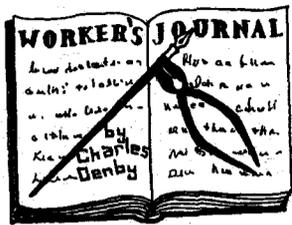


ON THE INSIDE

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First blacks inaugurated in Lowndes Co.

By Charles Denby, Editor

Some 15 of us from Detroit attended the swearing into office of three black people in Lowndes County, Ala. This was the first time that any blacks ever won an election in that county. It was an historic occasion in every respect, especially for those who knew that less than six years ago not one black had been allowed to register to vote. Less than six years ago, black people would have to get off the sidewalk if they met a white. To see and to be a part of the joy and happiness of every black person in attendance at the inauguration made you wonder whether what you were witnessing was really true or if you were imagining it.

The oath of office was administered in the courthouse in Hayneville, the county seat, in the center of the village. There are about eight or 10 stores and a few other business establishments sitting in a square of about four blocks, with a small park in the center.

When we got in sight of the square, it looked like one black spot had covered every inch of the park and had overflowed into the streets. Some said 2,000 black people were there, some said more.

The courthouse was jam packed, including the aisles. It was the first time I had ever attended a meeting where they did not have seating room for their guest speakers! But they seemed too happy to mind.

Saturday is the business day for the white merchants that own the stores, but practically everyone had closed up shop and gone—it seemed they just disappeared. A few whites attended, three from that county being the judge that administered the oath and some news reporters. **FIVE YEARS AGO—MURDER**

A reporter from the Los Angeles Times said he was sent there five years ago to cover the story of the white minister who was killed. At that time, he said, the attitude of the whites there nearly frightened him to death, and he swore he would never be seen in Hayneville again. But when he learned of the election victory of the blacks, he decided to return. After he left Highway 80 to come into Hayneville, fear gripped him again, but as soon as he saw the square, and all the black people laughing and talking, he got strength from them and his fear disappeared.

It was a great day for the blacks in Lowndes County. The principal speaker was a black man from Detroit
 (Continued on Page 6)

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NEWS LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

VOL. 16—No. 2



Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

FEBRUARY, 1971

Editorial article

Polish uprising, protests against Russian anti-Semitism, reveal state-capitalist crises

By Raya Dunayevskaya,
 Chairman, National Editorial Board

The spontaneous upsurge of Polish workers' resistance to the unconscionable pre-Christmas announcement of 20 per cent price rises on food quickly developed new forms of opposition to their Communist overlords. At one and the same time, shipyard workers at Gdansk refused to work, marched on the Communist Party headquarters, and, while singing the "International" shouted "Gestapo!" "Gestapo!" at the Communist police firing into the crowd.

On the two-mile march from the Lenin Shipyards to the party headquarters, the ranks of the 3,000 workers swelled as housewives, students, the population as a whole joined it. By the time they reached the Party offices and began throwing home-made bombs at it they numbered 20,000 strong. While official statistics claimed that "only" six were dead as the uprising spread to other parts, independent reporters said the number was more likely 300!

The most momentous demonstration was in Szczecin, Poland's biggest seaport. Tanks were unloosed against

the unarmed crowd, and when one mother and young daughter could not get out of the way fast enough, a tank crushed them both. A young soldier stood by and cried.

No wonder the three Russian divisions stationed in Poland kept to their barracks. Very likely, the Russian overlords felt assured that the Polish rulers would shoot down their workers, especially when the uprising spread through the land, including Warsaw itself, where a bomb had been hurled at the Soviet Embassy.

"NOBODY LISTENS TO US"

The week of open and violent revolt succeeded in toppling Gomulka, in a revocation of the fantastic price rises on food, and a few, very few, wage raises—plus a great deal of loud talk on the part of the "new" leaders about the need to close "the communications gap" between leaders and workers. The daily press is helping Polish Communism give the impression that the revolt has ended "because" workers gained what they asked for, gained "more" than during the 1956 Poznan revolt.

In truth, when the revolt was supposed to have ended completely, the revolt reappeared after the holidays, again in Gdansk, in a still newer form, a form never yet braved in a totalitarian country. For two days (Jan. 5 and 6) the shipyard workers came to work, but did not work. Instead, they demanded not only that the 200 workers arrested be released, but also that the new First Secretary of the Communist Party, Gierek, come down to talk to them: "Nobody listens to us in Warsaw."

Sympathetic sitdown strikes were also staged in Zeran Auto Works in Warsaw. Workers were also busy scrawling messages on tanks, reading, "We are workers and not hooligans. We want more wages." Whereupon the "new" rulers have sent truckloads of ORMOS—Poland's "Workers' (sic!) Police"—to stop any demonstrations before ever they occur. In a word, as in Poznan in 1956 with its slogans of "Bread and Freedom!" "Nobody listens to us in Warsaw."

THE NEW IN 1970, AND THE OLD, OLD, OLD

The 1970 revolt did not have the scope—and the "victories" over outright Stalinism and the gaining of much freedom of the press—but neither did it suffer from the euphoria then created that Poland, with Gomulka, was truly "independent." Moreover, it is, in some respects, more important than the 1956 de-Stalinization. The 1970 uprising came after years of violent repression, climaxed in 1968 by Gomulka retaining power from his rival Gen. Moczar only by outshouting the latter in anti-Semitism. It is true that the former Interior Minister (read: combination of Yezhov of the GPU and J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI) has now been elevated to status in the Politburo. But this came via pressure from Russia, not by anyone in Poland daring to raise a public anti-Semitic outcry.

This doesn't lessen the tragedy, that such a massive upsurge has been stopped by so great a retrogression. But it does signify that none will now be able to whitewash with "anti-Zionism" or anything else the point of unity of the "liberal" technocrats like Gierek and Kociolk with the openly anti-Semitic, anti-intellectual, anti-working class and anti-Russian (when the time will come) chauvinist police chief, as well as with the Russian overlords. The foundation for that unity is the need for labor productivity.

To grasp the full import of the drive for labor pro-
 (Continued on Page 4)

Hyden disaster spotlights urgency for miners' control

HYDEN, Ky.—"I was called to the scene of the mine accident that took the lives of 38 miners at the Finley Coal Company at Hyden on Dec. 30, 1970. I was there until most of the men were brought out. Some of the men were beyond being recognized. It was a terrible sight to see.

"To get to the mine entrance was to walk about two miles up a hollow and at that time it was near zero weather, the worst weather we had had all winter."

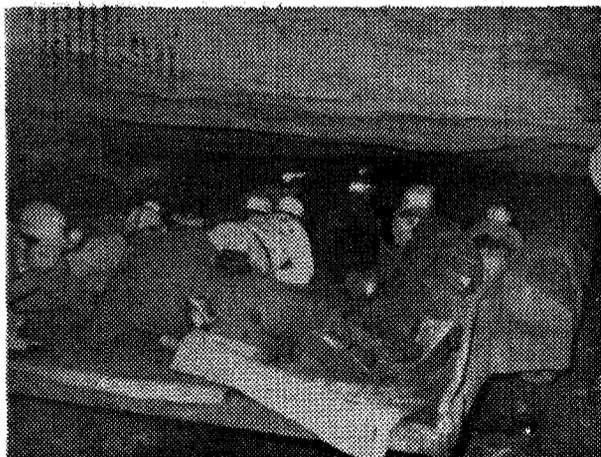
Behind these words of an ex-coal miner in southeastern Kentucky there is a long and sorry tale. He's an ex-coal miner because he refuses to work in a scab mine, and in 1958 the coal companies in Southeastern Kentucky refused to negotiate a union contract and eventually broke the United Mine Workers union. This man became a leader in a strike which lasted for years to try to preserve the union, but the strike failed.

NO PROTECTION

The point is that the Finley Mine is a scab mine. This means that there is no union safety committee or grievance committee. The miners are at the complete mercy of the company. If they dare protest against an unsafe condition, they are fired. They have absolutely no protection whatsoever.

To be sure, a Federal Mine Safety Law was passed last year which was designed to prevent such mass killing of miners. That law resulted from the December 1968 explosion at the Consolidation Coal Co., Farmington, W. Va. mine which blasted the lives of 78 coal miners. Those miners are still sealed in that mine, and Consol has offered the widows \$10,000 a piece if they will allow the company to go ahead and mine the coal without recovering the bodies of the entombed miners. The message is loud and clear: it is a lot more profitable to get coal than it is to get the bodies of coal miners killed in explosions.

For a while, just after the Federal Mine Safety Law was passed, some coal operators (owners) were down-



—photo by Charles Moore

Mine inspectors lie flat to enter Hyden mine after explosion.

hearted because they knew that if the law was enforced that they would have to make safety improvements which would cut into their huge profit margins. But they picked up in spirits when they found out that the law was not going to be enforced.

OPERATOR'S FRIEND

To make sure there would be no doubt about where he stood with the mine owners, President Nixon appointed Elbert Osborne as the head of the Bureau of Mines. And as every coal operator in the country knows, Elbert Osborne had stated that he would want "cooperation" with the coal companies and might "loosen the screws" on mine safety.

They have been loosened all right—to the tune of over 200 miners being killed since the "mine safety law" went into effect, as compared to 187 in the same

(Continued on Page 3)

Women at ARA risk jobs, turn down contract change

Editor's Note: Women employees of Automatic Retailers of America, Great Lakes Steel Division in Michigan, are continuing their fight against job discrimination by the company and the union. (See the June-July and Nov. 1970 issues of N&L.) Four women filed a class action in federal court, and more will join them. A recent attempt to make ARA's policy of not upgrading women legitimate is described here.



