through the EEOC against sex and race discrimination at Great Lakes Steel. The case of these 44 women has now come to a total standstill because of a back-door deal made between the major steel companies, the United Steel Workers of America, the Justice Department, and the EEOC. The deal has become part of the steelworkers' new contract.

This deal, commonly called the "consent agreement," is supposedly a measure to halt discrimination against Blacks, women, and other minorities in the steel mills. The benefits (which are mere peanuts) in the new contract are mostly for people hired before 1968.

## WEAKENED EARLIER DECISION

Because there was a former court decision that ordered an even more extensive antidiscrimination solution, the steel companies and the union had to ask the U.S. Justice Department to intervene to overrule the former court decision. The EEOC did this by suing both the companies and the union and then, on the same day, accepting in court the proposed solution which became part of the contract.

So minority workers, women, and all workers in the long run are now stuck with a weaker decision. In addition, part of the

Justice Department's shady deal with the steel companies and the union was to agree not to sue them for discrimination for 5 years to come!

This "consent agreement," which has been denounced by the NAACP and the National Organization of Women, has an effect on the GLS Women's Committee, which was counting on the EEOC to supply lawyers for our case. Last month, by orders from Washington, the local EEOC office called a halt on our case indefinitely. We may have to wait 2 more months just to find out if the EEOC can still take our case, or if we have to hire our own lawyers.

We let the EEOC know through our picket line today that the GLS Women's Committee isn't going to quietly and politely wait for our rights. We want the EEOC to quit stalling and open up our case. As was shouted on the streets today, "We demand equal rights now."

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by DOROTHY BALLAN

## Rosenberg memorial June 17

NEW YORK—At 8 p.m. on June 17, there will be a memorial at Carnegie Hall for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, whose murder at the hands of the U.S. government marked the depths of the witchhunt against progressives and communists in the 1950s.

In addition to their two sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol, other persons scheduled to speak or perform at the memorial are Morton and Helen Sobell, Big Black, an Attica indictée, Pete Seeger, Ossie Davis, and a host of other progressives and well-known personalities.

## -Kissinger

(Continued from page 6)

Do they feel there is little to be gained in trade with the Soviet Union, anyway, and that their profit system will get a much bigger lift from a renewal of the arms race?

If this is so, then the man who was hailed as "brilliant" for his policies a few years ago may seem very expendable now.

Perhaps these questions will be clarified within the next few weeks, when Kissinger and Nixon are due to go to Moscow for the summit talks.

As far as the workers and oppressed peoples are concerned, this constant fact remains: It is not the illusion of "detente," which can only be a temporary maneuver on the part of imperialism, but the reality of class struggle that will transform the world and end capitalist oppression.

# Rightwing uprising destroys modest gains of Irish workers

By JOEL MEYERS

The recent developments in Ireland amounted to a fascist insurrection. In addition to a work stoppage, there were roadblocks on all the major roads in Northern Ireland, and behind those roadblocks armed storm troopers of the Ulster Defense Association and the Protestant Vanguard Party took "law and order" into their own hands.

The aim of the insurrection was to overthrow the recent compromise which, after years of hard fighting, finally gave some executive government representation to the oppressed Catholic people of Northern Ireland, a joint executive having been created in the Sunningdale Agreement of 1973.

The so-called Labor government of Harold Wilson, which has murdered and maimed hundreds of fighters in the Irish Republican Army (IRA), and still holds hundreds of "suspected IRA" men and women in concentration camps with neither charge nor trial, responded to this fascist insurrection by limiting the British Army to removing the roadblocks. It left the fascist organizations behind those barricades intact. By capitulating to all the demands, it virtually turned Northern Ireland over to the iron fists of fascist rule.

The role of Protestant workers in this rightwing offensive may seem a paradox, since it is the proletariat which, in the epoch of capitalism, has been the bearer of progress and the leading class of all oppressed humanity.

But the insurrection started out as a strike, which was nearly 100 percent effective even though it was nominally opposed by almost the entire official trade union leadership. (It was supported, however, by the bosses, so that it can be called a "strike" only in the loosest sense.) There was intimidation, but intimidation alone will not explain how the Protestant workers in Northern Ireland were mobilized behind the rightwing.

## NATIONAL OPPRESSION

The division between Catholic and Protestant is one of nationality, religion being merely a reflection of a nationality difference.

The Catholics are, for the most part, the indigenous population of Ireland who inherit their religious traditions along with their nationality. The Protestants are mostly descendants of British settlers who arrived in Ireland to permanently occupy the best

lands and to do so, moreover, under the protection of the British government.

In the process of driving the indigenous population off its land, the settlers exterminated most of this population. The Protestants, therefore, have inherited almost all the land, all the good jobs, all the good property, and all the not-so-petty privileges, while the British ruling class came to own all the industries, mines, naval bases, shipyards, and so on.

