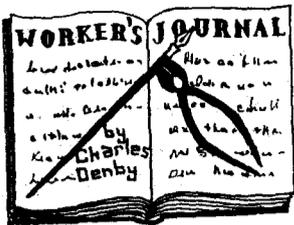


ON THE INSIDE

- Dialectics of liberation: Hegel and Adorno, by Raya Dunayevskaya p. 5
Report from Argentina and Uruguay p. 6
World food conference a farce p. 8



Workers probe causes of layoff crisis

by Charles Denby, Editor

Many workers are discussing the deep crisis that this country is in today and they see no solution pointing in any upward trend. Some are saying it was Nixon and his Republican gang that have brought this country down to where it is. Others say that Nixon's appointment of the dumbest man, President Ford, to complete his two-year term has added to the crisis-ridden burden of this society.

A worker said to me: "This dumb President of ours is traveling all over Asia to meet and drink toasts to those two dictatorial and corrupt leaders in Japan and Korea when he should be here at home attending to all the urgent crises that American workers are facing. Our tax dollars spent on fuel for the trip and other expenses would feed many hungry Americans for months and months."

VIETNAM WAR WRECKED ECONOMY

Another said, "That is true. But it is not just the Republicans alone who are to blame. I remember that when President Johnson asked for the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, Congress gave him the authority to start bombing North Vietnam. Everyone felt sure we were headed into an all-out war because this would bring China and Russia in on the side of North Vietnam. When neither sent troops in, Russia was asked why they didn't and their leader said it was because France spent 20 years trying to defeat North Vietnam and they were bled to death, and their economy was totally wrecked. Everyone knew the U.S. would suffer the same fate if it stayed there."

The worker said, "I do not know whether or not we suffered a defeat there, but I feel sure that the war helped wreck this economy. This country is still spending more money there to keep a dictatorial regime in power than it spends on all of our social programs here to help the poor and working people in this country."

"Now they are talking about a depression of the same magnitude of the 1930s, yet political leaders have been saying for years and years that this country will never be faced with another depression."

FACING THE TRUTH

"A week before we were laid off, many of the white workers were cussing Nixon and Ford, saying they did not vote for them. They said it would be impossible for them to continue to live the life they have, that there is no way they can continue to pay for their expensive homes on unemployment and SUB when they were catching hell to keep up their payments while they were working six and seven days, ten and twelve hours a day."

This Black worker said: "That is some of the trouble today. I know many of you voted for Nixon because he was against school integration and against Blacks. So you went around yelling that Nixon is the man. As long
(Continued on Page 3)

Statistics no real measure of people out of work

Detroit, Mich.—The "official" unemployment rate in Detroit for October is 14 percent. I was laid off by Chrysler at the end of that month when they began sweeping the plant by departments and getting rid of those who didn't have their 90 days in. We aren't even counted in the layoff figures.

For some auto workers, this layoff might not be too much of a hardship. They will get SUB and are on temporary layoff. But SUB is sure to run out soon, and it doesn't cover those of us who don't have one-year's seniority. What is worse, our layoffs are "indefinite" — and that might as well mean permanent. When and if production is up again next year, they are going to use this situation not to call back a lot of workers — mostly Black and women, who were recently hired.

QUESTION OF SURVIVAL

Now we are supposed to survive — since you can't call it living — on unemployment benefits. In my classification, I will get about one third of what I was making. Even in the highest classification of four or more dependents, the most you can get is \$106 a week.

I went down to MESC (Michigan Employment Security Commission) to file for benefits the day after I was laid off, and I had to wait five weeks for my first check. I found out last week that Chrysler said they had no record of my employment there. That's because they deal with numbers, not people, and since MESC had copied my Social Security number wrong, Chrysler didn't

NEWS LETTERS

10¢

'Human Power is its own end'