ARA drew up proposed changes for the contract now existing between it and R.W.D.S.U., AFL-CIO Local 1064. ARA claimed they were having difficulty at this operation and needed the new language in order to keep all of the employees now on the payroll. But the chief steward admitted that one reason for the proposal was the "trouble" the women are causing.

The company said, although this is not a threat, that if the proposal is not accepted, all of the vending attendants and 90 per cent of the truck drivers will be eliminated. Who would this affect? All of the vending attendants are women, and only two men hold drivers jobs!

The proposed change would have taken away all seniority rights. Two main points stood out:

1. If due to sickness or personal leave of absence any employees are off for 30 days or more, their jobs would be posted for bid. Upon their return they could exercise their right to bump the lowest seniority person in the classification they held prior to the leave of absence.

2. If a job was curtailed or the nature of a job changed due to production, the persons affected would have the opportunity to exercise their company seniority to bump the lowest seniority employee within their current classification. In no event would an employee

Uniroyal strike—some gains

Detroit, Mich.—Rubber workers on the seventh floor at the local Uniroyal plant spontaneously started a walkout at 11 p.m. before a midnight strike deadline when they heard the company still had not agreed to the local demands.

"The company," one worker said, "wants to take back what we already have. They even want to take away the Christmas eve and New Year's eve holidays. There's a total of about 3,000 workers here. The company is stalling on hiring back about 500 workers they laid-off during the G.M. strike. They want to work the rest of us overtime."

The national contract for rubber workers was signed back in November. A strike deadline for the local agreement was finally set for Jan. 7. The negotiating team never reported back to the members. The workers were all angry at the union because they did not know what was going on until the walkout actually started.

The union scheduled a mass meeting to discuss the walkout at Osborn High School, in the extreme northeast section of Detroit, where "a lot of people wouldn't go." The meetings used to be held at centrally located Cass Tech.

The strike lasted for ten days, until the company finally gave in on many of the local demands.

MEA wins vote, but teachers oppose war

MIDDLETOWN, CONN. — The election between the Middletown Federation of Teachers (MFT-AFL-CIO) and the Middletown Education Association (MEA) for the position of bargaining unit in the Public Schools is over. The MFT lost, 138-160.

The deciding factor was the MFT teachers' strike in nearby Hartford, which ended very badly for the teachers just two weeks before the MEA-MFT election.

However, a few positive things did happen in Middletown. The MFT gained many new members, growing to 110, which is about 70 more than in the beginning of the year. Also, the local here is a very good one; the meetings are well-attended and the members really run it. More teachers are not so afraid now of being associated with a union, and all the young and black teachers belong to the union rather than the Association.

Meanwhile, on the national level, a very important union referendum on the war took place. The International AFT, up to now, had taken no position on the war.

Finally, this year it went to a mail-ballot referendum of all union teachers. Despite a tricky Shanker tactic—you had to vote "no" if you meant "yes" and there were two separate ballots, either one of which could be spoiled—the teachers took a square majority position against the war and for immediate U.S. withdrawal. It is not labor, but some of labor's misleaders, who support this war.

—Teacher (Conn.)

be allowed to upgrade into a higher classification during periods of lay off.

A union meeting was held to vote on the proposal. Thirty-three members attended. Although the workers felt that if the proposal was rejected they would lose their jobs, the vote was unanimous to reject the proposal. The people felt seniority must mean something—without it they have nothing.

They are now waiting. Waiting for what? Pink slips? Another proposal? Waiting to fight for their rights?

They hear that other members of Local 1064 seem to be having problems too. The name Ogden Foods is now echoing through the files of the N.L.R.B.

—ARA worker

Discussion Article:

W.L. activists reject leaders

As activists in the Women's Liberation Movement, we felt a need to reply to the article in the December issue by Susan Van Gelder. What is useful about her article is that it tells how many women outside the movement view it. Many women are disillusioned by speakers like Marlene Dixon and the Radical Feminists.

But as far as being a real contribution, it was hit and miss both concretely and theoretically. Concretely, we have three main points of contention:

First, Van Gelder seems to be basing her criticism of the movement and whether it is worth joining on what she heard from the self-appointed leaders and through the straight press. As people in the movement have found, that is bound to be a distorted point of view. You should be willing to join the movement not just when it is perfect but because it is legitimate, i.e., women are oppressed and want to be liberated, and because you are needed not only as a critic but as a participant. W.L. is never going to develop if women continue to criticize from the outside.

Second, Van Gelder uses the term female-chauvinism, and that describes a phenomenon that does not exist. Chauvinism is not just an attitude, it is also power. It is not possible for a woman to be a female-chauvinist in the sense that it is the direct opposite of male-chauvinist, because an individual woman who may think herself superior to men does not have the society-backed economic or psychological power that men have to make that attitude felt.

WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT

Third, Van Gelder accuses the Women's Movement of not doing a number of things which, in fact, it is doing. She states that "true women's liberation would strive toward women's development as human beings." This concept has been the very basis of W.L. and the reason that it has grown so fast. It is the only movement that, by its structure of small informal groups of women, has made it possible for women to concretely change their own lives.

She charges that the WLM is not striving for "women's development as human beings," is not developing "ideas about what makes good male-female relationships, how children should be raised . . . what kind of day-care we want." These kinds of assumptions reflect only what people are reading and seeing in the media. The very language that Van Gelder uses to say what W.L. "should" be doing comes from the Women's Movement! These are questions that women, individually and in small groups, have been asking for over three years. All over the country women are setting up alternative institutions and concretely working out their ideas of what are good human relations, what is good child care, and what is a free human being.

POSITIVE IN THE MOVEMENT

In the theoretical sense also, Van Gelder's article was not on as high a level as it could have been because it dealt strictly with the negative. That is, it is not enough to say that the biggest thing W.L. is doing is turning women off. When looking at something as new as W.L., we must begin hitting on and building on the positive and the potential.

Objectively, the revolutionary potential lies in the fact that the relationship of man to woman is the most basic to society and that the oppression of women cuts across class lines.

Subjectively, women, because of the type of oppression we have experienced (that of being objectified, of having our minds taken away) has led, above all, to a struggle for the right to think for ourselves. And because of our experiences in the home, on the job, as well as in the revolutionary struggles, of always being in the background and never being decision-makers, women are developing an unrelenting drive towards rooting out every aspect of oppression. In our quest for "full development of human control" over our own lives we are constantly uncovering the alienating manifestations of sexism, racism and class society.

This is why the philosophy of W.L. is more than not wanting to be sex objects, why it goes beyond the right to vote, why it is striving to deal with more than only the negative. The positive movement of Women's Liberation is taking up the challenge of a total concept of liberation—what it means to be human.

—Terry Moon,
Anne Chapdelaine

N.Y. cab drivers' contract smells of racism and sell-out

New York, N.Y.—"We're the only industry I know that has a contract but doesn't!" That was the way one of the cab drivers at my garage put it. "We struck for two weeks, ruining Christmas for our families, and now we have to wait while the city politicians decide if they will ratify the contract that we already ratified. That is real nonsense."

Another driver said, "What a sell-out creep that Van Ardsdale (the president of Local 3036, Taxi Union) is!! The money in our new contract isn't so hot, but when he tried to get us to agree that all new drivers after this contract should get 42% of the meter, the men just shouted him down. And why not? If we get 50%, why should anyone coming in new work for 42%?"

DRIVERS SOLD OUT

And what Van Ardsdale wasn't saying, but what the men were thinking, is that if a guy switches garage or leaves the job for half a year, the bosses will wait for him to start at 42%. Every man there (at the meeting) knew that this provision is a union buster. That's what they shouted him down.

"But then Van Ardsdale says it's only an idea, it's in the contract, and then he gets a blanket ratification of the whole contract," the driver recalled. "So what happens . . . you guessed it . . . the next day you read in the papers that all new drivers will get 42% of the meter. Some union!!"

Another driver saw the meeting in harsher light. "Van Ardsdale had the meeting packed with pensioners and owner-drivers who don't even belong there. And he made a big grandstand play about gypsy cabs and how the union is going to get them off the streets. You knew all those white drivers were going to vote for that contract no matter how bad it was. All the care about is gypsies."

"Well, they brought it on themselves by refusing to drive in the ghetto. But, what gets me most is that they say they won't go Uptown because of crime. He crime is everywhere, and these guys have been refusing to pick up black people for years."

I mentioned that I thought the bosses—from taxi fleets to the union leadership to the City administration—were using the gypsy issue to divide the drivers on racial lines. One driver said, "You're right, but wish they weren't doing such a good job of it."

WAY OF THE WORLD

School bus integration fails

by Ethel Dunbar

How long is it going to take the white and black to learn to live together in this troubled world? There is no need for white leaders to try to fool all of the people all of the time, telling us how they are working for peace at the same time they are still trying to keep black people separated from whites in public places and even places "run" by the government. The Nixon Administration has been quick to join hands with the whites who are fighting against blacks coming in their "areas."

The North thinks it has the black people fooled on the question of busing black children to white schools and white children to black schools to achieve "integration." Busing for integration has never happened because whites will never let their children be bused to a black school, and when black children try to go to a white school, the whites start fighting against it. It usually winds up with the blacks being thrown in jail.

Then the whites close up the school "until further notice," and it never reopens the same way. By the time blacks get to go, there are no more whites. It is left for blacks only, while the whites transfer to private school—and expect the government to pay for teachers.

"Law and order" doesn't mean a thing insofar as helping blacks to have a free trial, or freedom anything.