Because this could not have taken place except under British military protection, an alliance developed between the Protestants, including the workers, and the British (now U.S.-British) ruling class, as a result of which Northern Ireland is still an integral part of the United Kingdom. The Protestant majority is fighting to preserve British rule and is fearful that, for its own reasons, the British government might shift the military burden for perpetuating "Ulster" onto the Protestant population in Northern Ireland. They largely saw the Sunningdale Agreement as a step in that direction.

Lenin spoke about the fact that a section of the world proletariat is bribed by the imperialist bourgeoisie on the basis of colonial superprofits. As a result of such bribery, alliances based on privileged nationality can develop between workers and imperialists.

## LABOR PARTY'S ROLE

Such a labor aristocracy, Lenin said, was the social base of opportunism in the working class movement, opportunism practiced par excellence by the British Labor Party, the roots of whose policies grew when England had a monopoly on world trade and tremendous colonial advantages. Wilson's Labor Party today, with that legacy, is now entrusted with custody over England's remaining empire.

This is no wonder, because Her Majesty's Prime Minister represents labor only in so far as it subordinates itself to the British bourgeoisie and identifies with its interests in that alliance.

The Stormont Parliament, direct British rule, and Sunningdale all fell because they did not succeed in crushing the liberation struggle of the Irish people, led by the Irish Republican Army. The present fanaticism of the British-tied settlers is only an acknowledgment of that, and will prove equally futile, all the more so because the ultimate interests of the entire proletariat demand an end to national as well as all other forms of oppression.



The British govt. left fascist organizations intact to organize demonstrations against newly won representation for oppressed people in Northern Ireland. This rightwing demonstration in Belfast cheers the end of that representation.

# Italian workers mobilize to combat fascist terror

By JOHN C. OTTO

On Tuesday, May 28, in the small industrial city of Brescia in northern Italy, a bomb set by fascists exploded in the midst of a peaceful demonstration of 2,000 workers. Six were killed and 94 injured.

The Italian workers immediately responded to this vicious attack. The trade unions called a general strike for the next day which shut down industry and transportation throughout all Italy. Only the newspaper workers, who had previously scheduled a strike, called it off so all would stay informed of the events.

## WORKERS RESPOND IN STREETS

Massive demonstrations occurred in all the Italian cities. Three hundred thousand in Rome, a hundred thousand in Naples, two hundred thousand in Milan, a million across Italy, marched through the streets and gathered in the main squares to protest the fascist attack. Two days later at the funeral in Brescia itself, five hundred thousand people marched, coming from all over Italy.

The indignation of the masses was so great that not only the trade union organizations and the workers' parties organized for the rallies, but even the Christian Democrats and the other government parties took part. At some of them, government leaders were hooted at by the workers, as they are considered partly responsible for the fascists' growth and boldness.

The only parliamentary group not attending the rallies was the Italian Social Movement (MSI), the "respectable" wing of Italian fascism. Though they deny responsibility for terrorist acts against the workers, they maintain friendly relations with the smaller activist fascist groups, such as the "New Order," whose leader, Pino Rauti, was an agent of the Greek secret service and the CIA.

## MILITANTS STORM FASCIST HQ

Although larger groups of workers were restrained from taking direct action against the fascists by the government parties and the reformist Communist Party of Italy (CP), vanguard groups of workers and students found ways to hit back directly at the fascist organizations. In Rome, Milan, Turin, Naples, and a dozen other cities groups of demonstrators numbering from 200 to 2,000 left the large rallies and marched to strike back at the MSI offices. They were led by what the newspaper *Corriere della Sera* called "extra-parliamentary organizations of the extreme left." There they confronted the local and national police (carabinieri), who were sent by the government to protect the fascists' offices

from the wrath of the workers.

The biggest confrontation took place in Milan; 2,000 militants charged the MSI office, which was heavily guarded by carabinieri. They threw stones and Molotov cocktails, succeeding in setting it on fire. They were finally driven back when the carabinieri fired in the air.

## RULING CLASS CODDLES FASCISTS

In the past year the government has used the state apparatus with ferocity against the "far left" (left of the Italian CP) organizations, while leaving the neofascists in freedom to grow. The "New Order" gang was banned when it carried out illegal actions, but the members were simply allowed to regroup under a new name.

This coddling of the fascists by the bourgeois government should not surprise any class-conscious worker or progressive. After all, fascism was the accepted form of bourgeois rule in Italy for 23 years! With the economic crisis deepening in Italy (unemployment growing, tremendous balance of payments deficit, rampant inflation), the fascists are looked on by the bosses as a reserve weapon against the workers should other methods fail.

