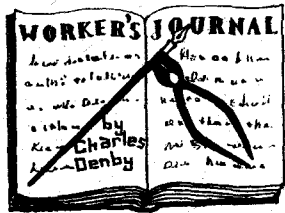


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Angela Davis and Communism

By Charles Denby, Editor

The Angela Davis case drew world-wide attention and support, especially by the majority of Blacks in this country. Most felt she was being prosecuted mainly because she is a Black woman, and because of her political beliefs. Some people asked the question: why else would Nixon and Reagan have dug up a state law that has not been used on anyone for over one hundred years and apply it to Angela?

After she was found not guilty, a Black man yelled out, "This is one that Nixon and Reagan lost." The fact is that we have witnessed many, many political trials in the past four or five years, including the Spock trial, the Chicago Seven conspiracy trial, and the Berrigan trial. This is the system we live in, that trumps up far-fetched charges in order to intimidate those who would challenge the social order. All this is at a cost of millions of dollars to the taxpayers of the states and the Federal government.

OLDER BLACKS REMEMBER

This campaign, which has caused the judicial system to become a mere political tool, barely conceals the fundamental contempt which this Nixon administration harbors for the principles on which this country was founded. The government has already made a mockery of the notion of patriotism by identifying it with support of its foreign policies, especially that of Vietnam.

In discussing the Angela Davis case with some Blacks, I find that many, especially older Blacks, do not agree with her political beliefs. Some younger Blacks see in her a martyr, and support her beliefs. They have no experience with the Communist Party in the 1940's and before. They only say that the Party went all out to support Angela, and this is more than the government ever did for any Black.

But if you talk to some older Blacks, they remember only too well the betrayal of the Black struggle in this country by the Communist Party during World War Two. They remember how the Party betrayed the "Double V" movement, and the March on Washington that brought into being the F.E.P.C., just to mention a few. They also saw the Communist Party crush the Hungarian workers' revolt, killing thousands and imprisoning many more.

Angela Davis has said that she is an avowed Marxist. But the philosophy of Marxism is as far from Russian state-capitalism, which they call Communism, as the earth is from the sun. Angela stated that she will work to free political prisoners all over the world. She

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NEWS LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

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Two Worlds

Nixon's global politicking: Phase II

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA,
Chairwoman, News & Letters Committees

As Commander-in-Chief, Nixon had, on May 8, announced that he had ordered the mining of Haiphong, an act of war not even LBJ had dared to commit. After 14 days of gleefully watching the bloody consequences of this unprecedented step—combined with accurate laser-bombing of railways, and indiscriminate, ceaseless bombing deep in the heartland of a country we have never declared war against—the President embarked on still another "journey for peace": the trip to Moscow.

Nixon had pulled off some very real assurances from Brezhnev that, no matter what Nixon did to destroy Vietnam, Russia would not try to stop him, and signed a SALT pact. Flushed by the victory of his second summit, Nixon staged still another spectacular, though Moscow was supposed to be all "substance," and not just "froth." Having flown from Russia to Iran, and from Iran to Poland, and from Poland directly to Andrews Air Force base, Air Force One landed on cue. Nixon transferred to the presidential helicopter which proceeded directly to the Capitol Hill steps, where all TV cameras waited to record him entering Congress to a standing ovation.

BARNUM & BAILEY, AND BREZHNEV, TOO

Barnum & Bailey couldn't have put on a greater show, not after the recent Peking extravaganza, but then they didn't have the power of the presidency. And any one who might still have thought it was impossible to outrank "the week that changed the world," was now asked to look at the real super-powers, the "substance" beneath the superabundant froth, "a new age in relationships."

It is true that Mao, too, had met with Nixon as he had escalated the Vietnam war. But Brezhnev managed to outdo Mao's welcome of Nixon. In addition to the Communiqué at the end of the eight days of talk, Brezhnev and Nixon issued "A Declaration of Principles."

The attempt to cover up Russia's betrayal of North Vietnam with a paragraph which pointed to the different views the two super-powers had on the war in Indochina was worse than hollow. The attempt to raise "peaceful co-existence" to a first principle, one demanded by "the nuclear age which leaves no alternative," could only bring to mind another unprecedented and outrageously unprincipled historic act: the Stalin-Hitler Pact which had given the green light to World War II.

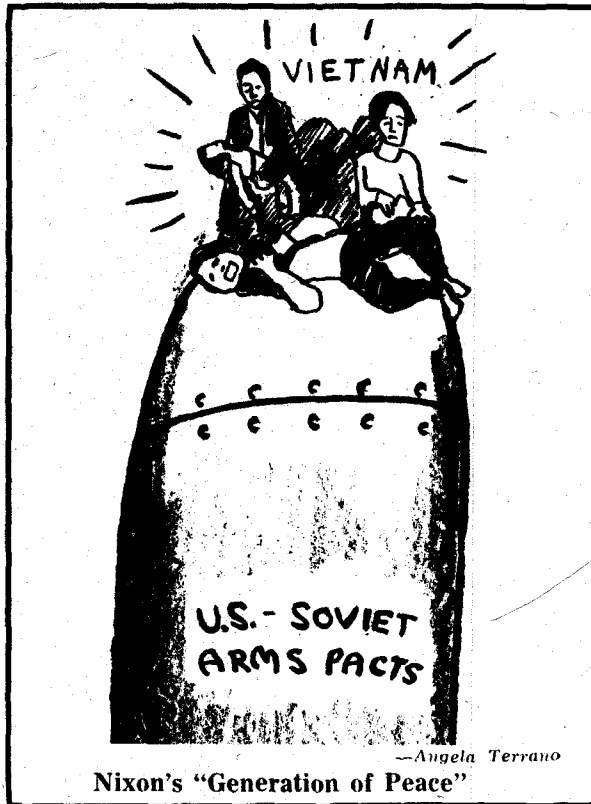
Twelve points (covering everything from cultural to commercial relations and limitations of nuclear arms to which we'll return later) are listed in the infamous "Declaration of Principles" but, in truth, there is one and only one "first principle" from which all others flow and to which they all return. That first one states that the U.S. and Russia "will proceed from the common determination that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful co-existence."

BETRAYAL BY ANY OTHER NAME

The single grain of truth in Nixon's report of that summit was that three-fifths of the world's population had never known what it was to live in peace, outside of nuclear terror. The rest of that sentence was an unmitigated lie. It contended that the Moscow summit, especially SALT, would be the road to peace.

None, least of all the Vietnamese against whom Nixon was perpetrating his carnage, could have been surprised by that oily speech. But what a chill must

(Continued on Page 5)



Nixon's "Generation of Peace"

EDITORIAL: Wallace threat unmet by labor

Wallaceism is racism, and the fact that Wallace has gained much more support since his Independent Party challenge of four years ago means one thing above all else: that the cancer of racism in our increasingly state-capitalist society is more dangerous than ever before in the history of our nation.

Wallace claims to speak for the "working man" and for the "little people," and can partly get away with it because the so-called labor leaders have not spoken out on the real needs of the working class of people. Workers know that the automated production line means that they are going to be slaves to the machines for the rest of their lives unless there is a basic change in their conditions of work.

WALLACE NEO-FASCISM

These are the problems that the labor leaders refuse to confront, and this failure produces a void that Wallace is trying to fill with his neo-fascist brand of anti-intellectual and anti-establishment rhetoric. Like Hitler, Wallace is appealing to the white segment of the working class to promote his program of divide and rule. It must be remembered that Hitler even claimed to be anti-capitalist—and in fact called his party the National Socialists, the Nazi party. Whereas Hitler could not gain a mass base among the workers, he did get a mass following among the middle class. And once he got his mass base, he also got massive financial assistance from the big capitalists who supported him to preserve their system.

While Wallace and racism are synonymous, the fact is that it is the Nixon administration which has given respectability to unequal and discriminatory practices.

Beginning with the GOP Miami convention in 1968, Nixon made clear his intention to try to wipe out every gain made by the Black revolt during the decade of the 1960's. And Nixon has kept his pledge. Every important appointment he has made, every government project he has scuttled, has been aimed at reducing or eliminating the progress that Blacks struggled for an entire decade to try to achieve.

WALLACE AIDS NIXON'S RACISM

It is under the asbestos cover that Wallace has provided that Nixon is able to get away with his flaming racist practices. Compared with Wallace, Nixon appears to be a moderate.

The frightening aspect of Wallace is that he gained much support since 1968. This has less to do with Wallace than it has to do with the degeneracy of the capitalist system. For Wallace to be given respectability by the press and the Democratic Party is a sign of just how sick this society is.

In 1968, many Democratic Party leaders and some labor bureaucrats attacked the racism and demagoguery of Wallace. The United Auto Workers convention held in Atlantic City in 1968 exposed and crushed the few Wallace supporters who tried to gain more weight for Wallace in the UAW. In 1968, the UAW published information exposing Wallace's record of union busting in Alabama, and the low standards of education and living in the state which naturally flowed from Wallace's racist and anti-working class administration.

LABOR LEADERS FAIL

This year, after paying for and printing hundreds of thousands of brochures and other pieces of literature

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Abortion reform law threatened in New York

On May 15, 1972, Governor Rockefeller, although under pressure from President Nixon who issued a public statement in support of the "sanctity of life" and the Catholic Right to Life Committee groups, vetoed the Donovan-Crawford bill passed by the State Legislature on May 10th.

That bill sought to reinstate the criminal penalty of a three-month jail sentence for women receiving abortions, except in cases of danger to the life of the woman as determined by a physician.

Although Rocky's original position had been to veto the bill, in response to attacks focused by the Church on the maturity of the fetus at the 24th week, he had introduced two bills aimed at a compromise whereby abortions could be performed up to 16 or 18 weeks instead of 24.