Some Northern whites are getting worse than Southern whites ever were. They hate the black people much that they are doing all they can to keep people separated—living in different places, going to different schools. They would like to keep black people too poor to buy in the same places as whites. They make black people pay twice as much as white people to get out of their old places.

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Mississippi workers demand U.S. investigation of abuses

Laurel, Miss.—Employees and former employees of the giant Masonite plant here have begun a campaign to get the U.S. Department of Justice to investigate “numerous violations of our civil rights and humanity.”

Granville Sellers and five other members of Local 443 of the International Woodworkers of America (AFL-CIO) told reporters that several hundred workers have started a petition drive. They charge the company with discrimination against black and women workers, pollution of air and water, hazardous working conditions, and falsifying safety records. They also charge

local, county and state law-enforcement officers and officials with harassing Masonite workers by black-listing, arrests, and beatings, and by falsely accusing white union members of affiliation with the Ku Klux Klan.

“They want to break the back of organized labor in the South,” Sellers declared. “We think we are fighting a battle for the entire labor movement in the South, and I think the corporations in the South picked us to spearhead their campaign.”

Sellers acted as spokesman for several hundred present and former Masonite employees, who have formed themselves into the Committee for Better Union Leadership (CBUL). He said about 25 per cent of the CBUL members are black and 75 per cent are white. **INTERNATIONAL SELLS OUT**

CBUL members also have grievances against their international union (IWA). After militant activity during a 1967 strike, the local was placed under trusteeship by the international, but the local has filed court action against this trusteeship.

The 1967 strike ended when the international union signed a contract without consulting the local—what is generally called a “sweetheart contract.” Now the IWA international is accusing Masonite in court of violating even that contract.

Masonite, Mississippi’s largest manufacturing enterprise and a world leader in the hardboard industry, had a profit of over \$14 million last year. It owns extensive timber, sawmill and other manufacturing holdings, and also has a large plant in South Africa.

At a press conference, CBUL spokesmen said their petition will be circulated extensively, especially in Mississippi, to inform the public of Masonite’s activities and gain supporters for an impartial federal investigation of the charges.

(For further information, contact Committee for Better Union Leadership, Box 2924, Laurel, Miss. 39440; or Robert Zellner, New Orleans, Telephone: 504-866-5047.)

Readers:

Do you have a story to tell? Send it in!

Hyden mine disaster

(Continued from Page 1)

Time a year ago when the “safety” law was not in effect. The question is not simply one of enforcement. The question is: who is going to enforce safety in the mines?

The government can have ten times as many mine safety inspectors as it has today and it wouldn’t make any real difference in mine safety. The fact is that there are thousands of safety violations in almost every mine in this country every single day. The only ones who know this better than anyone else are the miners themselves.

MINERS MUST CONTROL SAFETY

They are the only ones who can enforce mine safety. They are the ones who have tried to get that enforcement power negotiated in their contract with the coal operators. Tony Boyle, the so-called president of the IAW, decided instead that a federal law was the answer. It shows not only how far away Boyle is from the working face of a coal mine, it also shows how little he knows about the power of coal operators and how they can play politics to make a federal law meaningless where it comes to mine safety.

Winter is the worst season for the big killing of coal miners—that’s when the air inside a mine is dry and the danger of explosion is greatest. But every season is open season insofar as individual killing is concerned. It will only stop when coal miners, the rank-and-file miners, have the power of enforcement in their hands. There is no other way.

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Chrysler Mack

DETROIT, Mich.—When the union had a policy of no contract, no work’ any auto worker could tell another worker what was going on at the bargaining table. Now the only thing we know is what we see and hear on TV, and what we read in the papers.

Most workers found it hard to accept Chrysler’s cry about financial distress. They know that as soon as Chrysler signs the contract, they will stop talking about layoffs, and the workers will all face another speed-up in production, and more disregard for any safety precautions in the plants. Safety in most major industries is a forgotten issue. The companies do not care about workers’ health or lives. Profits are more important than human lives. In the auto shops, before the union made its unholy marriage to the company, the union would shut down any operation where it was hazardous for the workers. Not any more. If a worker gets injured today, the worker is usually blamed for being careless. Production is never shut down.

Many Chrysler workers feel that Doug Frazier, who is representing them at the bargaining table, would have accepted what the company was offering, if he felt he could sell it to the Chrysler workers and it would not jeopardize his chances of becoming President after Woodcock.

Fleetwood

DETROIT, Mich.—There are some things about the situation in the body shop that everyone should know. We have over 400 miscellaneous grievances filed. The union has submitted proposals on every one of them, but F.M. has held no meetings for two weeks. Every meeting gets postponed.

In the body shop we have over 100 work standards (78’s) written up. Only eight have been settled. The company acts like the union isn’t there.

On Jan. 13 a shop committeeman was talking to a black worker about his grievance. They were in their rights. A superintendent and a foreman, both white, ordered the worker back to his job immediately. The committeeman said the worker could stay till they were finished.

The superintendent then called the security police. Two of them grabbed the worker, bruising his arm. The worker was taken down to the office and given an indefinite suspension. How long are we going to work a police-state plant?

—Fleetwood body shop worker

DETROIT, Mich.—At Fleetwood speed-up is the worst it has ever been. Officially the line is up to 70 an hour, but actually it is often going even faster—sometimes at 74. There is more work on every job. In fact each worker has to do more now than last year when we ran 60 an hour. Every job on the fourth floor is written up. You write them up and nothing happens.

This constant speed-up is the way GM shows complete disregard for our health. Many jobs are unsafe and the speed itself can kill you. One night a woman was on her stock chaser job and she passed right out; that’s how fast they made her work. More and more workers are absent from work because you can’t work 70 or 74 an hour every day.

We took a vote to authorize a strike. Everyone on the line agrees with this—we need to strike. But the meeting was only 40 minutes long and all questions were evaded.

In 1968 we had a wildcat. The workers on the cotan job walked out and everybody followed them. The company and the union tried to get us back in but it didn’t work. Eventually the International authorized a strike. That’s the way it always is in the UAW—if you need a strike, you have to start it yourself.

Ford Rouge

The cafeteria prices at the DAP have gone up again. A cup of coffee now costs twenty cents. Many workers are now talking about boycotting the lunchroom. This is the second increase in less than four months. Salaried personnel have their own restricted cafeteria on the third floor with a much better menu and cheaper prices.

The health and safety problem in the DAP hasn’t improved a great deal. No great effort is being made to get rid of the smoke or improve the dilapidated ventilation system.

The hi-lo drivers are being rushed so much that there is bound to be an accident. Management people are constantly rushing by in their carts in the aisles. Just recently a cleanup worker on the second floor was just doing his job when he was seriously injured by a hi-lo.

There are incidents like this all over the plant. With the company’s rush-rush attitude they are ignoring all safety regulations, and the union isn’t doing a thing. With all the dues and special assessments we’re certainly not getting our money’s worth of representation.

—Production worker, DAP



Laid-off women picket Chrysler

by John Allison

A group of 87 women workers laid off on Dec. 19 by Chrysler, and all with over 20 years seniority in the phased-out Highland Park plant, have been picketing Chrysler’s executive offices in Highland Park in protest.

These women, like hundreds of other Highland Park plant workers who did get placed on jobs in other Chrysler plants, are out of work and caught in a trap with little hope of ever getting out. That trap is the UAW contract with the Chrysler Corp. The contract states that a worker leaving one plant to go into another one loses all seniority gained in the first plant, regardless of how long that might be.

LOW SENIORITY—FIRST HIT

What this amounts to in the light of the recent layoff of thousands of Chrysler workers, is that these transferred Highland Park workers were the first ones to be laid off when the cut-back hit.

Workers could have had 30 years in the Highland Park plant, and some did, but that doesn’t count when you transfer. You have date of entry seniority, just like a new worker hired for the first day, except that you do have union rights. A new worker doesn’t get union membership until 90 days.

Now there is some talk by Doug Frazier, UAW’s Chrysler division head, about setting up an “attrition pool.” This is the scheme the union and Frazier came up with when Chrysler’s DeSoto line was cut in the 1950’s. The idea was to put all these laid off workers in this “pool,” and then place them in other plants on a seniority basis when jobs opened up.

TRICKS IN THE “POOL”

It sounded good in theory, but it turned out that many workers were discriminated against because the operation of the “pool” wasn’t enforced. If a black worker or strong union man or fighter was up next for a job, the company knew about it and placed the worker on a job so rough that nobody could stand it. If the job was refused, the worker went down to the bottom of the “pool” list.

Actually, the company is still practicing this same kind of discrimination against militants transferred from Highland Park into other plants. And this is tough on a worker who is used to fighting for his rights. The simple fact is that the company has a thousand ways of getting at a worker, and seniority can make the difference between fighting and keeping a job, or fighting and losing a job.

Another big factor is the overall economic situation and the situation in Chrysler in particular. What the Nixon administration might call a recession is a depression for the Chrysler workers who are laid off. And that number doesn’t look like it’s going to get smaller—it’s going to get bigger. There aren’t enough old timers about ready to retire, like there once used to be, to amount to very much either. It just looks like those laid off now just could be out for a long, long time.

First strike in 14 years hits Connecticut auto plants

MIDDLETOWN, Conn.—Four hundred members of Amalgamated UAW Local 376 struck the E.I.S. Automotive Corp. on Jan. 11. The strike was the first since the union was organized here 14 years ago. At issue were cost of living, wages, insurance, pensions and job-oriented issues like time-study, bonuses, and seniority rights.

The striking workers come from three plants producing replacement brake parts. They are represented by a committee of four workers, including two women and two men, one of whom is Black, and by Local 376 President Phil Wheeler. About half of the strikers are women.