## ULTRAS DESPERATE

The failure of the fascists in recent attempts to win mass support (such as in the divorce referendum), along with the growing economic crisis, have driven them to desperate measures. The "ultras" who bombed the masses in Brescia had plans to continue such attacks to keep the national situation very tense; plans have even been discovered to assassinate government leaders.

## WORKERS' SELF-DEFENSE

These fascists pose a present and continual threat to the workers. Some of the reformists have called for strengthening the state apparatus to handle this threat. But this state apparatus, operating in the interest of the bourgeoisie, is unreliable against the fascists, and would be used in the long run against the workers and their organizations. This has been the historical experience everywhere during the rise of fascism.

In this situation, only self-defense organizations of the workers themselves will be reliable to stop the fascists. If the mass workers' parties allowed the organized initiative and militancy of the workers to come to the fore, much in the way the smaller groups did following the Brescia massacre, not fascist would dare raise his head in Italy.



Responding to rightwing bombing attack, workers and students in Naples rush headquarters of neofascist organization.

# political prisoners

## ATMORE-HOLMAN BROTHERS

Atmore, Alabama, is the site of the Atmore Prison Farm and Holman Prison, where conditions are so inhuman that a federal judge characterized them as "barbarous and shocking to the conscience." The Commissioner of Corrections in Alabama is L.B. Sullivan, who was police chief of Montgomery during the freedom rides.

Prisoners at Atmore-Holman have organized Inmates For Action (IFA) to improve their treatment at the hands of racist jailors in what amounts to a slave plantation. Sitdown strikes led by the IFA in October 1972 and May 1973 were met with brutal repression in which Warden Harding personally took part.

The IFA has obtained a copy of what they say is a Death List drawn up by Warden Harding, which was relayed to the local media. When the Mobile Press Register carried the story, Sullivan did not deny its existence but demanded the list back, and another high official threatened to subpoena it.

Two of the IFA leaders on the Death List have since been openly murdered by prison guards, and eleven other prisoners on the list face charges of murder and intent to murder in the deaths of two guards that occurred in the course of those murders.

On Jan. 17, 1974, Jessie James Clanzy was so severely beaten in the hole by nine guards at Holman that he barely survived. The next day, Jan. 18, inmates at adjacent Atmore, not knowing whether Clanzy was alive or dead, were threatened by guards with the same unprovoked brutality.

About 65 inmates at Atmore took two guards hostage in order to press their demand that reporters, officials, and progressives come into the prison.

Against the pleas of the unharmed hostages, Warden Harding hysterically screamed for the murder of IFA leader George Dobbins (Bro. Chagina) and led heavily armed state troopers, deputy sheriffs, and local police in an assault that began with shooting down Chagina.

Then the frenzied state gunman ran up and down the cellblock shooting wildly into the cells where the inmates had taken cover. The inmates were forced to strip naked, pass through a gauntlet of clubs, and then crawl, barking with their faces in the room of the one in front, to another room where prison officials interrogated them in this position.

Bro. Chagina, bleeding badly from a gunshot wounds in the chest and back, but still conscious, was eventually thrown into an ambulance. He died 10 minutes after arrival at Mobile General Hospital, 60 miles away, from nine severe stab wounds in the head and face that could only have been inflicted in the ambulance shortly before arrival.

JESSIE JAMES CLANZY will go on trial in Brewton, Ala., on June 24, charged with intent to murder to cover up his own beating.

On the same day in Brewton, JOHNNY HARRIS, OSCAR LEE JOHNSON, LINCOLN HEARD, GROVER McCORVEY, FRANK X. MOORE, CHARLES BEASLEY, and JOHNNY LEE WILSON are scheduled to begin trial for the death of a hostage killed in the warden's assault. Harris faces the electric chair because he is already doing life.

But all of the inmates face death at the

hands of the guards if the state attorney general, who is personally prosecuting the cases, get convictions. In fact, those deaths have begun.

On March 12, 1974, at Holman, IFA leader Tommy Lee Dotson (Bro. Yukeena) was clubbed to death in the special segregation unit by several guards while handcuffed on his way to the shower. A guard died that day, apparently of a heart attack from the exertion of the brutal beating which put a big hole in the side of Yukeena's head and knocked one of his eyes out.

The state claims that ANTHONY PARADISE, EDWARD ELLIS, and GEORGE PARKER while locked in their cells passed knives to Yukeena as he passed them handcuffed and surrounded by three guards. They face trial on murder charges in Brewton, June 11. The Atmore-Holman Brothers Defense Committee urgently needs funds and all forms of assistance. In particular, they are asking for lawyers and law students to come to their aid so that the Brothers are not forced to rely on "public defenders."