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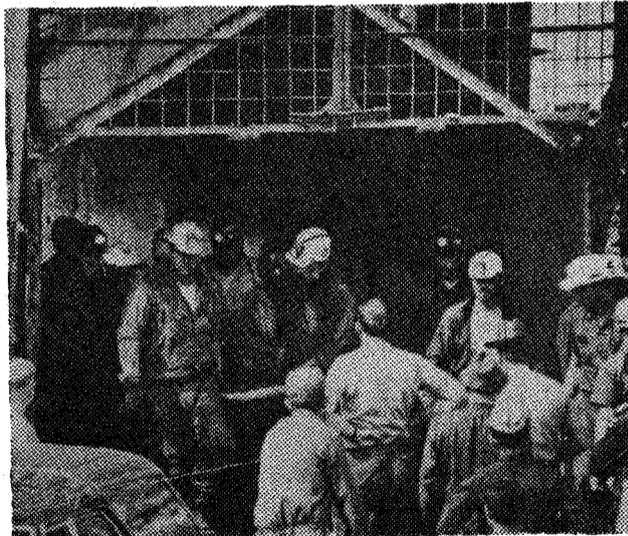
DECEMBER, 1974

Editorial Article

Close contract vote shows miners want control over work conditions

By Andy Phillips

The slim margin of victory that UMW President Arnold Miller's contract gained from the rank-and-file coal miners—only a 57 percent majority despite the 64 percent increase in benefits during the next three years over the old contract—proves once again what the miners have consistently demonstrated: that they are much more concerned about their own control over safety



Carrying out the dead—it won't stop until miners control safety in the mines.

and work conditions in the mines than they are about wages and other fringe benefits.

It is certainly true that they are concerned also about economic factors and fringes. They have good reason to be, for in the past decade they have gone backward with every contract negotiated, while the rest of America's industrial workers were making significant gains. Miners had no protection against inflation, such as a cost of living wage increase factor, no sick pay benefits, a scandalous pension of only \$125 a month, inadequate vacations and vacation pay, no health care protection for surviving widows and children of miners killed in the mines, and totally insufficient payments to the miners' Health and Welfare Fund which provides for health care, pensions and mine accident disability rehabilitation.

MINERS SPELLED OUT DEMANDS

All of these, and more, are very important to the miners, and they empowered Miller to negotiate for these and other demands they spelled out at the UMW Convention held in Pittsburgh last December. While the new contract does provide for significant economic gains, the miners did not get what they wanted most of all: the right to enforce safety in the mines.

It is a right that the miners will never get in a contract negotiated with the coal operators—regardless of who the president of the UMW might be. The reason for this is that with automation in the mines in the form of the continuous miner, to have this right is to answer the question that the miners raised 25 years ago when automation was first introduced in the mines: what KIND of labor should man do?

That is why the miners wanted the right to strike over local issues spelled out in the contract in black and white. It is also why the operators refused to consider the provision, because they have no intention of letting the miners control either production or the conditions of work.

The miners were the first to bear the brunt of automation when the continuous miner was introduced in 1949-50 — many years before Henry Ford coined the expression to describe the new production process when it later hit the auto industry. And just as the automated mines became the mirror of the future of other industries, so did the revolt of the miners against this monster they called "the man killer," the continuous miner. As other industries later became automated, the revolt of the workers against dehumanization of their automated production matched that of the miners.

SPEARHEAD UNION DRIVE

But the critical year historically is 1949. John L. Lewis was president of the UMW then, and he and the miners were preparing to battle both the coal operators and the government for a new contract. This was nothing new for either Lewis or the miners, who had the well-earned reputation for being the shock troops of American labor.

They had provided both the financial and human power to spearhead the organizing of six million industrial workers in the CIO in the 1930s; had refused to sign the "no strike pledge" demanded by the government of all labor unions during World War II; went out on strike in 1943, in the middle of the war, and successfully broke the wage-price controls imposed by the government, which like the more recent Nixon wage-price freeze, effectively froze wages, while prices rose unchecked and

— Ex-truck worker

(Continued on Page 5)

Pamphlet traces women's role in labor struggle

Working Women and their Organizations, by Joyce Maupin. 1974. Published by Union WAGE Educational Committee, P. O. Box 462, Berkeley, Cal. 94701. 33 pp. \$1.

This new pamphlet is a serious contribution to the Women's Liberation Movement's search for theory. In briefly tracing the 150 year struggle of American working women to gain justice on the job and in society, Joyce Maupin makes it clear that the fight has not only been against the intolerable wages and working conditions enforced by the company, but also against the union bureaucracy.

Maupin asserts that unions have never really been interested in organizing low-paid workers—women and minorities—since they have rarely been able to afford the high initiation fees and dues so preferred by the trade unions. The official union movement has not fundamentally challenged the concept of using women and minorities as the excess labor pool to be tapped when white male labor is in short supply, as it was during colonial times and during every period of war.