The repeal bill emerged from an intensive campaign launched by the Catholic Archdiocese of New York and the efforts of Cardinal Cooke heading the Right to Life Committee. Ten thousand anti-abortion demonstrators were mobilized in New York City on March 16. Another 600 were on the steps of the Capitol in Albany and approaching state legislators in early May regarding the bill. Pro-abortion forces, after a week concentrated on abortion action from May 1-6 were able to rally only 2,000 marchers for a May 6 demonstration.

HIGH COST OF ABORTION

Before 1970, abortion prices ranged from \$300 to \$800 in metropolitan areas or foreign cities where travel expenses added another \$300 or \$400 to the cost. Now residents of New York City pay \$80 to \$100 and up at a clinic or hospital. Elsewhere in the state, abortions can be obtained in a physician's office for slightly higher.

Statistics made available by the Women's Health and Abortion Project of N.Y.C. show that 55.5 percent of New York abortions are performed on out-of-state women, and that 73.8 percent of those receiving abortions are white. So, if you are a low-income or non-white woman, your chances of getting an abortion are slim, even in a state with a "liberalized" law.

Welfare recipients to confront Democratic convention

By Doris Wright

When the eastern region of the National Welfare Rights Organization met in Albany, New York, last month, people came from nine states to work on planning strategy for NWRO's upcoming annual conference in Miami, Florida, July 5-9.

Besides working on plans of action for the Democratic Convention July 10 in Miami, the conference educated participants in organizing campaigns within their communities around issues relevant to poor people. Workshops dealt with such issues as the Talmadge, Ribicoff and Brooke amendments.

The Talmadge amendment is a forced work requirement which would restructure the work incentive program (WIN) of the Family Assistance Plan to force most welfare recipients to register for "manpower services training" and employment. Any state which failed to refer at least 15% of the average number of individuals registered during the year as "ready for employment" would be penalized by a deduction in the federal government's matching grants.

The Ribicoff amendment is another forced work plan which, in addition to its work provision, would also authorize Labor to provide day care services for working parents, and those registered for work. Welfare recipients would be charged for part of the costs of such services.

NWRO claims that the Family Assistance Plan would offer child care that is merely custodial as well as segregated. It demands that all child development programs funded by the government be economically and ethnically mixed, with subsidized care for the children of low income families and a sliding scale for upper-income groups.

The purpose of the Brooke amendment is to benefit poor people living in public housing by reducing their monthly rent. It is part of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1969 (HUD) and has been implemented almost everywhere for all public housing project tenants except welfare recipients. Housing authorities are afraid that as soon as they reduce a tenant's rent, the welfare department will cut that person's check by the amount of the rent reduction. In this way, the welfare department winds up saving money and the recipient gains nothing.

It is up to local welfare rights organizations and tenants groups to pressure the local housing authority to implement the Brooke proposal. NWRO, in cooperation with other organizations, has published a step-by-step booklet called "How to Organize a Brooke Amendment Campaign," which can be obtained for \$1.00 from the National Welfare Rights Organization, 1419 H. Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., 20005.

According to Dr. George Wiley, NWRO executive director, "We are going to Miami to demand to be inside the political process, and to dramatize the exclusion of poor people from the democratic process. NWRO demands that 50 million people who are poor in this country have one quarter of the seats at the convention. We

Also, gains made in New York abortion reform have been substantially threatened by a well-financed, well-organized campaign whereby Medicaid payments no longer cover abortions, private clinics and referral groups have been barred from performing abortions and efforts to close and silence hospitals and medical centers for "inability to meet licensing standards" has been made.

A QUESTION TO ASK

The obvious question to ask ourselves is what has happened to the women's movement which two years ago had developed a mass movement of women struggling for freedom of which abortion was a part? Where are the women now who saw the importance of unifying behind issues involving freedom of choice with regard to personal, civil liberties. Have we lost that unity or is it just dormant?

The abortion question, then, as evidenced by the struggle in New York, seems to lay bare the reactionary forces and exposes the weakly unified position of the women's groups. It strikes a nerve center tapping the moral indignation of those who would struggle to protect the establishment and its oppression of women, a nerve center buried deep in male supremacy. The abortion issue must be seen as basic to the struggle for civil rights for women and the law must be made to recognize the right of every woman to control her own body.

In response to a defense of protection for the unborn, we must reply—what about protecting the life of the unborn, unfulfilled woman—the woman who has been subjected to the mental rape of sociological, Catholic and religious brainwash, the woman brutalized by masculine intimidation, physical force and medical experimentation, the woman victimized by economic exploitation and subservience and in short, the woman enslaved and oppressed by a system conceived, legislated and enforced by men. We, as women, want self-determination and must demand our rights to human dignity and respect. We must struggle on every issue which threatens our basic human rights.

—Judith C., New York

have a right to have our issues on that agenda before that convention to be voted on. We are going to say that we are SOMEBODY and we demand to be heard. Our struggle is to build a movement of people who are politically aware and sophisticated and know how, when and who to fight to make our goals a reality."

Peru women fight for land reform



In June, 1969, the military junta which governed Peru passed the Agrarian Reform Law, calling for the reduction and division of large land holdings. The maxim was "the land belongs to one who works it." At the Hacienda Huando, owned by Antonio Grana, however, more than half of the total number of acres went to members and close friends of the Grana family.

The workers of the hacienda demanded the annulment of the parcellation. They militantly carried out a strike and marches of protest to make their struggle known to the public, in spite of great repression. The "revolutionary" government, which had not responded to their demands or their attempts to protest within legal limits, finally was forced to annul the parcellation and promise that Huando would become a cooperative. The entire struggle has gone on for about two years and is not as yet resolved. Following is an article by one of the women of Huando who actively participated in the struggle.

I would like to say that women have become politicized in this process: we have matured. We no longer feel that we are useful only for cleaning house, washing, and taking care of children. The women of Huando have gone far beyond this. They feel they should be able to participate as the men do. We have shown, here in this struggle, that we have great potential and strength.

We have backed this struggle all the way. Our men were tortured and jailed, and we too were mistreated, but we did not let up the fight. Like myself, the majority of the women in Huando are spirited fighters and we, as well as our children, were able to participate effectively. In spite of shotgun blasts, and beatings, we continued on until the end.

In one way or another the agrarian reform must go on, however slow; and it IS very slow. We have been fighting now for more than two years, and yet we must still continue to struggle. We have all suffered greatly, but we will go on in spite of that suffering. In the end, the land will be ours, and Hacienda Huando will become a cooperative.

—Member, Huando Strike Committee Union

WAY OF THE WORLD

Blacks shocked by Chisholm visit to George Wallace

By Ethel Dunbar

When Shirley Chisholm first announced her candidacy for President, I was more than happy to hear it because she is Black and a woman. When she began attacking most Black male politicians and leaders for not supporting her, I felt great. I even talked some Black women out of voting for Humphrey and McGovern to vote for her in the primaries here.

After seeing her and listening to her remarks after going to the hospital to visit George Wallace last week, I said, Oh, no. Are those words really coming out of the mouth of Shirley Chisholm? Is racism becoming an accepted word to her, too, along with many other Black leaders and politicians? How do they think people can ever forget Wallace standing in the door of the University of Alabama to keep Blacks from enrolling? Why do they think the KKK, American Nazi Party and the most race-hating elements of this country are staunch Wallace supporters?

I am not surprised at some of the Blacks who are jumping on the Nixon or Wallace bandwagon. One passage in the Bible reads something like "There are those among you that will sell their birthright for a mess of pottage." All of our historical lives we have been double- and triple-crossed, not only by white leaders, but by Black leaders as well, who can and have sold us farther down the river than anyone else. Now these Black leaders are helping Wallace and Nixon to roll back the progress that Blacks made in the 1960s. Floyd McKissick, who was a part of making this history, now says that Blacks' best bet is to vote for Nixon in November. Every case that Nixon's Supreme Court has ruled on that would have meant progress for the poor and working-class, whites or Blacks, they have ruled against. A Black man, K. LeRoy Irvis, majority leader of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, filed a suit against a Lodge of Mooses for refusing to serve him. Nixon appointee Justice Rehnquist, writing the majority opinion, ruled against the Black man.

I get frightened every time I think of those recent Supreme Court Justices. How can Black leaders tell 20 million of us to vote for someone we all know is against us?

If you have a story, or want to contact News & Letters Women's Liberation Committees in Connecticut, Detroit, Los Angeles or New York, write to the addresses in the box below.

Post Office "progress"

New York, N. Y. — Recently postmaster Klassen played a taped message in all the large PO's across the country. The big message was "shape up or ship out." Management is supposed to increase productivity and we better watch out! They want to get rid of some 100,000 "unnecessary" workers right away.

They are trying to force the older people out by making retirement seem sweeter. The latest gimmick is chopping 2% from full benefits for every year below retirement. This plan is supposed to look like a good deal, especially with the increasing work loads. But no one can afford to get out under those terms.

A 90-day freeze on hiring is also in effect. Now that vacations have begun, we have to cover for everyone who's out and even for the extra help we're supposed to get each day.

We laughed when Klassen said, "All we have to sell is service." What he is really concerned with is "breaking even" by breaking our backs, and the public be damned. How can he be concerned with service when he cuts out deliveries and collections, eliminates routes, eliminates special delivery carriers, removes collection boxes and raises the rates!

Most of these changes are local issues, but our union is all tied up with taking over the national. They started out as a rank and file movement, but I think they are losing touch with what is happening on the job right now. Management is trying to put our back against the wall, and unless we stop these changes now, it won't matter who is negotiating the national contract next year.