The strike broke out on the day after it was announced that unemployment in Connecticut had reached 8.8 percent, one of the highest in the country.

Workers reported that E.I.S. raised the issue of unemployment to scare the workers early in the negotiations, but they weren’t scared. They countered that they would be the last to go, since people will buy fewer new cars and thus need more replacement parts. So far, E.I.S. workers have been working steadily and getting overtime.

On the issue of overtime, one worker said: “It’s good to get the overtime, but why should we have to work 52 hours a week in order to live? Forty is plenty, believe me . . . They should find some way to cut it down and spread the work around.”

Polish uprising, Russian anti-Semitism mark state-capitalist crises

(Continued from Page 1)

ductivity we need to look not so much at Warsaw as at Moscow. The telling years are 1967 and 1968.

1967-1968: STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITALISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

Probably by sheer coincidence—1967 was the 100th anniversary of the publication of Marx's *Capital*—the year of the Arab-Israeli War, the year Russia so fully aligned with the Arab governments as to stimulate a rebirth of its own anti-Semitism, the year, 1967, was the year in which Russia and its satellites, at its scholarship conferences, suddenly admitted the existence of a new world phenomenon: "State-Monopoly Capitalism."⁽¹⁾

By no accident, however, state-capitalism generates a very different milieu for anti-Semitism than did "young" capitalism, as anyone can see by comparing the effects of the Dreyfus case which shook France to its very foundations, to the near-silence produced by the Nazi genocide of six million Jews.⁽²⁾ (None need to learn this lesson more than today's so-called Left which is allowing "anti-Zionism," the not-so-hidden anti-Semitism, to enter its ranks in the wake of being for the existing Palestinian guerrilla organizations as if that were the equivalent of the social revolution.)

In any case, the 100th anniversary of the publication of Marx's *Capital* turned out to be a total reversal of the previously existing dogma that there is no such animal as state-capitalism; that forever imperialism would be sufficient to explain what has been happening in the post-war world. As against the recantations⁽³⁾ Eugene Varga was made to write when he published *Changes in the Capitalist Economy as a Result of World War II*, which propounded the new stage of world economy manifested in the fact that capitalism can plan and would "therefore" not allow a world depression again to threaten its very existence, Communist economics now not only admitted the existence of state-capitalism but predated it to the Depression.

It isn't that de-Stalinization had changed the class nature of vulgar materialism. Rather, it is that the "fully" planned state-capitalist society calling itself Communism wanted to "reform" itself, adopt more of the market manipulations of "mixed," state-monopoly capitalism while retaining the mainspring of capitalism,

the law of value—that is to say, paying the worker the minimum it takes to reproduce himself and extracting from him the maximum unpaid hours of labor it takes to keep expanding production.

Or, as the "new" leaders in Czechoslovakia (now that they are attacking Gomulka) restated Marx's principles for once correctly: "There was a tendency to develop production for production's sake and to lose sight of the most important thing in an avalanche of statistics and indexes, namely, when and how to raise living standards." Since the 1971-75 Plan will remain substantially the same, we can be sure that nothing will change from the crucial years of 1967-68 that we are now tracing. And the essence of the theoretical discussion was that it did allow the cat out of the bag, to wit, that neither Automation, nor the world market, has changed a thing. Labor productivity is the one, the only answer. It is the source of all value. And since that is so, workers in "socialist" lands must work hard and harder:

"Otherwise how is it possible to explain why the workers in the United States get more wages than the Polish worker?"⁽⁴⁾

Not a single word was mentioned about the fact that Russia, like any imperialist capitalist land, pays low prices for Poland's coal and makes Poland pay high prices for Russian iron ore. Not a single word was mentioned about the added fact that, far from the "ideal" automated industry, Polish machinery is so obsolescent that some of it predates to the beginning of the century, which means that the worker must be made to sweat the harder. And, of course, not a single one of these intellectual bureaucrats dared acknowledge that the low labor productivity of the Polish worker, far from being a sign of his "backwardness," was, in fact, the exact measure of his revolt against capitalist "norms."

State planners continued to plan. The Polish economy went into deeper and deeper crises in 1968. To make matters worse, the weather was very bad, and agriculture took a big dip downwards, so that even bread became scarce in "socialist" Poland. Then came Russia's imperialist invasion of Czechoslovakia and the outpouring also of students in sympathy with the Czechoslovak Spring and against their own leaders who had

sided with Russia.

Obviously, General Moczar considered that a propitious time to challenge Gomulka's leadership, and to develop at full blast the scapegoat of "Zionism." By shouting as loudly against Zionism, Gomulka weathered that storm, got some extra grain from Russia, but no help whatsoever from East Germany, the most developed of the satellites. Evidently Ulbricht was too busy, as the still defiant Czechoslovakia radio put it in its August 26 (1968) broadcast:

"We have learned at long last who is responsible for the non-existent Czechoslovak counter-revolution... 'International Zionism.' (euphemism for 'the Jews'). Apparently our East German friends have been experts on this subject ever since World War II... Allegedly 2,000,000 people are involved... Why cannot these 2,000,000 Zionists be found if the Soviet army command

(Continued on Page 8)

News & Letters

Vol. 16, No. 2

February, 1971

News & Letters is published every month except during the summer months when issues appear June-July, August-September, by News & Letters, 415 Brainard, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Telephone: 833-1989. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

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A NOTE TO OUR READERS ON OUR MOTTO

Consciousness of language has led many Women's Liberation activists to ask us to change our motto: "The root of mankind is man" — a quotation from Karl Marx, which for many years we felt summed up the Marxist-Humanist content of our philosophy.

This month we carry a quote from *Capital*, Vol. III, which reads in full: "Beyond (the realm of necessity) begins that development of human power, which is its own end, the true realm of necessity as its basis. The shortening of the working day is its fundamental premise."

STATE OF THE ECONOMY

I have been reading about the protest among small hog farmers in North Carolina and West Virginia. I read today that they took a truckload of pigs with them to Washington, which they parked in front of the White House. Coals to Newcastle.

They are protesting against a marketing system that pays them 15 cents a pound for their hogs while the housewives shell out \$1.23 a pound for pork chops. One of the farmers who helped organize the demonstration, said: "We're trying to wake up the people to the fact that the little family farmer is being driven out of existence." That seems to sum up pretty well what is wrong. Any chance that someone could write more about it to N&L?

Concerned Student
Connecticut

Exposing the oft-repeated lie that wage increases cause inflation, the syndicated columnist Sylvia Porter quoted a conversation she had on Dec. 8th with a tough industrialist, who told her, "My company raised prices weeks after Nixon became president. Our economist told us to go ahead and said we wouldn't be called SOB's by the White House."

The Wall Street Journal in October reported that, "Labor costs aren't the Frankenstein monster they're often

cracked up to be," that labor costs per unit output have risen only slightly in the past year and much less so than in 1968 and 1969.

How is it that war spending is the single biggest cause of inflation? By paying hundreds of thousands of workers to produce destruction, while the production of necessities of life are cut back, manufacturers are given the opportunity to raise their prices. The Wall Street Journal explained: "The worker who receives \$150 a week for making cars helps increase the supply of goods that his pay can subsequently buy. But a worker who receives \$150 a week for making bombs for use in Vietnam does nothing to increase the supply of consumer goods."

This, along with automation, is resulting in American capitalism's unique economic contribution: galloping inflation and galloping unemployment at the same time.

Unemployed Worker
San Francisco

It seems that as the recession goes on longer, the companies are being more aggressive in their battle against their workers. In non-union shops it's terrible. In my shop, for instance, three workers (including me), didn't get the quarter-an-hour raise that is customarily given workers there after three months. Instead we got 10 and 15 cent raises. When we asked the boss where our quarter was that he promised us when we hired in, we were told it wasn't a promise, it was only an "if" ("If you do good work").

His final words were: "The company doesn't have to give you anything!" Like others, we are wondering, what can we do?

Young Worker
Detroit

When I saw the statistics that one out of seven people in New York are on welfare I could not help but feel that even the most vigorous flagwavers would have to realize that there is something very sick with this country, and the way capitalist society is "working."

Law Student
Detroit

Reader's

STATE OF THE WORLD

The tragedy of what is happening in some of the African countries is heart-breaking. I refer to the situation in Cameroun, where Ernest Oaundie, the veteran leader of the Camerounian People's Union, and two of his lieutenants were just sentenced to death by the military court, charged with "attempted revolution."

I could not help but remember that many years ago, when Raya Dunayevskaya was in France (it was 1947, I believe) she wrote a letter about the Camerounian leaders she had met there. They were the first to have a revolution, and no one was listening to them. Is it possible to find and print that letter in N&L. It has a lot to say to us in 1971.

Old Politico
Los Angeles

Editor's Note: The letter to which you are referring is on microfilm as part of "Raya Dunayevskaya Collection", which is on deposit in the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich. Copies of these microfilms can be ordered from them. We will also try to reprint it in a future issue of N&L.

The fall here was full of tension and drama with the arrest of some of the best students, with a mass strike in four faculties which lasted for ten days, with all kinds of conflicts.

Vladimir Mijanovic, the President of the Council of Students of the Philosophical Faculty of Belgrade University, was sentenced to 20 months in prison. The sentencing on Oct. 23 set off a two-week student strike of protest. One of the charges against the students is that on May 7, 1970, they organized leaflets condemning the U.S. invasion of Cambodia.

Visiting Professor
Yugoslavia

Things are blowing up here. The "shy" Mr. Heath has narrowed the gap

between himself and Powell. The arms for South Africa issue shows exactly how he stands.