'UNORGANIZABLES' LEAD WAY

While bureaucrats maintain that low-paid workers are "unorganizable", Maupin cites history to prove, time and again, that women and minorities have, in fact, spear-headed the struggle for human liberation through their self-activity and self-organization. The truth is that today minority women are still "leading the way" in the fight for women's rights, such as the Chicana workers in the Farah strike and the Chinese seamstresses in San Francisco.

Harper & Row unionized

The following is excerpted from a letter in response to a Reader's View in last month's issue on the strike by Macmillan Publishing employees.

New York, N. Y.—My company, Harper & Row, has been organized since 1941 by the Association of Harper & Row Employees (un-affiliated). On Nov. 8 we made the historic decision to affiliate with District 65's new Book & Publishing Division. District 65, a union of some 30,000 members, has a long standing reputation for being unusually democratic and responsive to its members. It is engaged now in organizing efforts at several publishing houses, one of which is Simon & Schuster.

I'm proud that the people I work with at Harper & Row were the first group of book publishing workers to stand up for their rights. But publishing managements are so unsophisticated about unions that they doubtless still think illegal firings and intimidation can stop the movement (200 were fired at Macmillan).

We must show our unity and determination by supporting the Macmillan workers in every way possible: by supporting them on their picket line, 866 Third Ave., New York; contributing to their strike fund c/o Local 153, OPEIU, 265 W. 14th St., New York City; and by boycotting Macmillan books and all Macmillan subsidiaries: G. Schirmer, Katherine Gibbs, Berlitz, Brentano's. The struggle for our rights has just begun.

WL NOTES

In Hong Kong, 130 women have formed a Mother's Union. They have demanded nine years of free compulsory public school education. They have also started classes for 100 children who otherwise would be getting no education.

Women are a growing political force in Greece where many laws still support male supremacy. No fewer than 34 women, several of whom had joined the resistance and were imprisoned by the military junta before it fell, ran for Parliament. The power of women is particularly important in this election since the new Parliament will have the power to change the constitution.

South Vietnam police, in an attempt to stop demonstrations, have cordoned off the street where Ngo Ba Thanh, a woman lawyer and outspoken opponent of the government, lives and also the Tinh Suong pagoda which houses a group of militant Buddhist nuns. They are unable to leave their neighborhoods.

The International Feminist Conference that was to take place in Barcelona, Spain was cancelled to show solidarity with Lidia Falcon who has been jailed on a frame-up charge of participating in a terrorist bombing incident. Lidia Falcon is a lawyer, writer and women's liberation activist who besides writing feminist books has used her lawyer's skills in the cause of women's freedom.

Five hundred Black women from across Canada met at the National Congress of Black Women. After discussion on Triple Repression (sex, class, race) the women sent a letter to Trudeau asking that Haitians not be deported and expressed solidarity with Canadian Indian and French Canadian women.

The unions which are waging militant struggles where women are in the leadership are those which have organized independently of the official trade union movement, such as the United Farm Workers, and those that are still independent, such as the California Homemakers' Association.

NEW DIRECTION NEEDED

Maupin contends that women's leadership and organizations are desperately needed, but that the leadership must be a collective nature which will raise the issues discussed in the separate women's organizations and "fight for ideas which will give a new direction to the unions."

She rightfully criticizes the current middle-class women's movement for thinking the solution to working women's problems is simply for the individual to get a promotion on the job or in the union.

After reading this excellent pamphlet and being sick to death of organizations that seek to replace our current bosses with themselves, I would hope that Union WAGE will be the kind of women's organization that is guided by the philosophy in the activity of the most oppressed among us who, of necessity, have the greatest vision of what freedom could mean. The women's movement—quagmired in culture—desperately needs such organization to have a successful social revolution.

—Marie Dignan

NOW ignores poor women

Detroit, Mich.—I've been working with News & Letters Women's Liberation and with the National Organization for Women (NOW). Lately I've been comparing the two and there's one question that keeps bothering me. How long will NOW keep working for women's rights after the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) becomes law?

News & Letters Women's Liberation includes poor and working class women and has been struggling for the rights of all women. NOW's members are professional working women who will be protected by the ERA the way it stands now.