Contact the Atmore-Holman Brothers Defense Committee at P.O. Box 10157, Prichard, Ala. 36610 or 802 6th St. North, Birmingham, Ala. 35204.

Free Jessie James Clanzy! Free the Atmore 7 and the Holman 3!

## WOUNDED KNEE

On May 27, in Sioux Falls, S.D., TONIA ACKERMAN, LORELEI DECORA MEANS, and MADONNA GILBERT were acquitted of federal charges of burglary and larceny against the Wounded Knee Trading Post on Feb. 27, 1973.

The defense did not even have to present its case because Judge Warren Urbom ruled in favor of a defense motion for acquittal on the grounds that the government had not proved its case. On the face of it, the verdict comes as a surprise because the Indian women were arrested in a car containing goods taken from the Trading Post. But the so-called burglary really centered around who does the reservation and its properties belong to—the Indian people or white exploiters?

While the government was presenting its case, the defense had taken the offensive. Defense attorneys argued that the federal government lacks jurisdiction under Article I of the 1868 Great Sioux Nation Treaty, an issue central to all the Wounded Knee cases which the state does not want brought out.

Also, the defense put James Czywczynski, part-owner of the Trading Post, on the stand to testify about interest rates and profit margins. He pleaded the Fifth Amendment to more than 90 questions.

On May 23, in a heavily guarded room in the basement of the Civil Defense Building outside Sioux Falls, the government resumed trial against three Indians charged in a protest demonstration in Custer, S.D., on Feb. 6, 1973. The demonstration, against the failure of the state to charge a white man with murder in the death of Wesley Bad Heart Bull, had erupted into violence when state troopers attacked.

The trial of the Custer defendants was moved into the small police building room that allows few spectators after a demonstration in the Minnehaha County Courthouse last May 15 when state troopers attacked and beat 16 Indians. They had refused to stand when Judge Bottum entered because they wanted to protest his biased conduct and firing of defense attorneys.

In St. Paul, Minn., the trial of Russell Means and Dennis Banks has entered its fifth month. The defense has subpoenaed tapes of all conversations with the Executive Branch regarding Wounded

Knee, after discovering that former FBI Director L. Patrick Gray discussed Wounded Knee with John Dean on March 21, 1973. Dean has agreed to testify at the trial.

Means and Banks have won the right to cross-examine witnesses. At first, they demanded to represent themselves and threatened to fire their lawyers to make the point, which forced Judge Nichol to yield.

In Rapids City, S.D., trial has been set for July 15 in a suit brought by the American Indian Movement (AIM) for fraud in the Pine Ridge Reservation tribal election last Feb. 7. Documents in hand show conclusive proof of ballot stuffing by Bureau of Indian Affairs lackey Richard Wilson.

In Mobridge, S.D., the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation is hosting an international treaty conference, June 8-16, sponsored by AIM to organize the legal fight for Indian tribal rights.

Support the defenders of Wounded Knee! Indian land for Indian people!

## ATTICA PRISONERS LABOR UNION

The Attica Chapter of the Prisoners' Labor Union has petitioned Governor Wilson of New York and Commissioner Preiser of the Department of Corrections for an increase in the wages at Attica to at least compensate for the increase in commissary prices.

Since 1970 prisoners at Attica have been paid from 25 cents to 40 cents for an entire day's work. In early April prices at the commissary were raised 30 cents on instant coffee, 22 cents on 5 lbs. of sugar, 20 cents on cheese, 78 cents on salami, \$1 on protein tablets, 33 cents on corned beef, and 63 cents on chicken.

Because of the poor quality and meager amounts of prison food, supplementary purchases from the commissary are essential to prisoners. But the price increases are making it impossible for prisoners to eat adequately.

The Prisoners' Labor Union also petitioned for the State of New York to implement the federal minimum wage law to all prisoners for all work performed.

The state continues to answer demands such as these with punitive transfers of inmate organizers out of Attica, to one prison, then to another. RODNEY HAYMES was transferred from Attica to Clinton to Green Haven in the space of days. Others have been transferred out, too.

Violation upon violation of the Brothers' civil rights are being committed daily by the prison administrators. Protest this treatment. Let the state know the Brothers have our support. Write Peter Preiser, Dept. of Correctional Services, State Office Building Campus, Albany, N.Y.

If you already wrote, write again. Demand that the union be recognized.

## RUCHELL MAGEE

Since he was originally framed up in California on a robbery charge 10 years ago, when a court lawyer entered a guilty plea against his will, RUCHELL MAGEE has become a legend and an inspiration to prisoners everywhere.

Through his determined efforts to win his freedom, he has become a highly skilled jailhouse lawyer, filing many successful motions and writs against the state injustice. Time and again, the state has retaliated by denying his rights, declaring

him insane, and bringing new charges.