There is a nation-wide protest scheduled against the anti-trade union legislation. The railwaymen are making a wage claim. The anti-trade union bill is the main item on the agenda of Parliament. The Tories feel confident. The Labour Party is so compromised that they cannot fight the anti-trade union legislation.

The campaign against the power workers was about the dirtiest I have ever seen. The leaders retreated, but the rank and file were solid to the end.

H. McShane
Glasgow

There were more strikes last year in Britain than any year since records were first kept—in 1893! There were 3,725 stoppages in the first 11 months, which involved 1,702,500 workers.

Four industries each lost a million work days — coal mining, engineering, auto manufacturing and local government. The docks had a loss of about 700,000 days. Yet because of the number of workers in the various industries, the shipyard workers lost far more time for each worker employed in the industry, than the other industries.

Observer
London

UNITED FARM WORKERS

We want you to know you are appreciated for your tremendous help and support during the grape boycott. Without you and many like you, the farm workers would not have seen the beginning of their struggle for dignity and economic justice come true. With your help, they have been given hope and faith. Hope and faith in believing their ancestral dreams will come true. To live like a man, with pride, knowing his family will have their needs satisfied. But this is just the beginning, for

EDITORIAL Nixon's state of nation is state of war

The President's State of the Union message is the biggest swindle he ever attempted to put over on the American people. By separating national from foreign affairs he avoided accounting for the expanded war in Southeast Asia, which he is presently directing despite the fact that Congress forbade such an expansion, and despite the opposition of the majority of the American people to the Vietnam War.

The shell game he is playing includes the "consolidation" of various bureaucratic departments, which will turn out to be the elimination of the Labor Department, Rural Electrification, and other New Deal reforms. While he promises \$6 billion in new monies for revenue sharing with the states and cities, he is demanding \$50 billion plus for defense.

THE TRUE STATE OF THE ECONOMY

The new year began with President Nixon predicting that "1971 will be a good year, and 1972 a very good year." By the end of next year, he claimed—in full view of the people experiencing the sharpest unemployment—we will have reached nothing short of "full employment."

No sooner had the TV screen on January 4th shown a "confident" president telling us all these fairy tales, climaxed by the winding up of the Vietnam war and "the transition to a peace economy," than still another bombing raid was made on North Vietnam. Tricky Dick's Executive Order turned out to be neither an end to unemployment, nor to the Vietnam war, but a New Year bonus of no less than \$2.5 billion of write-off exemption to Big Business for plant investment.

After two years of Nixon rule, unemployment has reached its highest point in 9 years, 6 percent of the work force, or 4.6 million persons. Among blacks it is 9 percent. There are 12.5 million persons on relief roles in the country, 1.1 million in New York City alone. A survey in New York indicates that 30 percent of those on relief hold some kind of job that pays them so little that they require relief to maintain their family above the starvation level.

The unemployment rate among youth is between 25 and 33 percent. Black youth have the highest rate of unemployment, the lowest education and job opportunities. The state of the American Indian is beyond description. The N.Y. Times (1-10-71) states that unemployment among Indians on reservations is between

70 and 80 percent. The Chicanos—many without legal status—accept whatever wage they can get to survive.

Official unemployment figures consist of those who collect unemployment benefits through the states. Those who are dropped from the rolls because of the expiration of the period for which they are by law entitled to unemployment insurances, and those who are not covered by federal statutes and therefore do not get counted at all, number at least another 4 million.

Are these millions supposed to feel as "confident" as the president about "full employment" now that it has taken the devious route of the bonus to Big Business, which is supposed to rise over the coming years to \$4.5 billion? For Big Business it amounts to a tax cut of 20 percent; for the workers it means nothing.

Take Michigan alone and you find that unemployment in December reached 8 percent, a 100 percent rise over 1969. At the same time, rampant inflation has robbed those who do have jobs of 2.1 percent of their purchasing power "in general." In actuality there has been a six percent increase in consumer prices over the past year.

BREAKDOWN OF THE CITIES

"Revenue sharing" was another Nixon promise. He speaks "feelingly" about the breakdown of the cities, how they must be helped by getting back from the Federal Government some of the taxes that they have collected but have had to turn back to Washington. The joker in this "revenue sharing" is that it is tied to the revenues the Government will get if the full employment Nixon has been predicting takes place. Even the most conservative correspondents, who vote for Nixon with both hands, have had to point to "the ghostly might of full employment revenues."

Many cities in the U.S. are on the verge of bankruptcy. The affluent citizens have moved to all-white suburbs, leaving the rotting core of the city to the blacks.

The national cost of primary education in the U.S. has reached \$42 billion a year, borne primarily by local governments. State and federal governments contribute only a fraction to education. Expenditures for war are triple those for education.

City employees demand increases to keep up with inflationary costs of living and are denied the right to

strike. All the city governments can say is that if their legitimate demands are met (with ceilings already at maximum on local taxes), local governments face bankruptcy without Federal help. Why were these city leaders so silent during the past decade when the white bigots moved to suburbia, and the Pentagon kept eating up the budget? What will they say now that Nixon's "revenue sharing" is based on a mythical "full employment"?

THE NEVER-ENDING WAR

Nixon's "ending the war" is on a par with his achieving "full employment." His claim to be entering a stage of "peace economy" is a plain lie. The present stage of 350,000 men in Vietnam is clearly not "peace," nor will it be in the promised future when the fighting is supposed to stop with 285,000 U.S. troops remaining.

The expose of Senator Proxmire that the "food for peace" program resulted in 96 percent of the funds being devoted to arms was no accident. Its author, dove Senator Fulbright, required that the food be given to the corrupt South Vietnamese Government—which sold it to the starving people at profitable rates and then spent the income to buy more guns.

The discontent of U.S. soldiers, left to fight a rear-guard action in a winless war, is mounting. The estimates are that 90 percent of them use drugs.

Now a new phenomenon called "fragging the pigs" is in progress. Fragmentation bombs are thrown at top sergeants and officers trying to enforce discipline. Two Majors have been killed in 1971. All soldiers are searched, bullets removed from guns, grenades carefully counted and collected after troops return from combat.

In Germany, the U.S. Army of occupation after over 25 years, is at the point of open rebellion over racial and command problems. Blacks show unmistakably not only opposition to Vietnam war, but to all Pentagon wars.

Whether we look at the state of the economy or the breakdown of the cities, the state of the never-ending war or the conditions of the mass of people, especially the blacks, the totality of the capitalist crises shows there is no other way out except to tear up this decrepit society, root and branch, and build a new one.

Views

there are many, many fields ahead of us and all the old ones are not yet harvested. What I mean is, there still are some scab grapes around, so keep your eyes open! Also, don't forget to look for the UFWOC union label on lettuce!

We need your help once again.

United Farm Workers Organizing Committee
3419 Michigan Avenue,
Detroit, Michigan 48216

THE LENINGRAD TRIAL

It's the bitter irony of history that in the wake of the Spanish dictator committing the death sentences passed on the Basque underground freedom fighters, the Moscow neo-Stalinist rulers had to do likewise to the victims of the Leningrad anti-Zionist (anti-Jewish) trial. The monstrosity of the Leningrad trial, and the other trials to begin soon has been so glaring that even the die-hard French Communist Party and the slightly less rigid Italian Communist Party couldn't stand aside, and condemned the trial.

Even the French Trotskyists condemned the trial. How on earth do these epigones of Trotsky on the one hand condemn the Leningrad trial and, on the other hand, deny the right for national self-determination to the Soviet Jews, which has but only one expression: the right to emigrate to Israel?

Every honest observer of the Soviet scene cannot close his eyes to the fact that the national reawakening that has overtaken large sections of Russian Jewry, and the open, daring forms their struggle has taken on, is part of a wider ferment and struggle going on there, involving other nationalities as well: Ukrainians, Tartars, etc. The national struggle is part of the general fight of the Soviet workers, intellectuals and youth against the inhuman, bureaucratic regime.

The Trotskyists in particular reprint in their press many of the manifestos

and writings of the Soviet underground opposition groups, circles and individuals. But they deliberately, continually and without any shame delete any reference to the underground's support of the Jew's national rights. They condemn the Soviet invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia, but reject and dismiss the comparison made by the Slovak anti-Stalinist writer, Ladislav Mnacko, in his book *The Seventh Night*, between Czechoslovakia's and Israel's struggle for survival. How can one endorse Trotsky's slogan during the late thirties for "A Free Independent Ukraine", even at the price of separation, while denying the right of the Soviet Jews who wish to leave Russia and emigrate to Israel?

There's a limit to political acrobatics and ideological dishonesty! Marxist-Humanists who have freed themselves from any illusions, long ago, concerning the true nature of the Soviet Union as a "workers' state", must raise their clear voice against the suppression of the Soviet Jews' rights for national self-determination.

N.S.
Israel

A COMMITTEE FOR AFRICA

Students at Wesleyan University in Connecticut are forming a committee to support the various liberation movements in the white-controlled part of Africa: the Union of South Africa, Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau.

The committee hopes to make two contributions to these movements: first, to keep people aware of the inhuman situations in these countries, and of the progress of the respective liberation groups; and second, to raise as much money as it can for the African National Congress, the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the other liberation groups.

We intend to set up a network throughout New England for the distribution of

"Sechaba," the magazine of the ANC, and other writings, and organize and manage speaking engagements for people from Africa involved in the liberation struggles. We also hope to be able to obtain scholarships for black African students at Wesleyan and possibly at other colleges in the area.

Anyone interested in setting up a similar committee or getting in contact with ours may contact us through News & Letters.