—Postal worker

Local News & Letters Committees can be contacted directly in the following areas:
CONNECTICUT: PO Box BB, Wesleyan Station, Middletown, Conn. 06451
LOS ANGELES: PO Box 24371, Los Angeles, Calif. 90024
DETROIT: 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit 48207 (961-1010)
NEW YORK: PO Box 5463, Grand Central Sta. New York, N.Y. 10017

Longshoremen fight to save union hiring hall

San Francisco, Cal.—Harry Bridges accepted the Nixon pay board's drastic slash of our February agreement, but there is no peace on the Pacific Coast piers. Even without the wage board's warring attack on the original terms (a \$20 million gift to the bosses), the proposed contract had solved nothing relating to the big on-the-job problems of working longshoremen such as steady men, manning scales, and extended shifts when ships are sailing or moving to another pier.

Harry Bridges told Congress, "... the main reason our workers have insisted upon a strike this time, the first time in 23 years ... (is that) the union spent too much time, effort, and their money solving employer problems when we were supposed to be working for the workers." (Dig that "our workers" bit—sounds just like a shipowner.)

UNION HELPS BOSSES

The contract of 1966 contained the notorious section 9.43 that provided for steady men in certain job categories. Longshoremen have long had a union-employer hiring hall. When a dock or ship job is finished we go back to the hall for a new dispatch on the basis of hours, low man out first. We don't have to look at the same bosses' faces every day. This has a great bearing on being able to do the job your own way, of setting your own pace, of giving you a little taste of freedom.

The union, helping to "solve employer problems," pressed for putting 9.43 into effect and ran into resistance from working longshoremen. Men were indignant over the "low-man-out-first" rule of the hiring hall being violated. Bridges succeeded in getting a fraction of workers to become steady men under 9.43.

The slogan chalked on walls here is, "Steady men are scabs." The antagonism to these people is over the way they run around ready to do anything to impress the bosses even if it is out of their category and therefore a violation of the "one man—one job" idea. This was a threat, especially if it spread, to the longshoremen's control of their on-the-job lifestyle.

The union's capitulation to the employers' terms on mechanization and containerization inevitably brought about a reduction in the amount of work available. We had a situation where the steady men were doing a seven-days-a-week number while the average longshoreman was skimming along on a few days a week.

And so, last year, shortly before the strike, the local here called the Steady-Eddies back to the hall and the employers shut down the port. Despite that beef and the long strike, 9.43 has remained in the contract and the issue of paring the hours of the steady men is to be decided by an arbitrator.

JOB ISSUES IGNORED

Bridges did a lot of big talking about resisting the

Nixon pay board's war against us (he threatened strike resumption if he cut us by even one cent) but wound up by simply capitulating. A basement man, a man who works in the hold, put it this way: "If Bridges wasn't going to fight the pay board on the money settlement why didn't he take care of the beefs like steady men, manning, extended shifts and so on, things the pay board couldn't interfere with?"

A little later he answered his own question this way: "The reason that Bridges did nothing about the big things that hit us on the job is that he's like all the rest of the big-time labor fakers; they negotiate contracts dealing with money matters and to hell with what happens on the job, even to the disappearance of the jobs."

Even those who feel we've been thoroughly defeated and that our group will decline until we're all but eliminated by the containerization aren't ready for docility. One of the brothers who feels most strongly this way was out front in a recent beef where we were short-handed. He was in the forefront with us in telling them that we wouldn't turn to unless the matter was corrected, and the bosses gave in in a matter of minutes. We got a glimpse of how to make the future work.

—San Francisco docker

Lettuce boycott resumes

The United Farm Workers has announced a renewed boycott of iceberg lettuce from non-union growers.

In August of 1970, 7,000 lettuce cutters went on strike in the Salinas Valley of California. At issue is: working conditions, wages and the right to union representation.

In March of 1971 the UFW announced a moratorium on the boycott in order that the Union and growers could negotiate a settlement. After a year of negotiations, the Union broke off the talks because the lettuce growers were negotiating in bad faith and were conspiring with the American Farm Bureau Federation to introduce legislation to make the UFW nothing more than a social club.

On May 1, the NLRB ruled that the UFW was exempt from the labor laws and that it could use consumer boycotts.

The Detroit office of the UFW will conduct a statewide campaign to urge consumers to boycott iceberg lettuce.

**READERS:
DO YOU HAVE A STORY
TO TELL? SEND IT IN!**



by John Allison

Chrysler management has tried all types of schemes to reduce absenteeism, especially in their stamping plants. They have held stamping workers' "enrichment" programs—sort of talk or gripe sessions on company time. The latest scheme is to get the workers with a history of absenteeism to agree to take a one-year leave of absence without pay so management can hire new people to take their places, while workers with seniority sit outside.

Neither the union nor Chrysler have been able to solve the problem of automation and assembly line work. The young wage earner simply refuses to be chained to a line ten hours a day, six days a week.

Management and the UAW have talked and studied ways to get more production, and make the worker happy doing it. They have tried painting the machines and playing music, every known aid of "science" to get the young worker to produce like his father did. They pretend to be working toward humanizing the production line. However, you never stop a gift horse from running as long as he wins the race. So the company and the union keep scheming to keep production rolling.

Something new has happened at Dodge Local 3. They have just elected the first Black president. Local 7 at Jefferson has elected a Black worker for a second term. These locals are the largest locals in Chrysler, leaving out Local 212, which is really many local unions housed under one roof. Yet production is the same. Absenteeism is the same. Management lay-offs go on the same way.

Black workers, like white workers, realize that nothing basic can change as long as the UAW will not stop management from setting the production standards the way it chooses. Electing Black presidents in local unions will not keep the UAW from negotiating away the rights of workers.

NY cab drivers kept divided

New York, N.Y.—The taxi is more of a necessity in the Black and Puerto Rican communities of New York than in downtown areas, where public transit is better. But a Taxi Commission study reports that although most drivers are not biased, the fear of hold-ups and shootings "result in a pattern of racial discrimination against dark-skinned persons."

The response in the ghettos has been formation of state licensed "gypsy" fleets to pick up radio calls, not to cruise. Non-medallioned taxis now serve 450,000 passengers a day, up three times since 1958. The medallioned cabs average about 700,000 passengers a day. The mostly Black gypsy fleet owners are demanding that the Taxi Commission regulate them and give them downtown hackstands.

The medallioned fleet driver and the gypsy fleet driver have a lot in common. Low pay, frequent hold-ups and murders in this drug-ridden city, high incidence of respiratory disease due to air pollution and kidney disease due to bad shocks; all these, it would seem, would lead drivers to form a city-wide union.

Taxi union president Van Arsdale, however, echoes the fleet-owners' racist denunciations of the gypsies. The gypsy cabs threaten the monopoly of cruising that the city granted to the fleet-owners and the 4,500 owner-drivers.

The fleet-owners label "gypsies" as "mugger-rapists," while the union bureaucrats call anyone who demands organization of the gypsies a union buster. However, after 18 months without a contract and with a reduced income, fleet cabbies know who is busting the union. So do many gypsy drivers. Fleet drivers have formed their own fighting rank-and-file organization. As this crisis comes to a head, Van Arsdale threatens to put the union into trusteeship so that he can ram a rotten contract down our throats. I was just fired for demanding one union for all taxi drivers.

The fleet owners, their union bureaucrat allies, and city council politicians are the real racists. It is they who use the gypsies as another phony issue like "busing" to drive workers apart.

—Blacklisted cab driver

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—They are laying off about 400 skilled tradesmen here at Fleetwood. Most of these are journeymen. As soon as word of the layoffs came down these skilled workers started trying to get the contract rewritten so they could use the seniority they had in the skilled trades to bump production workers.

And that's not all they wanted either; they wanted to pick their jobs. They didn't get away with it. But the fact that they even tried tells a lot about the way they think.

Under our local agreement trainees and apprentices often bump back into production when the work in skilled trades is slow. In fact most of them are back on the line already, since the company isn't changing the bodies so often. But journeymen are in an entirely different division.

The contract is supposed to protect us, but out on the line the company runs right over the contract and the production worker while the union stands by and does nothing. For as long as I can remember the skilled tradesmen ran our local. And they ran it for themselves.

If there was an opening in skilled trades the last place the company would look for someone to train to fill it was in production. They'd hire someone off the street first. The skilled workers tried their best to keep it that way. Journeymen are a separate unit because they kept themselves separate, separate and closed. Now they are in trouble and they want to save themselves by jumping on the production worker.

This business of rewriting the contract in the middle of the contract period would not be a bad idea if we were talking about the right of every worker to make some change that he needed to defend himself or his job. But these skilled workers were talking about defending their jobs by taking ours. No way we could stand for that. —Production worker, Fleetwood.

GM Southgate

The following appeared in a leaflet distributed by the GM Southgate Workers Committee:

Los Angeles, Cal.—In the body shop we are working under conditions which are not very healthy. Underneath where the cars are moving it is dirty, with paper, dust, grease and lead being present. This is the place where we have to live for eight hours. Some of us have to eat in this area. In addition to being dirty there is not sufficient ventilation. Smoke from welding does not leave, but just stays around and we have to breathe it.

Most importantly, the possibility of being poisoned from lead is very real. We undergo periodic lead checks, but aren't directly told the results. Instead if the Company says the level of lead is too high you are put out of that section until your lead level drops. And then you are put back in. But why aren't we told what lead does to us and why aren't we told each time what the results of the test are? We asked a biological chemist about lead. He wrote us the following:

"Inorganic lead is thoroughly implicated as a causative agent in decreased hemoglobin synthesis, liver and kidney damage, mental retardation in children and in abnormalities of fertility and pregnancy. The largest amounts of lead are absorbed through the respiratory tract and the gastro-intestinal tract. Inhalation of sufficiently small lead particles leads to their deposition in the deeper spaces of the lung where most are absorbed sooner or later. Once in the body lead is absorbed rapidly by bone and apparently is released at a slow rate over an extended period of time."