In August 1970, along with James McLain and William Christmas, Ruchell followed Jonathan Jackson in an attempted escape from the San Rafael courthouse, taking the judge and DA hostage. Only Ruchell and the DA survived the police barrage that stopped them.

Ruchell was originally brought to trial for the escape along with Angela Davis, but her case was separated from his before she was acquitted.

In his case, Ruchell twice succeeded in getting judges to disqualify themselves, but nevertheless he was ruled incompetent to defend himself, forced to be misrepresented by a court attorney, and shackled and gagged to silence his protests.

But in March 1973, a San Francisco County jury found him not guilty on the major charge of aggravated kidnapping, and was hung on the less serious charge of simple kidnapping. The pig judge Morton Colvin refused to record the not guilty verdict and simply declared a mistrial.

Black juror Moses Shepherd, who held out for not guilty on all counts, has sworn to the fact of the not guilty verdict, but Ruchell is being illegally retried on all charges.

In order to cover the crime, which the state hopes will pass unnoticed because Ruchell is isolated in prison, the case was illegally transferred to Santa Clara County, where it was ruled there is no proof of the not guilty verdict.

Again, in Santa Clara, Judge William Ingram has refused to allow Ruchell to defend himself and appointed court lawyer Sheldon Portman to represent him. In another case, Portman prosecuted Ruchell!

Ruchell has filed suits against Ingram and Portman in federal court, but they have been suppressed at this time.

For further information on his case and support activities, contact Mrs. Carnelia Stewart, 3420 Blue Mountain Drive, San Jose, Calif., phone (408) 926-2343.

Stop the trial! Free Ruchell! Avenge the heroes of San Rafael!

## HARLEM FOUR

The HARLEM FOUR were freed in April 1973 after serving 8 years. During that time they endured three trials on charges of holding up a candy store in Harlem in 1963. A fifth Black youth, DANIEL HAMM, was originally convicted along with the four and sentenced to 15-30 years.

Daniel Hamm has now been in prison for 10 years. On Nov. 7, 1972, the Parole Board in Albany told him he would be released that December if he could arrange for an approved job, educational program, and suitable living quarters, which he did.

But on Nov. 27, 1972, the Parole Board revoked his release based on "confidential information" from an unidentified source stating that there would be "adverse community reaction." Was this the work of then-DA Frank Hogan, who forced the Harlem Four to endure repeated mistrials from hung juries?

Appeals on the matter are under way, but they may take several years yet to be heard. A support organization, the Charter Group, has been formed to work for Daniel Hamm's release. You can send them notice of your support for his freedom at Box 246, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025.

## Part 3

# The racist use of the rape charge

By VERONICA GOLOS

NORFOLK, Va.—Throughout the history of the South, the racist white ruling class has again and again used the "protection of women" as its excuse for horrible lynchings and mutilations of Black men. But there is no record of even one white man ever being lynched for the rape of a Black woman, nor has a white man ever been executed for this crime.

The "protection of women" is a cruel hypocrisy in a society which sees all women as useful commodities, the property of their husbands, fathers, sons, or brothers. White and Black, working women have had to fight the white plantation owners and industrialists to win a minimum of day care, medical care, schools, housing, and food for their children.

But the Black woman, doubly oppressed and exploited because of her race and sex, also lived in terror that her son, husband, or brother could be burned or lynched by racist whites, or that her daughter would be raped. Since slavery, it has been Black women who have suffered the cruelty and abomination of rape at the hands of the plantation owners, overseers, or policemen. Under slavery, Black women were savagely exploited as unpaid workers and forced to be breeders of children for the masters' profit. Mulattoes or especially beautiful Black women were sold at fancy prices as concubines.

This sexual exploitation did not change as chattel slavery turned into wage slavery. In *The Independent* of Jan. 25, 1912, a Black woman told this story:

"I remember very well the first and last place from which I was dismissed. I lost my place because I refused to let the madam's husband kiss me. . . I didn't know what has been a burden to my mind and heart ever since: that a colored woman's virtue in this part of the country has no protection. When my husband went to the man who had insulted me, the man cursed him and slapped him and had him arrested. The police judge fined my husband \$25.

"I believe that nearly all white men. . . expect to take undue liberties with their colored female servants. We poor colored women wage earners in the South are fighting a terrible battle . . . we are assailed by white men. We are little more than pack horses, beasts of burden, slaves. What we need is help, sympathy, better wages, better hours, more protection, and a chance to breathe for once while alive as a free woman."