Wesleyan Student
Connecticut

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I really appreciated Susan Van Gelder's article on Women's Liberation in the December issue, especially as I am facing the reality of raising children. It seems to me that too many "activists" who object to the false reality of beauty pageants and stereotypes of women are only substituting their own ideas for imposition on their "sisters," many of whom want husbands and children and also have horribly oppressing jobs. They only seem to be running away from the problem by insisting on excluding men from their world instead of combining to free men and women.

Supporter
New York

Editor's Note: For a dissenting response, see page 2.

I liked Susan Van Gelder's article on Women's Liberation—although I never

felt that those elitist leaders were the Movement.

Activist
New York

ANGELA DAVIS

How deeply the Angela Davis trial has struck seems clear, to me, from the fact that over 40 black GIs marched on Army headquarters in Saigon on Jan. 16, coupling their demands for freedom for her, and an end to racial discrimination in the Army. Jan. 16 was the birthday of Martin Luther King.

Correspondent
New York

SIDNEY GORDON 1923—1970

Sidney Gordon a revolutionary socialist since his early twenties, died of lung cancer in Los Angeles on December 23. Sidney joined the movement in the mid-40s while he was a student at the University of California at Berkeley.

Though not a member of News & Letters Committees he remained in the movement throughout his life. Sidney practiced law in Los Angeles and in the S.F. Bay Area for the past 18 years. He is survived by his wife, their three-year-old son and by a son by a previous marriage.

WHAT IS NEWS & LETTERS? A unique combination of workers and intellectuals.

ORGANIZATION—We are an organization of Marxist Humanists—blacks and whites who are seeking to change our conditions of life in the shops, the schools, the society as a whole. To do this we feel that all of us—workers in the factories, students in the universities and high schools—must come together and talk about how we can end speed up and racism in the plants, miseducation in the school; how we can build different human relations, by abolishing the division between mental and manual labor.

PAPER—This is the only paper of its kind, anywhere, edited by a black worker, Charles Denby, who works in an auto plant. The only paper written by working people, youth and black people fighting for freedom, in the U.S.A. and in other countries.

The only paper that features a regular column, "Two Worlds," by Raya Dunayevskaya, chairman of the National Editorial Board, and author of *Marxism and Freedom*.

We invite you to write for the paper, and to join our organization.



YOUTH

Cops provoke Chicano marchers

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Police again broke up a demonstration by Chicanos in Los Angeles. A march and picketing of police stations had been called to protest police harassment of the Chicano Moratorium Committee over the past several months.

The Moratorium Committee had organized the massive Chicano anti-war march last fall in which over 20,000 Chicanos had participated, and which police broke up. Three, including journalist Ruben Salazar, had been killed. Since then dozens of Chicano Moratorium Committee members have been arrested on various charges.

PICKET MAIN POLICE STATION

We gathered at a park in East Los Angeles, marched through Chicano barrios to picket a local police station, then marched downtown to picket the main police station. As we moved downtown there were many police who were quite rough on any who stepped off the sidewalk or who were accidentally forced off.

Most of us finally got there and began to march in front of the main police building. Some people began to congregate at a construction site across from the police building to watch. It was getting difficult to picket as there was only so much space on the sidewalk and many people. The police made it difficult by stopping us from crossing a driveway into the police building. They stationed more than 50 police in the driveway.

Next the police ordered those watching the line at the construction site to disperse. Those at the site began to do so and to come across to help picket.

But as they were doing this, the cops came out of the driveway, and more came up behind them, clubs in hand to hit those coming across. They gave no one a chance to disperse peacefully. The young marchers scattered, but then bottles and rocks were thrown at the police.

It seemed that the cops insisted on creating an incident. The picketing would have been over shortly. The marchers were moving from the construction site. But the police gave the marchers little choice but to have an incident. It was just like when they broke up the Chicano Moratorium last fall. The Chicano community is again calling for an investigation of this demonstration and the police actions.

—Two Marchers

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

who was born and grew up in Lowndes County. He spoke on American civilization as being on trial, linking the present and future perspective to black history, especially for those in Lowndes County. Everyone said they learned something from the talk.

Dr. John Cashin, the organizer of the new National Democratic Party of Alabama, brought down the house when he spoke. He stood in the judges' chambers and said he spoke from there because he knew that there had been more blacks railroaded to prison, and some to their deaths, by the racist judges that had sat there than from any other place in this country. He was there to let this judge know his time was out, that the people would take over his seat and elect a judge just as they elected other blacks who will serve all the people justly and equally.

QUITE A CHANGE

We saw some black hunters sitting in cars around the square. They said they had stopped hunting to see what was going on, but they were there from the beginning to the end; they said they had loaded shotguns.

What was amazing to many of us was seeing several white women walking and holding hands with black men at the inauguration ball. One man said, "I am happy to see this change. Six years ago, only five miles from here on Highway 80, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo was shot to death for having a black boy riding in the front seat of her car with her. Today these couples are walking around as if this has been a way of life since the beginning of time. Only God knows how happy I am today," he said. "But Brother, we sure have come a long way."

8 TO 3: HIGH SCHOOL

PRISON NOTES

12 articles from black, Chicano and white students in Los Angeles

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Los Angeles, Cal. 90024—ONLY 25c



Young Chicano marchers protest police harassment.

L.A. students back transferred teacher

Los Angeles, Calif.—On Jan. 11, Black and Chicano parents supported a teacher picket line directed at the principal and administrators of Edison Jr. High, a predominantly black school in south central Los Angeles. The protest centered on the administrative transfer of a dedicated white teacher who openly disagreed with specific policies affecting student opportunities and needs.

In response to this untimely (the teacher was transferred three weeks before the close of the semester), and unfair action, parents and teachers planned immediate protest action.

The students circulated a petition seeking the reinstatement of their teacher as well as an end to security guards on campus and excessive punishment. The petition was declared an illegal act and was confiscated. The students, including 25 young persons who walked out on the first day of the picketing, all face suspension.

Unfortunately, only a very few of the faculty have openly challenged this arbitrary transfer. The majority of the teachers have reacted with indifference, fear and silence.

IMPROVEMENT DEMANDS STATED

The concerned parents and teachers intend to maintain a protest line until the teacher is reinstated and the local school authorities indicate a willingness to undertake specific changes.

Grievances include: definition of teacher and student rights, curriculum upgrading, black literature and history, additional foreign languages, in-service training to sensitize teachers to community needs, more involvement with the community on the part of administrators, hiring of aides who reside in the community, and emphasis upon the interests and needs of students.

What happened at Edison is part of the numerous efforts that have occurred since 1965 to revolutionize the administration of black and Chicano public schools. Despite a recent teacher strike in early 1970, student walkouts, a few 11th hour appointment of minority administrators and a smattering of Black and Chicano studies, the conditions of learning for youth remain inadequate and injurious. The struggle and necessity for change continues.

—Los Angeles school teacher

Recession hits schools

LANSING, Mich.—Black and whites alike here are grumbling about the latest manifestation of Nixon's "planned recession." The Michigan State University Placement Bureau here on campus announced recently that it is "experiencing the worst job market in its history" and predicts that 1971 college graduates will find it tough getting a job after graduation. The Bureau said that there is a quota decrease of twenty-five per cent in business, industry, government and education.

Competition for blacks and women were said to be stable or the same, but everybody knows that these will probably be the first to be affected. Even through MSU is somewhat better off in job placement than other schools, this kind of news has everyone torn up.

It's worse when we asked when this will all let up and were told that the end is not in sight. For a 1971 graduate like me to realize, that at least 4.6 million workers are now unemployed, that even with a master's degree there's no guarantee of finding work, the reality of Nixon's recession is sickening.

—A black college student

Army quells Calabria revolt

MILAN, Italy—Things here seem to be more or less as they are in the U.S., although at different levels. The workers have been striking regularly. By now, not even the rightist press talks about "outside extremists" as the cause.

The Prime Minister, in a "happy new year" speech, stated that prices and unemployment would rise but there would not be a devaluation of the lire. This certainly didn't satisfy anyone. The increase in rents and food has become absolutely intolerable, not only for the working class, but also for many other groups.

SOUTHERN ITALY TURBULENT

The South seems to be more turbulent than ever, fighting for industrialization. Up to now, the solution for the Southerners was immigration either to foreign countries or to the North—a sad solution for a people who are so tied by tradition to their families. Now there is not even that. Thus it was easy for the fascists to begin the struggle in Reggio Calabria, saying that the city should have a steel factory paid for by the government. This suited both the bourgeoisie that doesn't have the capital for industrialization, and the workers.

However, when the workers took over with barricades and blocked railways and highways, the fascists and bourgeoisie hid in their houses. After a month, all of Calabria was in a state of semi-revolution that lasted for three months.

ARMY MOVES IN

The government was finally forced to send in the army because all of the Italian police were "tired." Now all of the regions of the South want a steel factory. The so-called "extra-parliamentary" groups of the left have not been able to offer a solution.

Now that Calabria has been "conquered," the Communists are calling for "disciplined" strikes. Everyone knows that during the three months in which the people of Calabria were fighting, the CP did nothing except try to negotiate politically. They helped the police to arrest the so-called undisciplined elements, even when they were of their own party.

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BLACK-RED VIEW

Free Angela!

By John Alan

It is already obvious, indeed it was from the very beginning, when Angela Davis was arrested in New York City by the FBI on the charge of being a "fugitive from California 'justice'", that her subsequent trial in Marin County, Calif., is going to be one of the most celebrated political trials that this nation has seen in the past two decades.

Against the person of Angela Davis, white capitalist colossus United States has arraigned all of its awesome might: the courts, the police, the military in the form of the National Guard, and not the least of all, its vast world-wide propaganda machinery.