With such clear danger from lead, not only should we be checked regularly, but if men are found to have high lead content it is not enough to transfer them out. In addition there is something wrong with the way GM is producing cars which must be changed. No one should have to run the risk of lead poisoning. Conditions should be changed so that any danger is eliminated.

Reader's Views

BLACK LEADERS AND BLACK MASSES

The National Black Political Convention was the most fantastic assembly of Black political figures in the history of the USA. The Alabama delegation went on record against the arbitrary anti-busing resolution pushed by Roy Innis of CORE, for our seven or eight delegates from Mobile got a first-hand look at Mr. Innis' mischief when he appeared in Mobile uninvited, to cause unnecessary strife and antagonism during school desegregation in Mobile two years ago. Racial hostility among students in Mobile still flares up periodically because of this.

Mr. Innis' anti-busing resolution sounded so much like George Wallace and Richard Nixon that its wording was edited at a later meeting of the Steering Committee. Subsequent events associated with the anti-busing resolution have led to a souring of arrangements between Mr. Innis and Mr. Nixon, and Mr. Innis may have made his last trip for the White House. We have not heard the last of that strange story.

Eagle Eye
Huntsville, Alabama

Nixon has succeeded in making racism respectable. He has even made Wallace respectable. Nobody even apologizes for being a bigot any more. The capitulation of our so-called Black leaders is disgusting. I would not have been too surprised to hear someone like a Senator Brooke say Wallace would be acceptable as vice-president, and even hearing it from a bureaucrat like Tom Turner was not really a "shock." But to hear it from Shirley Chisholm really threw me! The Talented Tenth in this country have always played along and helped along the repression.

Black Worker
Detroit

We are dismayed by the statements of Roy Wilkins which indirectly gave tacit support to the continuation of American corporate involvement in Southern Africa. Bishop Muzorewa, Chairman of the newly formed African National Council, said he had one clear message from 99% of the Zimbabwean Blacks: "Sanctions are the only weapon we have. The inconvenience for Blacks is merely the price of freedom." When the OAU has taken a position against dialogue with South Africa why would Mr. Wilkins undermine the aspirations of African people for freedom and equality? We hope he will retract his statements and let the future speak of him as a friend and not a traitor to African freedom.

Brothers and Sisters
of African descent
New York

When Hitler came to power in Germany his strategy and tactics were very

much like Wallace's. Wallace calls himself a Populist — Hitler said he was a "Socialist," a "National Socialist." As soon as he got power, he destroyed the unions in Germany. The labor leaders—and even the radicals—are not exposing Wallace for what he is. I hope the workers will not let the same thing happen here as happened in Germany.

Black Worker
Detroit

VIETNAM WAR . . .

This summer the War Registers League is offering an "organizers training program" for high school and college age persons. The weeklong program will run from July 8 to 15. It will consist of 10 to 12 hour days with little free time. It amounts to a cram course in movement training. Housing will be provided. If you are interested write to:

David McReynolds, WRL
339 Lafayette St.
New York City 10012

Our society has taught us inhumanity. The Vietnamese people's struggle has taught us the falsity of those lessons — which took us to Indo-China to commit genocide in the name of democracy and peace. The lessons which we learned, we want to teach others. Vietnam Veterans Against the War will continue to fight for the liberation of the people of Indo-China, the people of America, the people of the world.

Vietnam Veterans Against the War
25 W. 26th St.
New York, N. Y. 10010

What happened that you get 100,000 people out on April 22, and two weeks later, only 10,000 despite a catastrophic event happening within those two weeks, when a million should come out? What happened in that time? Marx called time "place for human self-development." Is there a connection between what happened and all those arrogant vanguardists — politicians of every shape and variety — shouting their one word answers and slogans at every rally?

Who else but News & Letters would choose "Masses as Reason" for the title of its anti-war leaflet?

Woman Worker
New York

I believe that most of the copies of N&L I sold at the May 13 antiwar rally here were sold because of the cartoon, and I would like to thank whoever drew that political statement on the Mad Bomber. I remember being jealous of the huge headline on the Militant while I was selling, but now that I try to think of it, I can't remember what it said. I guess big type alone doesn't capture anyone's imagination.

Angela Terrano
New York

. . . AND OUR PRESIDENT

Never doubt it, Nixon is out to conquer the earth. His trips to China and Russia were timed perfectly to suck them into a do-nothing attitude while he proceeds to literally destroy North Vietnam, and all of its people, if necessary. Nixon is laying the groundwork at home to create a nation of zombies. It can be seen in the decisions the courts are making and the laws being passed. Look at the way Nixon is proceeding and the way Hitler proceeded and you will see the same things going on except that Nixon has learned from Hitler's mistakes, and is more expert.

Reader
Santa Rosa, Cal.

At the very time that Nixon was visiting Brezhnev, I noticed a report that a newly-published collection of Russian

underground documents reveals political dissent in Russia has spread even to the military. The first issue of the underground newspaper (Chronicle of Current Events) came out April 30, 1968, and the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia apparently increased the civil rights movement. The documents revealed there are about 100 prison camps holding about one million political prisoners. I wonder what all Nixon went to Russia to learn from Brezhnev?

Observer
New York

Nixon is faced with demonstrations on Vietnam wherever he goes. There was none in Moscow, however. The people there dare not — only one voice was raised.

I note that Russia wants some of her ships to be used to bring wheat from America. Wheat from America after all the five-year plans to improve the supply in Russia. That tells a tale.

Marxist-Humanist
Scotland

Some of the people I work with who used to be very conservative about government activities seem to have changed since Adolf Nixon's speech intensifying the war. The first few days they defended the mining and increased bombing, but now they are beginning to criticize it. I wish I could get them to realize the problem does not stop in Vietnam, but that the problems here are caused by the same system.

Working Mother
Connecticut

There is a campaign being started as a "consciousness-raiser" for the American people. The major tactic will be a phone calling campaign consisting simply of the following: "Hello. I called to ask you to think about whether Nixon lied about ending the war. Thank you." The closer the elections grow, the more Nixon will not wish people to think about the war.

Activist
New York

FROM BRITAIN AND ITALY

There is some confusion about the Upper Clyde Shipyard fight. An American company has taken over the yard at Clydebank. The British government has handed over some money, but the amount is a secret. An official of the company has asked for a guarantee of no strikes for four years. There is no published agreement on this, but there is, so they say, an agreement on "intent." Instead of ships, they will build oil-rigs.

James Reid, the leader of the so-called "work-in" was recently elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University. He spoke when installed and took Alienation for his headline. He quoted Christ, but not Marx. There was not a word about the proletariat. This man got the highest vote for Executive Committee of the Communist Party at its last congress.

H. McShane
Glasgow

It is very interesting to see all the different correspondence in your paper. The writers always seem so fresh and sincere, something which is sometimes lost even in a carefully prepared article or report in most of the Left press.

Hyde Park Socialist
London

The same day that the results of the Italian elections came out there was the news of Nixon's ultimatum for Vietnam. Needless to say, the latter is much more important than poor little Italy's political problems. It was wonderful how the U. S. people revolted against Nixon's Hitlerism. In Europe also the demon-

strations have been magnificent. Russia's position and the new Chinese alliance haven't helped things. We have to get rid of those people in the White House, but it will be hard.

How could Wallace have won in Michigan??

Italian Marxist
Milan

RACISM AND BUSING

I found an item in a copy of the Oct. 14, 1960 Detroit News while I was looking through an old scrap book, that caught my attention. The head read: "Klan Sticks With Nixon." It reported that the grand wizard of the Florida Klan had insisted, "I don't give a damn what Nixon said. I'm still voting for him," after his support was "repudiated" by Nixon.

It reinforced my belief that Nixon, with his anti-busing, Southern court, and benign neglect has consistently been a racist throughout his career. The racists supported him in the 60's and are still supporting him in the 70's.

Feminist
Detroit

The continuation of white racist control over the education of Black children has been assured for a while longer by Judge Stephen Roth's recent decree on busing. Why is it that the white power structure feels the "best" way to achieve school integration is to dilute Black control over their children's education by creating a 75% white—25% black student population? Best for whom?

How interesting that this great judicial crusade for integration should take place now that Black children make up more than 65% of Detroit's students, and Black control of schools in beginning to take a foothold through school-community councils, parents, groups and some regional school boards. The education of Black young people must be in the hands of Black people who care about them, regardless of what the white bureaucracy decides.

Observer
Detroit

NEW READERS

I am a 20 year old voter. I attended NYU for a year, experienced disappointment and took a leave that never terminated. I have spent three years playing music. But the music industry has proved as corrupt, and further removed from artistic considerations than the university was from genuine intellectual considerations.

I am not a member of any political group. I am privy to no special information. I have formed my opinions around facts gleaned from the New York Times, Wall Street Journal and Scientific American. But I believe that our nation under the leadership of President Nixon is reaching toward new pinnacles of depravity.

The American people are kept separated and blinded by class structure and internal racism . . . reinforced and insured by our incredibly prejudicial penal system. The reactionary tendencies of white labor are supported by industry-management . . . There must be an economic reordering of American society.

New Correspondent
Rockaway Park, N. Y.

It was good to see in the May 72 issue of N&L the report on the strike in Quebec. Most Americans have under-emphasized the influence that the Quebec/Canada struggle will have on that of the U. S. Please enter my sub.

New Reader
Vancouver, B. C.

News and Letters

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TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 1)

have run down the spines of the Vietnamese revolutionaries—those who are still alive after a quarter of century of fighting for their national independence—as they read in this unprincipled “Declaration of Principles” about “peaceful co-existence” just when their land was being despoiled and their people napalmed by the mightiest nuclear-armed imperialist land in the world. And to hear this from “a fraternal ally” who was assuring them that its collusion with the U.S. was all for purposes of “peaceful co-existence” that was stopping a nuclear holocaust!

Betrayal by any other name is as hard to bear—and smells as badly, if not high in heaven, then in the abyssal depths of hell.