For defending his wife, mother, sister, or friend, a Black man was hunted down and lynched, as in this account from the *Atlanta Constitution* of July 25, 1919:

"An outrageous lynching occurred at Milan, Georgia. On May 24 (1919) John Dandy and Lewis Evens, white men, went down to the colored people's section of town, and went to the home of a widow . . . who had two daughters. The women refused to open the door. . . Dandy shot through the door. Brother Berry Washington, colored, 72

years old, ran out with his shot gun . . . John Dandy fired at him. Brother Washington went to the chief of police, and was put in jail. A mob of 100 took Brother Washington out of jail and lynched him. He was hanged to a post, his body shot to pieces and left hanging there until Sunday morning.

"He was lynched because he protected his own women, in his part of town."

If the mob could not find the man they were hunting, a Black woman or any other Black person could be lynched instead.

"Marie Scott of Wagoner County, a 17-year-old Negro woman, was lynched by a mob of white men because her brother had killed one of the two white men who had assaulted her. The mob had come for her brother, but as he had escaped, lynched the girl instead. No one has ever been indicted for this crime" (*The Crisis*, July 1914, Oklahoma).

While white men preyed on Black women, any voluntary relationship between a Black man and a white woman was forbidden. This pattern of exploitative sex relations has been enshrined by tradition, upheld by laws forbidding intermarriage, and enforced by terror against Black men and women. In spite of the repression dealt them, Black people have fought back in many ways.

## BLACK WOMEN LED FIGHT AGAINST LYNCHING

Ida Wells Barnett of Mississippi was the eldest child of slave parents. In 1882, three

Black men all personally known to her were lynched.

She began a one-woman crusade against lynching. Lecturing, writing, and organizing, she dared to bring out into the open the most taboo subject of all: the habitual sexual abuse of Black women by white men. She also exposed the false idea that relationships between Black men and white women had to be the result of coercion. She attacked this as a racist myth designed to keep poor Black and white people divided by suspicion and fear.

Ida Wells Barnett was the chairwoman of the Anti-Lynching Bureau of the National Afro-American Council. She helped organize the first Black women's club in Chicago. In 1908, she organized and led the Negro Fellowship League, an organization known for its militant fights around various local issues. She was a founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) which was formed in 1910 in response to the escalating murder and repression of Black people.

Her views on lynching were well known: "During the last 30 years more than 10,000 Negroes have been killed in cold blood without the formality of judicial trial and legal execution.

The Anti-Lynching Crusaders was begun in 1922 to rally women to fight lynchings. Of course, Black women had been involved in the fight against lynching from the time their people had been brought to the U.S. in chains. The 30 years prior to the founding of the Anti-Lynching Crusaders had seen Black women like Ida Wells Barnett participate and lead the struggle.

But the Black women in the leadership of the Crusaders did something unique: they

directly appealed to white women to take responsibility for this issue and to work with them. One of the most significant responses to this call was the establishment of the Association of Southern White Women for the Prevention of Lynching. These women actively declared their unwillingness to be pawns of the racist ruling class.

## LESSONS FOR TODAY'S WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The modern women's liberation movement has been largely dominated by white middle class women who, when seeking solutions to the actual crime of rape, came up with such answers as more policewomen, more laws, and harsher sentences. Too often the women's movement has talked only of the situation of white women. But if many white women find themselves unable to go to the police to report being raped because of the insensitivity with which they are questioned and insulted, think of the situation of a Black woman!

How can she appeal to the police who occupy her community like an army, to the racist court system which has unfairly locked up thousands of nonwhite peoples behind bars, to the congressmen who vote against her civil rights, to the white world in general?

White women struggling for liberation must make a conscious effort to understand the situation of our Black sisters and brothers, to understand how their primary struggle—just for survival—is against the racist state, the courts, police, and prisons. Racism and sexism are two tools that the oppressor uses, tools which have become so closely entwined that there can be no successful fight against one without fighting the other.

## A BLACK WOMAN SPEAKS ON WHITE WOMANHOOD by Beulah Richardson

"It is right that I a woman  
black,  
should speak of white womanhood.

My fathers  
my brothers  
my sons

die for it, because of it.  
And their blood

Chilled in electric chairs,  
stopped by hangman's noose  
cooked by lynch mobs' fire,  
spilled by white supremacist mad desire to kill for profit,  
gives me that right.

I would that I could speak of white womanhood  
as it will and should be  
when it stands tall in full equality.

But then, womanhood will be womanhood  
void of color and of class,  
and all necessity for my speaking thus will be past.  
Gladly past.

White womanhood too is enslaved,  
the difference is degree...

They brought me here in chains...  
They brought you here willing slaves to man...  
If they counted my teeth  
they did appraise your thigh  
and sold you to the highest bidder  
the same as I.

They trapped me with the chain and gun.  
They trapped you with the lying tongue.

\* \* \*

He purchased you.

He raped me.

I fought!

But you fought neither for yourselves or me.