Against this, Miss Davis stands as a Black person, a woman, an intellectual who has actively engaged in campaigns of Black liberation and intellectual freedom, vital human dimensions which, in the words of David Walker, the great Black liberator: "... will yet root some of you out of the face of the earth...". The ruling power structure knows this, and if not objectively, they know it by their privileged class instincts. Because of this they will do everything in their power to reduce Professor Davis to the image of a common criminal, as for centuries they have tried to reduce every Black person to a sub-human status.

The Blacks and whites who are defending her are not defending her because they are Communists. They have no illusions that Communism has anything to do with Marxism, a theory of liberation.

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

Protestors all over the world are chanting, "Free Angela, free all political prisoners," while the ruling class uses all the media to shout, "this is NOT a political trial." Even before this lie could be tested, the President of the United States, in a calculated sleazy political maneuver, invited prominent Russian intellectuals to attend the trial of Miss Davis, so they could be assured of the "fairness of American justice."

Nixon was thereby trying to identify Angela with Russia. But Angela Davis is an American, and has suffered because she is an American—a Black American.

Marin County is a super-white community of upper-middle class and professional residents, with a small black ghetto called Marin City. This County has one of the highest per capita incomes in California, yet it is crying the blues because the estimated cost of trying Angela comes to a cool million dollars, and the County wants the state to pick up the tab, or they will be forced to raise taxes!

BUYING AN ARMED CAMP

To be sure, all this cash is not being spent to insure justice for Angela Davis but to turn the Marin Civic Center into an armed camp equipped with the most advanced electronic devices. Such an atmosphere of super security casts a shadow over justice and makes intimidation inevitable. In a very real sense, Angela Davis is imprisoned within that Frank Lloyd Wright citadel of white America. This imprisonment can only be broken down by fervent protest from Blacks and whites, the same kind of protest that raged in Montgomery, Ala., in 1957 and swept the nation with a new revolutionary Black consciousness.

Angela Davis, the person, the Black woman, the intellectual, the revolutionary, must be saved and freed from the horrors of prison. James Baldwin, Nov. 19, 1970, in "An Open Letter To My Sister, Miss Angela Davis" ends by saying: "... We know that we, the Blacks, and not only we the Blacks, have been and are, the victims of a system whose only fuel is greed, whose only god is profit.

"Then we must fight for your life as though it were our own—which it is—and render impassable with our bodies the corridor to the gas chamber. For, if they take you in the morning, they will be coming for us that night."

Two letters from Quebec

New left raided

MONTREAL, Quebec—It's coming down very heavy here. Right after the War Measures Act was imposed, our place was raided. All of my books and papers were taken, and after the rooms were ransacked, we were taken to Post 4 and kept there all day.

Then we became spectators to what you have experienced a number of times in Detroit — the Army. They really are the tools the bureaucrats use to smash their opposition wherever and whatever it is. The majority of the arrests are aimed at established threats like the CNTU (Chartrand), plus a multitude of openly sympathetic television and radio announcers and personnel. They have smashed the group that managed to put out number one of the first French anti-tract paper. They came and took everything—the press, last pieces of clothes, etc.—hunted down the people, two of whom are facing sedition and conspiracy charges.

Two weeks after the first raid they came on house-to-house searches but just looked our place over. The same day machine-gun muscle-men raided our office looking for diplomats. No luck, except some pamphlets, which I hope they read. Two days later, the intelligence goons raided the office again and arrested some. The same night I made the mistake of wanting to make a phone call and found myself being stomachached by a fat detective. By answering the wrong questions wrongly, I earned another raid on our place. This time two other brothers were taken away.

As long as they have control of the media, things are being smashed behind the cameras. As long as they maintain this high tension fear they will continue to smash whatever organization threatens them by making things public.

The troops are still in Montreal (Dec. 3). Some feel they will never leave. They have become part of us. The illusion of a certain Canadian liberalism is finished, but the Liberation Movement is alive and fermenting.

Manifesto defended

MONTREAL, Quebec—It might surprise you to learn that while you condemn the F.L.Q., simplistically lumping it with a wild menagerie of terrorist tendencies, there is no mass condemnation of them here, but rather a mixed feeling of qualified sympathy and of wait-and-see. Most often people have said, "We agree with their goals, but not necessarily with their methods."

"Operation Liberation" was much closer to a guerilla activity than to terrorism. Though a political kidnapping is a very extreme action, the F.L.Q. told people why they did it, and talked to real problems, and in general the Manifesto was well received—enough that the government panicked. Read it, and if you have ever lived or worked in Quebec, you will see yourself in it. It is real.

Michel Chartrand, the CNTU leader who is by far the most popular figure here both with working people and young people, was imprisoned because he spoke openly in support of the F.L.Q. at a mass rally (10,000) of students and working people at the Centre Paul-Sauve just after the Cross abduction, and not simply because he is a labor leader.

Shortly after the imposition of the War Measures

Longshoremen lay-offs close S.F. union houses

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—Within two weeks, two houses of Warehouse Local 6, International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union either have been closed or very nearly closed. At Hill's Bros. Coffee, of 136 on the seniority list, 114 were laid off, while on the same day 138 warehousemen were laid off at its plants in New Jersey. McKesson-Robbins (drug and liquor wholesalers) closed its warehouse in Santa Rosa, Calif. And this is a small union of only 5,000 members.

Workers in California, and particularly in San Francisco—the most tightly organized union city in the U.S.—are also confronted with "runaway" companies moving to Nevada, a "right-to-work" (in reality for low wages) state. In this respect, Nevada has become the South of the Pacific Coast.

If the largest waste industry of all, war, were cut off, useful industries (construction and food are the most basic) would be unable to replace it within the restrictions of our production-for-profit system. With the galloping rate of Automation that is making more and more workers in every industry unnecessary to the stockholders, production of waste products, sold exclusively to the government, becomes ever more necessary. The concept of full employment even in war, as well as in peace time, of "peace and jobs" within those restrictions, is becoming ever more of an illusion.

Act, a group of 20 priests from the Gaspé area; where unemployment is over 30% and reaching 60% in certain areas, came out in favor of the F.L.Q. Manifesto, saying that it was "true to life" even if they didn't agree with the F.L.Q. methods...

In general, the F.L.Q. has had a positive effect here. Now the world knows that there is such a thing as a country called Quebec, which exists as a colony for Anglo-Canadian and American capital just like the countries of what we call the "Third World." We also know about our situation, and there is a rebirth of interest in confronting the horrible oppression which we live under here (I make \$6-\$10 per day for 11 hours of work and am lucky to have a job). It has given many of us a new sense of dignity.

It is not the F.L.Q. who will make the needed social revolution here in Quebec, nor does it pretend to, but it still plays a role here, and there is a lot of sympathy for them even where there are severe criticisms.

Kent victims ask help

To all student readers of News & Letters:

Most of us participated in the student strike protesting the invasion of Cambodia, the murder of students at Kent State and Jackson State, and the persecution of black political prisoners last May. Many of us pledged ourselves to continue that activity after the strike was over. The time to keep that pledge is now.

Twenty-five Kent students and teachers have been indicted by a special Ohio Grand Jury. This same Grand Jury, echoing the rhetoric of Nixon-Agnew, declared the National Guardsmen who killed the students innocent and placed the blame on the "permissiveness" of the college administration and faculty and on the victims themselves. Several of those wounded last May are now threatened with years of prison for their "offense," and the prosecutor, Seabury Ford, has declared that the Guard "should have shot all the troublemakers."

NEED HELP NOW

The Kent victims need our help now. They need thousands for legal defense and above all they need the active support and solidarity of students on every campus in the country.

Kent State is Nixon-Agnew's laboratory. In see if they can crush the campus protest movement now, and so far they are succeeding all too well. The Kent prosecutions have had a chilling effect on the expression of even the most liberal opposition, and unless we are able to put a stop to this kind of repression now, and at Kent, nothing will prevent the same thing from happening on every campus in the country.

ORGANIZE FOR THE DEFENSE

The Kent State Legal Defense Committee Inc. (KLDf), consisting of students, teachers, and lawyers, has been organized to defend the indicted people, publish the truth about what is happening at Kent, and build solidarity. They have speakers to send to campuses (mostly indicted students and teachers), films of the Kent events, and literature. As soon as you finish reading this, you should begin organizing by simply writing the KLDf and arranging for a speaker or film to come to your campus to raise money for the defense and spread the word.

Let's not forget either that our white brothers and sisters who were shot down at Kent were neither the first nor the only ones to be crushed by the growing repression in this country. Black people have been undergoing this for years, and with much less publicity. If meetings, film-showings, benefits and other events in Defense of the Kent 25 are coordinated with local efforts to defend black political prisoners, they can have an even greater impact.

For speakers, films, and more information write or call:

Kent Legal Defense Fund, Inc.
401 Dodge Street,
Kent, Ohio 44240
Phone: 673-7981 or 7982

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By Eugene Walker

WORLD IN VIEW

Political crime and punishment in Spain and Russia

The death penalties handed down by the Burgos military tribunal against Basque nationalists have been commuted by General Franco. Far from being an act of human charity, it was due to the pressures faced by the Franco government both from outside Spain and, most importantly, from within that totalitarian state.

RESTLESS AUTUMN, WINTER . . .

Indeed, it has been a most restless autumn and winter within Spain. In the Basque region ETA ("Freedom for Basques") militants have been calling for both political independence and social revolution. They have participated in bombings and bank assaults. A number of other separatist groups have also been active in the Basque region. In recent days Basque nationalists have held sit-ins at churches.