It is high time to turn to that never-never land of promised peace called strategic arms limitations treaty which, as one of the many brainwashed reporters put it will make us all “sleep more peacefully than we did when we left with President Nixon for Moscow.”

THE HOOPLA OF SALT

Once Nixon began his “report” on the Moscow summit, there was no end to his flattery of Congress that he had been heretofore treating as an adversary. The reason was that SALT cannot become law until Congress approves it. He isn’t concerned with the extreme Right that thinks he “gave away” too much. He knows he has given away nothing. But he wishes to appear as “the man of peace,” and he never tires of his phony claim to initiating nothing short of “a generation of peace.”

Actually the strategic nuclear arms limitation treaty had been ready long before he got to Moscow for the ceremonial signature. Moreover, though the economic crisis in each country is so great that both the U.S. and Russia would like to find a way of stopping some of the fantastic costs of nuclear build-up, neither trusts the other to actually undertake any serious disarmament. The hoopla continues for two reasons. One is that since each has enough to destroy the world ten times over, none loses anything by a gesture that looks like an end to build-up. The second is that it is important to try to create euphoria at home as if this treaty would permit “the reordering of priorities for welfare at home.”

No one is pretending that any nuclear arms in existence will be destroyed. All that even the rulers claim is that it will freeze certain arms, at the present level. Is it true that the level reached is “frozen”? No.

For example, there is no limit either to the number of warheads or the power of each that is affixed to the missiles. Here the U.S. has a great advantage since both the power and the number of warheads—MIRV—is far superior to what the Russians have.

Also, not a word had been said either of the 500 U.S. so-called tactical fighters in Europe and elsewhere, nor of Russia’s 700 medium range ones aimed at Europe or wherever. And, in any case, there is no on-sight inspection of even those that are frozen at their present levels. Already the Russians are hurrying to develop MIRV since that is not among the forbidden items.

Worst of all is the rush in this country to build up all sorts of new “defenses.” Should any be so naive as to think about any “reordering of priorities,” or even just a lessening of defense budget, then all they have to do is listen to Laird. First, far from cutting the defense budget, an additional \$2.3 billion is being asked to meet the ceaseless bombing in Vietnam. Secondly, the U.S. is launching a program for new submarines where the Russians are supposed to be the superior. Thirdly—as if that is insufficient—there are new long-range submarine missile launch projects (ULMS) for which the military is planning to ask another \$12 billion!

It isn’t the Russians Nixon is trying to fool. It is the American people.

TRADE AND VIETNAM

Brezhnev-Kosygin-Podgorny desperately need trade (on favorable terms) and the “knowhow” America still has when it comes to computers. Just as in the 1930’s

Nixon’s global politicking: Phase II

and 1940’s Stalin made a fetish of the tractor and belt-line production, Ford-style, so, in the 1970’s Brezhnev is making a fetish of the computer and automation. The economic crisis, the desire to industrialize Siberia (in which Japanese technology is already involved), the fear that the U.S. might have concluded some agreement with China against Russia, all led to leaving all stops out in going through with summit, no matter what. And actually it wasn’t SALT, but trade, that Russia was after, most of all. For that they were willing to give much—but Vietnam was not theirs to give.

Thus, Nixon came, he saw but he didn’t conquer. He wanted more than a principled betrayal of Vietnam.



Drawing by Stuart Karstson.

He wanted Vietnam capitulation as if it were Russia’s to give. Nixon’s insistence on linking trade to that “substance” (naturally not openly acknowledged) very nearly turned the Moscow summit into as great a misadventure as the Chinese. Russia, no more than China, can exact from Vietnam what the Vietnamese revolutionaries are determined to decide for themselves—their own destiny in their own hands. And for that right they have earned the solidarity of the masses of the world!

No doubt, though the only thing in trade agreed upon was to establish a commission to look into the matter, some sort of trade agreement will be initiated in July which will be nearer to election time. Nixon depends heavily on his “great achievements” in Russia to help him get elected. But the point is why wasn’t a trade agreement signed in Moscow since the U.S. capitalists likewise want it badly for their economy? Ah, there is the rub; there is where Nixon had to become state-capitalist.

NIXON AS STATE-CAPITALIST

What Nixon calls “the new age of relationships” is by no means limited to global politics. It starts and remains at home. Ever since 1970 when he was overwhelmed by the totality of the crisis—from his invasion of Cambodia which brought about the greatest anti-Vietnam war outpouring, and not only of youth, through the near-collapse of the dollar on the world market and the most unprecedented trade deficit ever, to rampant inflation and unemployment—in a word, a galloping recession, Nixon embarked on shock treatment for all. Like rats leaving a sinking ship the Nixon Administration abandoned the holy “self-regulating magic market mechanism,” and initiated a “new” state order. From the New Economic Policy flowed government interven-

tion in the economy, first as a freeze on wages and prices, but not profits, then as control of wages, but again not on profits. That was supposed to bring jobs—thousands upon thousands upon thousands of jobs, with capital accumulation helped by the state, but expanded investment left to private capitalists. Having become a state-capitalist overnight, the private enterpriser thought all problems solved—at least enough to assure him reelection next time around.

Here it is a year later, and the profits have skyrocketed but the unemployment has remained as steady as a rock. The private capitalists who know exactly what rise in labor productivity means (and are as greedy as only their unconscionable souls can be), not only introduced more automation, but failed to hire any new labor.

Instead of thousands of new jobs, labor was speeded up. Instead of openings for “Black capitalism,” big capital kept eating up little capital. And instead of new openings for returning vets or for youth, especially Black youth, the U.S. remains a series of closed corporations. They are doing almost nothing to stop inflation—not when the government keeps jacking up its non-profitable expenditures (a never-ending destructive military complex), its bureaucracy, its trade deficits, and ever-expanding budgets.

The Stabilization Act of 1970 stabilized nothing but profits. The Productivity Commission got its wish—labor has never been more strangled in wages and speeded-up in production. And now the Government has to face Congress with showing a whopping \$26 billion deficit for 1972, a new bureaucratic apparatus to control wages and prices but not the rising government debt.

Nixon is ready to stop talking about bringing employment down to an “acceptable level,” and ready, instead, to define “prosperity” as end of inflation, but on that he is demanding that Big Capital help him before inflation erodes all of his victories. Hence, he withheld trade agreement with the Russians. Hence he is holding out the prospect of lush Russian contracts—if, if, if. There will no longer be any separation of economics from politics—which is precisely what state-capitalism is.

On the other hand, it all ends where it always has with capitalism, private or state, with the capital-labor relationship. For unless that is mollified—especially the restless Black dimension—nothing, absolutely nothing, will work.

THE PROBLEM IS HERE

The carnage in Vietnam is exposing the Big Lie about “winding down the war” even as it relates to bringing “the American boys back home.” The latest transfer of GIs from Vietnam to Thailand hardly brings them home or assures their not dying just because the lawless and murderous flights originate at Thailand rather than South Vietnamese bases. Not only does the unemployment refuse to go away, but, as against the “average” 6% unemployment, unemployment among veterans is 8%, and among the vets in the age group 20-24 it is 10.4%. And it is twice as high among Blacks. As for the inflation, which likewise was supposed to go away with the Phase II price freeze, it keeps ever going up along with the profits above and the restlessness of the masses below. In a word, what Nixon has returned to is a country full of crises, heightened by the white racism he has helped bring to a white heat, from Wallace to his Supreme Court. Now that he has succeeded also in getting Congress to roll back the clock of history by legislating anti-busing racist education, he must face the Black disgust which wants not only to bring him down, but to change the whole system.

In a word, “the new international relations” he is supposed to have established in Russia, are bringing about peace neither abroad nor at home. At home what he will be compelled to face is not “peaceful co-existence” but the eye of the storm.

Italian election report

Milan, Italy — The Italian elections turned out to be much less spectacular than was expected. Since the last parliamentary elections held in 1968, the fascists gained from 5.8 percent to 8.7 percent of the votes; it would seem that almost all of the fascist votes came from the Liberal Party—a party that is already more or less fascist.

What was more unexpected was the more or less total defeat of the extreme left. It was predicted that the Manifesto group that tried to collect around it almost all of the groups of the left, would win at least a half million votes. Instead the Manifesto got 223,789 (0.7 per cent) of the votes.

One can say that the political balance of power has remained more or less the same. The question is: how will it be used? The right and left of the Christian Democratic party are already fighting about what new type of government should be formed. It might be months before Italy will have a new government, but one thing is sure—that the CP will be left out.

—Correspondent, Italy

毛澤東的挑戰
譯者：Raya Dunayevskaya

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YOUTH

Taking to the streets at MSU

East Lansing, Mich.—After Nixon announced escalation of the war on May 8, a whole series of mass demonstrations answered him. Michigan State University was no exception and since that time, no less than a half dozen demonstrations have resulted in the East Lansing area.

On May 9, 2000 demonstrators took over one of the main intersections of East Lansing's downtown area, thus severing the main traffic artery. After having control for three hours at least 200 Lansing police, East Lansing police and MSU police moved in on demonstrators with tear gas canisters and billy clubs.