Sat trapped in your superiority  
and spoke no reproach.

You bore the damning mockery of your marriage  
and heaped your hate on me...

Yes, they condemned me to death  
and they condemned you to decay...

I would that the poor among you could have seen  
through the scheme  
and joined hands with me.

Then, we being the majority, could long ago  
have rescued our wasted lives...

It was no mistake that your naked body on an  
Esquire calendar announced the date, May Eighth.

This is your fate if you do not wake to fight.  
They will use your naked bodies to sell their wares,  
though it be hate, coca cola, or rape.

This is the depravity they would reduce you to.  
Death for me

and worse than death for you.

So be careful when you talk with me.

Remind me not of my slavery, I know it well  
but rather tell me of your own.

If you will fight with me then take my hand...

and as we set about our plan  
let our wholehearted fight be:

Peace in a world where there is equality."

## -Inflation

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these workers were buying. (The laid-off worker doesn't buy a new car, house, etc.) This can cause an ever-increasing amount of unemployment, resulting in recession.

### ... AND THE DEEP BLUE SEA

The government's usual response to this kind of situation is to keep the economy going by increasing government spending, to offset decreased spending by consumers. However, increased government spending has a tendency to drive prices up, making inflation worse. The other possible government policy is to increase the money supply, stimulating consumer and business spending by making credit easy to get. This, too,

increases inflation.

But this situation comes about when expansion stops. Is there any reason for an end to expansion? Well, much of U.S. capitalism's expansion has been based on foreign markets. But these markets are being closed off to the U.S., because of increased competition from the Japanese and West Germans, among others. This is one reason for the push for trade with China and Soviet Union. But the slight amount of trade gained this way has not offset the

losses elsewhere. These losses include inroads into the U.S. market by foreign manufacturers.

So how can big business maintain its huge profits? One way to increase profit is to cut wages. But how can the corporations get the workers to accept wage cuts? Their answer is to allow inflation at a rate faster than increases in wages. This has the advantage of forcing real wages down without the sort of confrontation that direct wage cuts would bring.

So the ruling class is taking a gamble. They hope they can stave off a decrease in profits by greater exploitation of the working class in the U.S. But it is a gamble taken in desperation, and, as the past few months have shown, it may be in vain, since a major recession may wipe out the gains they have made in profits.

A system based on ever-increasing exploitation of the working class is doomed; the workers will not stand for increasing hunger in the midst of plenty.

# Prices and profits: do pay hikes cause inflation?

By KEN FRANSON

PITTSBURGH, June 1—These days, everybody talks about inflation, especially Nixon, who claims that every gain for workers (like an increased minimum wage) is inflationary. Are wage increases the cause of inflation? If not, what does cause it?

Inflation is defined as a general rise in prices. Obviously, since most goods are produced by large corporations in this country, they set the prices. Even when the wage-price controls were on, these corporations were allowed to increase their prices almost at will, although the workers weren't allowed any raises that would keep up with the prices. (Remember all those fat campaign contributions from big business?)

Wage increases are only inflationary if the big companies are allowed to use them as an excuse to raise prices. Have you ever noticed that if the workers force a company to give them a 10 percent wage increase, the company usually raises prices by 20 percent?

If prices are not allowed to rise, wage increases only change the distribution of income. Workers have a little larger share, and the owners have a little less. Is this fair? The boss will tell you that it isn't. But with prices going up faster than wages, as they are now, the workers are able to buy less and less with their wages, while the big corporations are showing record profits. This means the owners are increasing their share by decreasing the share of the workers. This is their idea of fairness.

## WAGE INCREASES TRAIL PRICE HIKES

Another indication that wage increases are not the cause of rising prices is the fact that over the past 40 or so years, real wages

have increased just slightly less than productivity in industry. What does this mean?

As an example, suppose a worker in a shoe factory can produce 20 pairs of shoes now, while 40 years ago a worker only produced 10 pairs a day. And suppose he gets paid \$19 a day now, and 40 years ago he got \$10 a day. The owner says that this increase in wages made the price of shoes go up. But notice that the owner now pays the worker 95 cents for each pair he produces, when 40 years ago he paid the worker \$1 for

each pair produced?

So who got the benefit of the price increase?

The truth is that our example is very modest. Profits have actually gone up twice as fast as productivity (and wages), while the owners of the big corporations have been loudly complaining about "overpaid" workers and very quietly stuffing their own pockets.

Whom does inflation hurt, and whom does it help? First off, it hurts those on fixed incomes, like people on pensions, social

security, and welfare. It hurts workers who cannot get wage increases to keep up with inflation. So inflation hurts poor and working people.