The Franco government has for the last two years intensified its attempt to subdue the Basques. Since the murder of a chief of political police in August, 1968, some 2,000 arrests have been made in Basque provinces.

Nearly 150 of these have never been tried before military or civilian courts. The military trial at Burgos with six death sentences handed out, three of which were double death sentences, was the natural culmination of the campaign of repression. But the united opposition to the Franco government as the story of political persecution and torture of prisoners was told.

WORKERS, STUDENTS, INTELLECTUALS

The open revolt of the Basques has both exposed the weakness of the government and helped to inspire other opposition to the Franco regime. There have been thousands on strike throughout Spain. Construction workers in Madrid, miners in the Asturias region were both out. Seven thousand Barcelona metal workers left their jobs to hold discussions. Clandestine labor unions had a National Amnesty Day which resulted in violent demonstrations over police actions against Basque separatists.

Student agitation has also been high. At the University of Madrid there have been several clashes of students and police. Barcelona students have also staged demonstrations.

Some 300 Catalan intellectuals and artists staged a sit-in at Montserrat, a sanctuary in the moun-

tains above Barcelona, and issued a manifesto denouncing the Franco regime.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Open opposition to the government is a fact. The opposition to the constant political repression of the Franco regime is linked to opposition to the worsening of the already poor economic situation. In six months bankruptcies have doubled. Consumption is down 10-15 percent. Wage increases are frozen at 6.5 percent even though the cost of living is rising much faster. Telephone charges, postal rates and public transport fares are up 10 to 70 percent. Meat, milk, fruits, gas, electricity, newspapers and rents have gone up from 8 to 30 percent.

Internationally, the campaign against the death sentence no doubt did have effects. Officials within the government were quite disturbed with the foreign reaction to the trials of the Basque nationalists. Some within the military and other parts of the right wing hoped to use the trial and the foreign reaction to it to force the government into a still harder line. Indeed the government is not even repressive enough for some who call for a removal of a section of the ruling government, called the Opus Dei, for being too "liberal."

While the fighting within different ruling elements of the Franco government is a fact, it is not here that the choice of which way Spain will move will be made.

The right wing of the right wing may hope to use the events of the trial and the opposition to it for their own purposes, but the fight for self-determination by the Basque people, the rising protest by other sections of the Spanish people, will not easily be stilled.

It has exposed the internal weakness of the seemingly invincible Franco government. The call is for self-determination and social revolution, not for one part of the ruling class as against another. The end of such a regime is not so far away as it would appear on the surface.

The trial of nine Russian citizens, seven of them of Jewish extraction, for allegedly plotting to hijack a Russian plane, was in fact a trial of Russian anti-Semitism. Two of the accused, both Jewish, were given death sentences. Only after a barrage of protests from abroad, and no doubt opposi-

tion internally, were the sentences changed to long prison terms.

Despite Russian protestations that they are merely "anti-Zionism" there is little to back them up. When defendants are found guilty simply because they were Jews who wished to leave their country for another country, it is not stopping a "Zionist-plot," it is anti-Semitism pure and simple. France, which cannot be accused of supporting the Israeli position in the Middle East, felt compelled to protest the death sentences.

Unfortunately the trial in Leningrad appears only to be the first of a series. A second is already occurring and new trials are soon to be scheduled in other cities. Most of the accused are reported to be Russian Jews.

The only hopeful sign so far is that the intense opposition to the death sentences did have effect and will no doubt be useful again. Even authoritarian regimes such as Spain and Russia are affected by these pressures.

Just as the fight for self-determination of the Basques in Spain despite persecution inspired many other people in Spain, the fight of Soviet Jews may also inspire opposition within Russia.

Freedom notes

CHILE—The government of Salvador Allende, Chile's first socialist president, has begun trying out for a socialist program.

The government has put forth a plan for nationalization of the copper mines, coal and iron mines, and the private banks. Land reform has also been proposed and some peasants have already begun seizing estates which were insufficiently cultivated or whose owners fled when Allende came to power. President Allende still faces congressional opposition to much of his program and naturally the opposition of the U.S. government.

FRANCE—Record arms sales in 1970 has made France the biggest arms exporter of military equipment in the Western world, after the U.S. Ideology is often not a factor—left wing rulers of Libya and right-wing regimes in South Africa and Greece get arms. Mirage jets were ordered in 1970 by Argentina, Brazil, Libya, Pakistan and Spain.

Polish uprising, Russian anti-Semitism mark state-capitalist crises

(Continued from Page 4)

or perhaps Neues Deutschland wishes to find them? Anyhow, the Germans today are the only real experts able to distinguish with absolute accuracy between Aryans and inferior races."

Gomulka, who weathered that storm, was toppled when, in economic terms, the new Five Year Plan was spelled out as a fantastic rise in prices, that is to say, a substantial wage cut. The "new" leaders talk differently. At the same time General Moczar has been raised to Politburo membership to assure the knout being used to force compliance, not with words, but with State Plans. And, as the trip to Moscow on Jan. 5, 1971 showed, Poland's economic plans are part and parcel of Russia's 9th Five Year Plan for the same years, 1971-1975.

RUSSIA'S GLOBAL APPETITES

Until the last two weeks of the year, 1970 had seemed to be a very good year for Russia. By the end of 1969 it had moved from border skirmishes with China that had the aspects of nothing short of war to an understanding of sorts with Chou En-lai, the exchange of ambassadors, some rise in trade and lowering of tone on both sides of the Sino-Soviet conflict. It felt especially free to pursue its global aims both in the Middle East and in Western Europe because its chief rival for world mastery—U.S. imperialism—was in deepest crises, both internally and externally. Nixon's adventurous invasion of Cambodia and shootings at Kent, and Jackson, Miss. had so unified the youth opposition and the blacks against him, while the economic recession had brought about a new militancy on the part of labor, that it seemed an especially propitious

time for Russia to extend itself.

Having already established more than a foothold in the Middle East, it now took new initiatives in Europe, forcing its East German satellite to accept the Moscow-Bonn "non-aggression pact" and trade treaty. It was even making talk about a general European Security pact. Whether that would or would not cause new divisions within NATO, it was certainly true that the new realignment with West Germany at least worried some who had seen De Gaulle's attempt at a new Franco-German axis become a stillbirth. In the Middle East Russia felt so certain of its new prowess that it concluded a military agreement with Egypt that is practically unprecedented.

None now doubted its global status or nuclear power. No matter where the Sino-Soviet conflict would lead to, the world was indeed divided into two, and only two, big superpowers. Internally, it is true, Russia had troubles with its intelligentsia and was still very far from getting its restless proletariat "to work hard and harder so as to catch up with and surpass the United States."

Even here, however, being the totalitarian power it is, it thought it had just the right scapegoat at the right time to throw terror into the hearts of all dissidents. The "Leningrad affair"—11, mainly Jews, who were alleged to have plotted a hijacking—was ending not only with stiff sentences, but two of the Jews—Mark P. Dymshitz, 43, and Edward S. Kuznetsov, 30—were sentenced to death. Moreover, the Russians evidently thought all this would "sound" good over the air waves to Arab lands, and thus strengthen Russia's hand.

Instead, everything came crashing about them. Not only was there a world outcry against the barbarity of the sentence, not only did "the West" draw a parallel between the trial of Basques at Burgos in fascist Spain and the trial of Jews in Communist Russia, but even the Communist Parties of France, Italy, Great Britain and Spain asked them to reverse the verdict. It was clear that, to all, "Zionism" and "treason" seemed euphemisms for Soviet anti-Semitism.

Nor, finally, was this an outcry only from the "outside." As the Moscow correspondent of *Le Monde* (12-30-70) put it: "Most non-Jewish Soviet citizens are not at all inclined to put up with anything resembling anti-Semitism even in covert form."

And while its clay head was revealed in Moscow, the uprising in Poland showed that each country has



Police headquarters burn in Poland's Szczecin.

indeed two worlds and that it better protect its class power without going off into a pogrom atmosphere reminiscent of Tsarist days. At the same time, it cannot forget the Sino-Soviet conflict. While China can, and is, as virulent as Russia in its "anti-Zionist" campaign—in the Middle East—it plays a different tune in East Europe. After all, it needs only call the Russians "the new Tsars," and far away China gains an immediate following in East Europe. Russia is not unaware that ever since its invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, "Maoism" has not been confined to Albania.

And thus it came about that the totalitarian country that never listens to world opinion bowed to it, reversed the death sentence to 15 years at hard labor.

This may mean, as many Jews insist, merely a slow instead of immediate death, but it is a change in line, and does give all a breathing space in which to plan for defense against the attacks still to come not only against Jews but against all dissidents—workers, youth, intellectuals, and other national minorities—in Russia and in East Europe. The clay head as well as the Jew feet of the Russian bear has been revealed in 1970.

- (1) See "Whither Modern Capitalism?," *WORLD MARXIST REVIEW*, December 1967, January 1968.
- (2) See my analysis of anti-Semitism and state-capitalism in *NEWS & LETTERS* (February, 1960).
- (3) The full translation of the full stenographic transcript of the discussion on Varga's *Changes in the Capitalist Economy as a Result of World War II* was published by the Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C.
- (4) *World Marxist Review* (Dec. 1967)

DIRECT FROM POLAND

There is also unrest among university students. The Minister of Higher Education, Jablonski, has paid visits to universities, first in Gdansk and then in Szczecin, both cities known for their part in the December riots. His ministry has been criticized for reorganizing colleges and universities without asking these institutions for their opinions on the matter. The minister has been forced to promise that this procedure will change in the future.