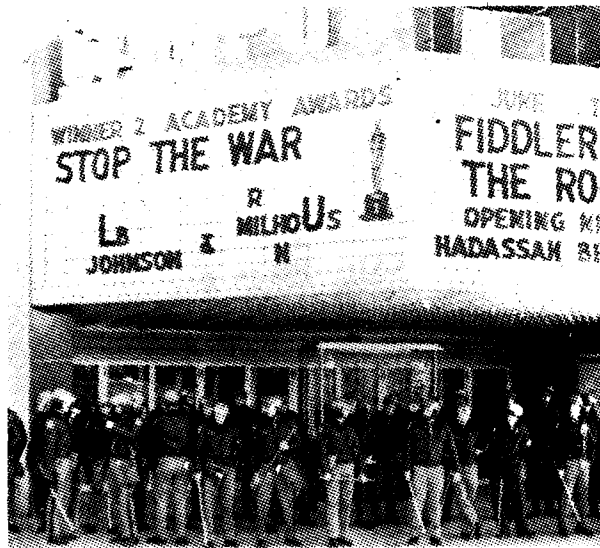
MASS PARTICIPATION

A much larger rally and demonstration was held the next day as Pres. Wharton tried to persuade the students not to take over Grand River Ave. again but the 3000 demonstrators were determined to take it over. This time, the police did not move in. The news media that night reported that students were in complete control of downtown E. Lansing. People had a rock concert in the street in front of Jacobson's store. Mass participation was tremendous and grass and wine were abundant.

The next day, at least 1000 anti-war demonstrators tried to take over the Administration Building at MSU. Their efforts were thwarted by swift police action and ten people were injured from cracked ribs and clubbed skulls in the melee over the Administration Building.

VETERANS ACTIVE

On Wed., May 17, about 500 people staged a peaceful march from the campus to the state capitol. About



Cops gather below marquee changed by protesters in East Lansing.

half of these anti-war protesters camped out at the state capitol in Lansing to protest the war. General support for demonstrations was much wider this year than in 1970. There seemed to be no one main group spearheading the demonstrations although Vietnam Veterans Against the War appeared to be most active.

Police attack Minneapolis demonstrators

Minneapolis, Minn.—On May 8, a few hours after Nixon made his announcement about mining the harbors of Haiphong, a crowd of about 200 people held a spontaneous manifestation of opposition on the steps of the state capitol in the city of St. Paul. The next two days running, there were spontaneous demonstrations on the campus of the University in Minneapolis, the people participating being variously determined at 3,000.

On the same day that 8,000 people gathered for a peace rally in St. Paul, Secretary of Housing Romney was in Minneapolis to unveil a new housing project for the rich. The people who had been thrown out of the community that this project was built in organized a demonstration against Romney. When the anti-war group in St. Paul learned about the demonstration in Minneapolis, they all ran across the river and joined forces with the community people. When the police saw these two forces joining, they decided that now was the time to attack. Street fighting persisted throughout the night.

The following day demonstrations moved against the Armory building and there were smaller simultaneous

movements against the Air Force recruiting office and the offices of ROTC. Immediately the police attacked the crowds of people. Mace was utilized with great liberality. Beatings, dismaying in their intensity, were frequent and non-discriminating. Photographers and journalists, bystanders and passersby were seized hold of with a degree of ferociousness equal to that given to the demonstrators.

Not long after, a mass of people, variously estimated at 10,000, gathered on the Mall of the University campus. The police again charged. Gas engulfed the Mall. Hand-to-hand combat broke out. Fighting spilled into nearby streets. With flying squads, Napoleonic tactics, and dull heavy clubs thrashing the thick air, the police emptied the Mall of people. Immediately, they built barricades on the huge Washington Ave. bridge, on University Ave., and around the community.

The people manned these barricades for many days, and were always having discussion and arguments with everyone around, mostly over tactics. After several days of this, the police gathered up enough strength to remove the barricades, and people are now waiting for the next stage of anti-war activity. —Demonstrator

Two conference letters: This is the 'Left'?

Chicago, Ill.—After the young Marxist-Humanists left the rank-and-file labor conference in Chicago (May 20-21) I returned to the meeting place to hear the finish of the session on the Black liberation movement and revolutionary socialists. The National Secretary of IS (notably: with white flesh) was telling us all about possible relationships between revolutionary socialists and Black liberation people. That may have been his intent, but it was obvious from the people gathered in the meeting place that these revolutionary socialists have few relationships with Black people. After the Marxist-Humanists left, I could find only three Black people remaining in the place.

After the National Secretary of IS had concluded, there was time for questioning. A young Black guy was recognized to take the floor. He was quiet and dignified, a considerable contrast to some of the cheerleaders of the Left who were present. He said that he had to disagree with what the National Secretary and others in the place were doing; equating certain organizations with the sum total of Black activity for Freedom. He said that the Panthers, etc., were one result of and not the cause of "Black mass activity" (his words). He also said that the latter had come from deep roots, that it would continue to swell even though particular groups like the Panthers, etc., might be brought to demise.

Since I had gone to that conference to listen, and this guy was saying things of such interest that I was roused again from my slumber, I really wanted to hear this guy talk some more. IS, however, threw a lot of

"Program" at him, which silenced him. He sat down and didn't say another word for the rest of the day. Some people really know how to crush a person of honesty and sincerity. —J. C.

New York, N.Y. — We tried to attend the Labor Committee meeting (May 27-28) at Teachers College ("Strategy for Socialism IV") with papers and other literature. When we tried to set up a table, a dude came up to us and said we had to pay \$10(!) to set it up. (At the SMC meeting this past March, the Trots said I had to pay \$10, too. All these red capitalists!)

We then tried to go inside to take the floor, but the same fellow said we had to pay \$3 apiece. So all we could do was sell papers and pass out "Masses as Reason" leaflets. We also made the lower-party ranks feel guilty about having such a high price that poor folks like us couldn't get in. Some actually did try to do something about it, but were told that if a person couldn't come up with three bucks, they probably weren't serious about appreciating their party-line, anyway.

Their agenda read as follows:

1. Victory of Phase II—Rout of the Labor Movement.
2. Wallace—The New Populist (!!!!!)
3. How to Organize the Poor and Unemployed (there sure as hell weren't any poor or unemployed at that conference—they were all rich effete snobs!)

—N&L Member, N.Y.

DOING AND THINKING

'The dragon is coming'

By Elliott Douglass

Book review: BLOOD IN MY EYE by George L. Jackson, Random House, New York, 1972, \$5.95.

... Tell him that seven thousand miles, the walls of prison, steel and barbed wire do not make him safe from my special brand of discipline, tell him the dragon is coming . . .

George Jackson, in his last book, published posthumously, directed these words toward Eldridge Cleaver. But it also serves as a notice to anyone else who cannot reckon the coming of the dragon, the wrath of the oppressed who seek justice. This book unfolds a sagacious and damning indictment of American society, that is more stringent than his previous *Soledad Brother*.

A reading of this "indictment" shows simultaneously the inimitable grasp of political history Jackson had and his flirtations with theories of guerrilla warfare. Yet whatever misgivings we may have about the latter, the vitality of his quest for liberation cannot be denied. The spirit of his struggle for liberty is perhaps the most genuine thing about this Black man. This "spirit" represents the solid framework of his book. For life is concrete and real, while myths are not. Jackson attempts to show this.

Skeptic philosophers like Kant have maintained that the true nature of freedom cannot be necessarily experienced. In true Marxist style, Jackson bevels this myth, pointing out that after all the abuse oppressed people have suffered, ". . . we grow impatient—not that we fail to understand the risks and complexities of anti-establishment warfare. We simply want to live."

Furthermore, it is not only imperative that we seek liberty, but to seek it is to seek what is self-development. Being conscious of a need, means that you cannot be coerced externally to develop it. Jackson believes that it is wrong to think that workers have to be politically educated. Because, he cautions, ". . . we must never forget that it is the people who change circumstances and that the educator himself needs educating . . ."

What then is consciousness? "Consciousness is the opposite of indifference, of blindness, blankness . . ." Since this is something innate, not "given," it follows that it is not the job of the state to liberate us. The first stage of struggle is one waged within our own minds. True consciousness, Jackson says, must be separated from other "alternatives." He is careful to distinguish this true consciousness from egoism or self-interest, and claims that this "escapism" leads nowhere. **CULTURE WON'T DO IT**

Similarly, he repudiates cultural nationalism as an unrealistic candidate for creating a new society. For the infrastructure of racist class society is such that it must be abolished. Jackson says that escapism as a serious candidate for total change is only mythical. This means that we must search for links of consciousness other than race identity, culturalism, or nationalism to bring people together as a cohesive social force in creating change. If this is to occur, Jackson says: "the debate between the vanguard elements should end."

In this book, Jackson explicates a "journey" of consciousness from the individual self to the collective self, not in contingent or volitional manner, but rather in a manner of necessity. It is only with this type of theoretical direction that we can begin to see that the fight for liberation of political prisoners, as Jackson noted, is but a part of a wider battle. Yet how is it important?

"It is important only if it provides new initiatives that redirect and advance the revolution under new progressive methods . . . Black, brown and white are all victims together. At the end of this massive collective struggle, we will uncover our new man, the unpredictable condemnation of the revolutionary process. He will be better equipped to wage the real struggle, the permanent struggle after the revolution —the one for new relationships between men."

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Strikes, sit-ins, and jailings across Quebec

Montreal, Quebec—We have just gone through the second massive revolt of workers in Quebec in as many months, and this time the workers were joined by students and citizens across Quebec. It all began again on May 8, when Laberge, Pepin, and Charbonneau, the heads of Quebec's three unions, were sentenced to one year in prison for disobeying the anti-strike law, Bill 19.

The next day, the city of Sept-Îles was occupied by the workers there. They took the radio station, closed the stores, blocked the roads, and demanded that the government stop persecuting workers. A construction contractor drove his car into a crowd of strikers, killing one worker and injuring 35 more.

HUNDREDS OF STRIKES

In the days that followed, so much happened that I can't begin to tell it all. All newspapers were shut down in Montreal; 17 radio and T.V. stations were taken over by workers, and strike news was read. The post office workers walked out, followed by liquor board employees, teachers in hundreds of schools, every blue-collar municipal worker in Montreal, and the longshoremen on the St. Lawrence.

On May 16 the total of arrests in the strike exceeded 300, and the government began forcing those arrested to take bail, rather than serve their sentences immediately.