People with holdings in stocks and real estate are not hurt, because their assets go up in value with inflation. Also, stockholders benefit from the record profits (such as those of the oil companies) made in periods of inflation. Obviously, the rich benefit from inflation.

## BETWEEN THE DEVIL...

However, there is a danger to the owning classes who rule this country that comes with inflation. If they keep on increasing their profits at the expense of the working class, a recession can result because the workers no longer have enough money to buy the goods produced. This sort of crisis can become progressively worse, ending in a major depression. Why would the ruling class risk this? Some of them are unwilling to, and this is part of the reason for the discord which is becoming increasingly obvious in their ranks.

However, this situation is being forced upon them. One cause is the fact that the capitalist system is forced to expand by its nature. The reasons for this are complex, but have to do mainly with the production of capital goods. (These are the goods used to produce other goods, for example, steel mills, trucks, and other plants and equipment.) Each year, a large part of the country's production is devoted to capital goods for expansion. If there is no expansion, these capital goods are not produced, causing layoffs of workers producing them. This, in turn, means layoffs in other industries producing goods which

(Continued on page 15)



Times Square bread line in 1932: that year there were huge grain surpluses.

# Boom and bust: the disaster cycle of capitalism

By TOM MITCHELL

Will the capitalist profit system ever again be thrown into a crisis and depression like the 1930s?

Over the past 100 years since the industrial revolution, every business boom has turned into a bust in a periodic cycle. But since the end of WWII, business has sustained a general expansion for a period of nearly 30 years, recovering from the recessions of 1954, 1958, and 1969 before business failures and unemployment reached catastrophic proportions.

Now under the pressure of severe inflation, business is again having a case of the shakes. It has been government assistance that prolonged the boom. Can the government step in now like in 1958 and 1969 and soften the crisis of the profit system?

## THE PROFIT CYCLE

Production for profit is a two-step process: manufacture and sale. Value is created by the workers at the point of production, but profit is not realized by the boss until the sale is made. The crisis comes when the workers are producing more than the bosses can sell at a profit.

When business is booming, businessmen engage in fierce competition over who can expand fastest to get a bigger share of the market and profits. New factories are built

and new machinery is introduced, increasing productivity.

But while more and more things for sale are being produced, working people aren't getting paid that much more, and there comes a time when the businessman can't find enough customers.

The boom expansion of production inevitably runs up against the limitation of selling at a profit, and the boom becomes a bust, bringing intolerable suffering from unemployment to working people. Under the profit system bust phase, factories stand idle while people go hungry.

## GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION

Since the Great Depression, the big business government has dedicated itself to preventing another period of widespread unemployment by controlling the business cycle, not by attacking the profit motive that sabotages production in abundance, but out of fear that the profit system will be overthrown by the victims of its cycles.

When the capitalists can't sell everything at a profit and the economy contracts, the government steps in as a customer, especially through military contracts.

This government policy of artificially stimulating profits has allowed business to expand longer than in the past. But once the government becomes a customer, it must forever continue its purchases.

And as long as business expansion continues, production increases yet again, building up an even greater crisis in the future.

While the government intervention in the economy has kept us out of another great depression for the time being, we are paying for it now through inflation. By fostering military production, the government puts into circulation every year billions of dollars that don't represent any real value, only destruction, making the other dollars in our hands proportionately worthless.

## THE CREDIT CRUNCH

Over the 30-year period of expansion, business has resorted to larger and larger debts to finance enormously increased productive capacity. And working people have been pushed into buying on time payments to an increasing degree.

Between paying for interest charges and making a high rate of return on the investment in new equipment, the bosses want to squeeze even greater profits out of the workers.

The burgeoning debt structure makes the economy vulnerable to even a mild contraction, because there is little margin left for making payments on loans. When the chain of credit breaks, there is a great demand for cash now, setting off a chain reaction of repossession, confiscation of collateral, and bankruptcies.

## THE CRISIS

The recession of 1969 was the first time that inflation continued during contraction, because expansion had reached the point where the government measures to counteract recession were reaching the limit of their effectiveness. The government bailed out the bankrupt Penn Central and Lockheed, and the banks came to the rescue of Chrysler with new loans.

That eased the crisis for the moment. But today we once again have a slump. All the political crises of the day hinge on the paramount crisis for the capitalists: profits.

Throughout the socialist world, there has never been a recession, because production is run for the needs of the people, not for the profits of a few superrich businessmen. The only limit on increasing production under socialism is how fast the workers can build.

But in the capitalist world, with inflation raging and bringing the profit crisis to a head, the government cannot use the old methods to stave off depression. That will only make inflation worse and sharpen the crisis.

In the highest circles of business and politics, the leaders of the capitalist class are desperately looking for an answer to their insolvable problem.

But there is no way out for them. The postwar boom of the profit system is living on borrowed time.



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