Many students—college, high school, junior high school and even grade school—have walked out in support of the strikers or have occupied their schools.

There are two strikes still going on at this time: Montreal's blue-collar municipal workers and St. Lawrence Seaway longshoremen. The only essential service which the blue-collar workers are supplying is running

Repression in Israel

Kibutz Gal-On, Israel—In Mr. Slomovitz's letter to News & Letters of March '72 he considers the Israeli government somehow not responsible for a definite line of political suppression of some liberties we have faced. Unfortunately, the facts do not absolve our government in any way. While the previous prime minister had an excellent record in this matter, Golda Meir is very close to your Vice President Agnew in her outlook on internal policies.

The policy of the police toward the "Black Panthers" is a matter of high policy, and since Golda has met with their delegates all favourable publicity they had in the media was stopped, and police started getting tough with them.

Since my article was published there have been many worse cases of infringement of civil rights: on the 17 of January, 1972, there was a demonstration of Black Panthers, radical Zionist immigrants, and Siah (New Israeli Left). It was attacked by the police as soon as it started marching toward the Hall of the then opening World Zionist Congress; 35 demonstrators (some of them Americans) were arrested for illegal demonstration.

One of the demonstrators, age 16, was transferred from jail to a lockup for psychiatric observation; his long hair was shaven, he was severely beaten, and he was kept locked up for almost three months. He is out free now after a wave of protest and obvious comparisons with Soviet practices.

Four 18 year olds have refused to be drafted since they oppose serving in an occupying army. While the others were persuaded or pressured into giving in, one persisted. He was arrested for 35 days in an army jail and then rearrested. He is serving now his fifth 35-day term.

—Mordechai Cafri

EDITORIAL

(Continued from Page 1)

exposing the factual anti-working class conditions in Wallace's Alabama, the UAW bureaucrats, at the last minute before the Presidential primary election in Michigan, issued an order against giving out the information to the rank-and-file. The reason given by UAW President Woodcock was that the Democratic convention in Miami would reject Wallace, and that giving the information out would only cause dissension in the ranks.

The so-called labor leaders cannot provide the leadership that the working class is crying out for because they have not been able to face the most important challenge in their own unions—the challenge of racism. If the problem of racism had been squarely faced and fought in the unions, there would not be any threat from Wallaceism.

Therein lies the heart of the issue. At one time the labor movement could speak loudly for itself, and backed up with muscle, the principles of brotherhood and justice and equality. These principles were clear in words and more importantly in action. When union members called each other "brother" and "sister," they meant it, and were willing and able to fight to prove they meant it.

These working class principles have the power not only to counteract any threat that Wallaceism might pose, they are also the basis upon which a new society can be built.

water, and huge piles of garbage are in the streets. Last night some citizens, acting in the "community spirit," picked up piles of garbage themselves, and dumped them on the City Hall steps.

Since the end of the massive strikes, there has been one very dangerous development. Three right-wing CNTU (Confederation of National Trade Unions) officers have started a break-away union, the CDTU (Confederation of Democratic Trade Unions). Many people think that this split was master-minded by Premier Bourassa and the Liberal Party leadership.

If Bourassa and his police-state Liberal Party believe that this right-wing fake union can obliterate the monumental revolutionary spirit of the last two months, they are very wrong. The strikes of April and May have been a real turning point for us here and we can never go back.

—Bernard Bruneau

A father speaks on Vietnam

I am a father of four sons, two of whom have already served in Vietnam. The other two sons are 15 and 14 years of age. I am a veteran of two wars, and have 60 months in a combat zone.

Reading in the paper about the President mining Haiphong Harbor I felt sick, frightened and angry. Now, weeks later, the President has gone to Russia and come back and I am still filled with anger and repulsion because I feel Russia and our government planned the whole deal beforehand. I cannot trust our President and I am frankly amazed at the number of Americans who do.

It seems obvious to me, an ordinary blue-collar working citizen, that Vietnamization is only another name for continuing military action, which will never work without our continued military support.

"We will lose our credibility if we suffer a military defeat" shout the right-wing super-hawks. I say that we have already lost our credibility by our inhuman actions. Does anyone seriously believe the world doubts the strength and power of the United States? Judgment, perhaps—but never power!

My belief is that we will succeed only by making ourselves the shining example of democracy, a democracy that works, that feeds its hungry people, cares for its sick, provides jobs for its unemployed, cleans up its environment, educates its people to the evils of racism. A democracy that puts the emphasis on the quality of its life rather than the quantity of its gross national product.

—Worker, Los Angeles

Black and white students revolt in South Africa

Black students in South Africa began demonstrations against apartheid in May, and white students followed their lead. In his graduation speech at the Black University of the North—Turfloop—Abraham Ramothibi Tiro called for a system of education common to all South Africans and an end to separate but unequal education and living conditions.

He was promptly expelled from the university. Other students began a sit-in and were met with armed police and dogs. The government expelled the entire student body and closed the university.

The Black South African Students' Organization responded by issuing a call to "all Black students (to) force the Institutions/Universities to close down by boycotting lectures." Several Black universities became the scene of demonstrations and boycotts.

On June 5 white South African students joined in the movement to end apartheid in the universities. The government forcibly broke up demonstrations in Capetown and Johannesburg. In Capetown ten thousand students had tried to stage a silent protest, but policemen armed with drawn sticks and service revolvers moved against them. Police used tear gas against the crowd and against many Black spectators.

The South African government subsequently announced a month-long ban on protest processions, gatherings and open-air political meetings at all university centers.

By the ban on meetings the government hopes to halt the demonstrations. But protest meetings are being organized in major cities against the police and government actions. White students have continued to defy the authorities in various parts of the country. Several hundred were arrested and charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Whether the police are able to stop these particular demonstrations by both Black and white students, "The day shall come," in the words of the expelled Turfloop student, "when all shall be free to breathe the air of freedom, which is theirs to breathe. When that day has come, no man—no matter how many tanks he has—will reverse the course of events."

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

could begin in Russia, where there are more political prisoners than in any other country.

NIXON IN MOSCOW AND PEKING

While Angela was on trial and persecuted by our President Nixon, he was going to China and sipping tea with Mao Tse-tung and he followed it by drinking champagne and dining with Russia's leader, Brezhnev. And you can bet that in neither country, where the Angela Davis case was in the papers, did they tell how they planned to best sell out North Vietnam. The North Vietnamese are Communists, but it tells you a lot when two giant Communist powers can sit and keep quiet and let Nixon destroy human lives as he is doing, uttering only the mildest protests. Nixon has even bombed a Russian ship, and wounded their citizens, and bombed to within 20 miles of the Chinese border.

I was discussing this with some younger Blacks, and I told them: how can you believe Russia or China would be of any help to you? Nixon is destroying those people and their country because of racism, and Russia and China are silent. Many believe that if the inhabitants of Vietnam were white, there would never be this massacre.

Take Nixon's policies on Africa. They are disgraceful. Two former secretaries of state, twelve former U.S. ambassadors to African countries, and a former U.S. representative to the U.N. felt compelled to denounce their country's African policies. Even Hubert Humphrey said that we find our own government backtracking on the cause of African Liberation abroad and on the cause of civil rights at home. The two policies are interconnected, for ultimately we know that administration foreign policy is an extension of its policies at home.

NOT FOR ANY OF THE RULERS

We have seen for all these long years, that when any vital decision was being voted on in the U. N. that meant progress or minor help to Black Africans, the United States seemed to always abstain from the vote, when the vast majority of delegates would be voting for it.

I am not for Nixon, or for Brezhnev or for Mao. Marxism is a theory of liberation, in mortal opposition to state-capitalism, called Communism, which is the theory and practice of exploitation. Karl Marx said: "Freedom is so much the essence of man that even its opponents realize it . . . No man fights freedom: he fights at most the freedom of others. Every kind of freedom has therefore always existed, only at one time as a special privilege, another time as a universal right."

More than any other philosophy, Marxism is deeply rooted in man's struggles to be free from economic degradation and from political tyrannies which arise to maintain it.

One can understand the sympathy and support the people of this country have had for Angela, because she was a political victim, and a Black woman, but that is where much of the sympathy ends.

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Smuggled out of Poland

Striking Polish workers' confrontation with Gierek

Below is printed a condensed transcript of a meeting in the Adolf Warski shipyard of the Polish port of Szczecin, held on January 25, 1971 between the leadership of the Polish Communist Party and the mass of workers, then on strike for over a month.

This document, born in the midst of the proletarian rising of December, 1970-January, 1971 is one in which the worker delegates who address the meeting refuse to separate questions of wages and working conditions from the question of the State and the Party. Economic and political demands are not only integrated, but both are united with the vision, the quest, the philosophic expression, for a new society, put forth as worker upon worker speaks.

The full text, almost 200 pages, has been translated into French and published by S.E.L.I.O., 87 Rue du Faubourg St. Denis, Paris 10, France.

CHAIRMAN: Workers of the shipyard, Comrade Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee, is here as promised in our Szczecin yards. We extend warm greetings to him. Also present for today's meeting are . . . other representatives of the Party leadership, the administration and the unions.

The President of the Strike Committee, Comrade Baluka, has the floor to read the workers' demands.

BALUKA: These are the strikers' demands: (The demands are read).

GIEREK: Before replying, comrades, I would like to ask you for a little patience and understanding . . . Because perhaps you don't know exactly where we stand. Very well, I'll tell you. We are in an impasse. We are at the end of the line. . . . Yes, everything is very, very bad. The worst of it is that we don't know how to get out of it. . . . The only solution, believe me, is painful . . . it's hard to say . . . but it is that you work harder and still harder — so that our economy produces its maximum. As to your demands, we will do our utmost. The Party will be renovated; we will get rid of the incompetents. As to lowering the price of foodstuffs, we must be realistic. I tell you, there is no possible way of going back to the pre-12 December prices. (Stirring, shouts in the hall: "There is!" "Why not?")

In addition, I read on your list: give honest information on the political and economic situation. But there has only been too much of that recently, too much of that kind of information. (Voice in the hall: "False information, false!") No! Don't demand of us a democracy . . . as they say . . . for all, for friends and enemies alike! The erroneous reports will be corrected, but it is out of the question, at this time, to encourage agitation among the workers by publishing your demands. . . . There you are, comrades, that's what I have to say to you. I know that it can't satisfy you completely. But you must know, you must understand, that that's the limit. Accept it, help us, and on our side, we will do everything we can to ameliorate this tragic situation. That is your duty.

CHAIRMAN: Who wants the floor? Who is ready? The delegate from department K-1? Yes?

DELEGATE FROM K-1: I would like to ask our higher officials: Can we speak frankly, as Comrade Gierek says? (Addressing himself to the chair) Can I speak honestly?

GIEREK: Yes, that's exactly what we're here for.

DELEGATE FROM K-1: Then we can talk as workers do among themselves?

GIEREK: That's obvious.

DELEGATE FROM K-1: Then we can have mutual self-criticism?

GIEREK: Yes.

DELEGATE FROM K-1: Good! Do I have guarantees of safety? You understand, since I'm a worker, I don't know how to speak very well, how to present things . . . but does Comrade Gierek know that we can no longer count the number of corpses here, because it is hard to calculate how many have been picked up in the street? (Shouts in the hall) Oh, it isn't so much the number, but people were falling, bullets were whistling. And those bullets — how were they bought? With money earned by our sweat. That's really too hard to bear! . . .

I ask: Of what use is this militia—To beat up honest people and to take care of "bluebirds" [parasites]? And it is false to say that they shot into the air. There were two killed and two wounded, not in the street but inside the plant, in front of the administrative building where we were waiting for the manager. We certainly had the right to be there, no? Then why shoot? No, we are not protecting those who set fires and who looted, because we will have to rebuild all that with our money, that's for sure. The financial institutions borrow money from us who work. But I think these methods of the militia have to be changed. And the leaders have to be changed, too — that . . . that aristocracy that is going to steal everything. (Ovation in the hall) If we are really going to elect our officials, we have to get rid of all those people who have elbowed themselves permanently into comfortable chairs, where they sit so long that the seats of their pants become mildewed . . . because they are useless! We are struggling for that, for a change of officials. Especially at the base. It's like a fish — it's the head that starts to rot first, but it has to be scaled

from the tail . . .

DELEGATE FROM K-4: I am the representative from K-4, which does the actual construction of the ship's hull. Our department works outdoors. That means that in the summer we stew in our own juice; the temperature goes to 70° [Centigrade] and higher. In the winter-time, we can hardly work because the equipment is frozen. When the rainy season comes, there are deaths from electrocution among the welders and shipfitters. We have never been able to get even a two-hour stoppage when it rains, though rain is a mortal danger for us.

And all that for what? For miserable wages—1,800 to 2,000 zlotys (\$50-\$56 a month). And that's only food — bread and drink. But in the yards, the work is hard; the worker has to eat because, truthfully, after 15 years, it's the cemetery. Anything else is impossible. That's it, thank you. (Applause) . . .

DELEGATE FROM K-5: . . . We have to work to keep alive. But in our departments, the work is unfairly divided, it's not shared out on a democratic basis. What's more, there are a terrible lot of offices in our section; we're working for six, seven, maybe ten men. Well, come on, why are we working for these people? What use are all these gentlemen? Sometimes a week goes by



Police headquarters on fire in Szczecin.

without me seeing one of them do a hand's turn. It seems they're busy with social matters . . . they only appear to hand us our control sheet. That's all they have to do. Well, what are these people paid for? They're stealing our wages. And that's not all. (Applause).

That's not all, mates. These gentlemen have got where they are, not from here, from among us, but via the government, the Party leadership — a long way from us. Those who don't want to speak the same language as us, the workers. And it's our wages that they're sharing out, we provide for them out of our wages. Is that what democracy is? Certainly not! That's my lot. (Applause)

DELEGATE FROM W-2: . . . First, and we would like a clear answer from the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PUWP: is it necessary for blood to flow before the Central Committee of the PUWP and the government can be changed? It seems to us that a decision to limit the duration of office should be considered, to avoid that sort of thing that happened in 1956 and 1970. Second, and again I'd like an answer from someone: people are always talking about so-called high wages in the yards without realizing that they come from too much overtime. We accept that the country's in a difficult situation, but would like to ask how much directors and ministers are getting. We demand an answer. If they're taking home more than twice as much as a highly skilled welder — whose average wage is about 5,000 zlotys — I repeat, if they get more than twice that, our opinion is that their salaries should be reduced and frozen.

"WHAT IS THE DIRECTOR GETTING PAID?"

DELEGATE FROM W-3: . . . As to the demands, the first and most important for us is that a raise in salaries or a reduction in prices must be declared. (Great applause, ovation, shouts) That's it.

A DELEGATE: . . . We'd like to see this dialogue on every level, starting at the bottom and taking in the unions, the yard management and so on right to the top . . . If this renewal is really happening, if we can really look one another straight in the face, I'd like to know what the director's getting paid. I don't know if it's gossip or lies, but it's said that Director Skrobot makes 18,000 a month! If it's true, then I think — when people are trying to get a few pennies more — that salaries like that should come down a bit, because some people are living sumptuously while others haven't enough to buy bread. In the present situation we can't tolerate such things! (Prolonged applause)

One last point about the deputies: I don't think our deputies are interested in their region. They don't pay the slightest attention to it. Our affairs don't interest them; they never come to the shipyards, not even to hold a dialogue like this one. They come at election time though, so that we'll elect them; then they come and tell us that we're quite right, what we say is fair enough, and so on. Otherwise, nothing. Thank you. (Prolonged applause)

DELEGATE FROM W-7: . . . We demand that the piecework rates, which already force us to work too fast, should not be lowered any further. Not so long ago — two years or so — panel-beaters were getting 2.70 zlotys a square metre; now they only get 1.10. Varnishers? They still get no rest-periods; it's been my

work for 14 years, during which there have been several approaches by the Epidemiological Health Centre, which ascertained that the concentration of vapours is six times the acceptable level. What's more, varnishers only get 0.25 zlotys social allowance. What about maintenance workers, their work conditions?

DELEGATE FROM CP: As a party member for 26 years and one who has lived in Szczecin since 1946, I would like to answer Comrade Gierek when he tells us that we have to save money, that money is precious in our country. We know that — we've put our own blood into it. But we can take some money back from those who are living too well on our labour. I'll speak plainly, Comrades: our society is divided into classes. There are people who no longer know what to do with their socialism; and they're already looking for something better. Their socialism is like that because they have too much money and too many ways of making money. Even right here in the shipyards! . . . I have another demand. We've been fighting for this since 1945; we must make sure there's no division into classes. But these class divisions start from the top! Why? Because when these bonuses are granted, the divisions are brought in at the start: so much for the intellectuals, so much for manual workers. Isn't that a class division imposed from the top? Is the intellectual worker any different from me? Surely not; he's certainly the same worker and the same man as I am. Why start this sort of thing ourselves? . . .

"TAKE A POSITION NOW"

DELEGATE OF THE NTP DEPARTMENT: Workers of the shipyards! I speak in the name of NTP. First, I would like to say: Comrade Gierek, you talk of a change. Do you know what a change is? It's us who are present here. (Shouts, applause, ovations) Those who are workers, Communists, who are for People's Poland. So, it's with us that you should hold discussions, instead of sending the militia after us as if we were bandits, instead of surrounding us with a cordon of troops and trying to starve us out by preventing food from reaching us during the strike . . . Comrade Gierek, in the morning, after this long night, we'll go back to work, but we want, beforehand, to have some honest and direct answers. We've been lied to too much. Not by you, perhaps, Comrade Gierek, but by the others. Before . . . Well, now, we want the Central Committee to commit itself and take a position on this affair. We want . . .

GIEREK: That I cannot accept! It's an ultimatum . . . (Stirring and agitation in the hall) after all, I am not the Central Committee, I'm only the First Secretary. It's up to the Committee to decide . . .

A DELEGATE: I still have to give the final answer of the workers in my department on ending the strike. Comrade Gierek! I am an old Party member. I only want to tell the truth, I don't want to disguise the situation, nor do I want to blacken my department. I don't want to be misunderstood. When I arrived, the situation in the department was as follows: a unanimous reply of, "We want to go on with the strike!" That was the decision. After a long and stormy discussion we reached a conclusion: we can't carry on alone as a department. I don't want to urge the shipyards to continue with the strike, that's not my aim. But I would like to draw attention to the fact that the workers in our department are critical of all those who spoke before me, who they understood to have given way too easily on the question of cancelling the increase in food prices . . . and this despite the fact that throughout the strike, not one worthy showed up to intervene and try to convince us of the justice of this measure. Moreover, our department believes that in coming out on strike we, the naval shipyard workers, caused other enterprises to come out. Now this demand is not being met, and we're not living up to the trust they place in us. Comrade Gierek, Comrade Jaroszewicz, (in a very grave voice) I'm speaking the truth. The workers in our department have not been convinced by your remarks . . . and I'd like to say this: we'll stop the strike, not through conviction, but because the others are stopping. That's all. (Deep silence, followed by growing tumult, prolonged turmoil, shouts)

BALUKA: We demand full, correct information on the political and economic situation in the shipyards and in the country . . . We demand that our claims be published in the local mass media before 25 January 1971. Comrades, citizens, colleagues: this business must be reported. We are not insubstantial, we exist, and we're not going to give way on this point. . . .

I believe — I demand in the name of the workers — that in the end Comrade Gierek, or someone in the government, will have to answer us . . .

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