The factory woman's protective laws are being taken away from her. The woman on aid is being forced into job-training programs that lead nowhere, except maybe to factory jobs since these programs cannot properly place the women they train. NOW is fighting for their rights first. Will they fight for my rights after they have won theirs?

It's becoming quite obvious that NOW isn't too interested in the poor working woman and the woman on aid. For example, NOW has a committee to fight credit discrimination. A woman I know called them to complain about a problem she'd had with the gas company over changing her account from her husband's name to hers.

The company agreed to do it but told her she couldn't continue on the budget plan if her husband's name wasn't on the account. Well, she thought this credit committee could do something about eliminating this kind of discrimination. They said, No, we only deal with discrimination where credit cards and loans are concerned.

Can a poor woman have a credit card? A woman on aid? I face discrimination with problems like the gas company. How would I, being on aid, ever apply for a loan?

NOW has close to 300 women in the Detroit chapter alone. With so much potential, how could they be doing so little for women?

—Young mother

Neighborhood women's group ignores issue of racism

Chevy Chase, Md.—The National Congress of Neighborhood Women held its first conference in October. Over 100 women from many states attended, and most were working women active in community organizations.

Participants included women from the Link Society from Alabama (working with prisoners and their families); Union WAGE from San Francisco; a senior citizens' center from Brooklyn; Chicago communities fighting block-busting and red-lining; and radical nuns working with neighborhood groups.

Only a few participants were Black, however, and when the women met among themselves, problems arose because they refused to deal with the question of race. A woman from the Welfare Rights Organization asked if the group would make real the statement being used that "those who make \$5,000 and those who make \$15,000 must unite against those who make \$500,000," by supporting welfare issues. She was brushed off by "community organizers" who said they just work on what their community asks them to.

One of our members tried but failed to get welfare mentioned in the group's statement of purpose to make clear that it was for the unity of working class and welfare women and of Black and white. A Black woman tried and failed to make sure the steering committee would have Blacks on it.

The Congress did set up task forces on various issues, and a newsletter. Time will tell whether these remain in the hands of the professional organizers and grant-getters or not, and whether the failure to deal with the race question will keep Blacks away.

—Molly Jackson, N&L Women's Liberation

WAY OF THE WORLD

U.S. sinks deeper in inflation

By Ethel Dunbar

Some housewives and I were discussing inflation and runaway prices—a discussion that many Americans have been having for some years now. One said she had just heard on TV that the dollar in this country will only be worth 17 cents by 1985 if the inflation rate continues as it has for the past two years.

She said it will continue if Ford and those he has on his staff continue to be a part of the government because the more people yell for price ceilings the louder Ford and his men yell they are against it.

Nixon took all the money from those merchants and milk and sugar manufacturers and promised that he would not interfere with their prices. She believes this was all explained to Ford with the understanding that he should not try to put a price ceiling on anything.

Another said that she cannot visualize where this country is headed. No one who knows Nixon is surprised or shocked when some racial slur is made about Blacks, but some of his highest aides that Ford is carrying over made ethnic blasts against Jews and now they are making worse against Catholics' religion. And all Ford did was call them in and pat them on the hands saying, Naughty boy, don't do it again in public.

With this hater Butz as head of the Agriculture Department, one of the most reactionary men that was ever in government, she said that no one who has been following his actions should have been surprised about what he said about the Catholic religion.

We all agreed there needs to be a change in this country and not just electing Democrats and ousting Republicans, but a total change that will answer the needs and desires of working and poor people.

Plants down, no 'help wanted'

Springfield, O.—Recently I went to take a competitive civil service exam for a warehouse stockroom clerk for the city Board of Education. There was only one job opening and 83 people took the test.

"Mr. Clean" says we are not headed for a depression. I wonder why, seeing as the local paper has all but given up employment ads. And when 83 people apply for one job it seems like something is wrong.

It is said that unemployment is about six percent, but I can't believe that because I know that almost every plant in town has cut down to one shift. At the International Harvester truck assembly plant they are only running one shift and they stopped the small truck assembly line. They are talking about a four-day week for the workers unlucky enough to still be working, because they are running off trucks at the same rate as a year ago, and only using about 60 percent of one shift to do it.

If Ford doesn't think there's a depression on I say let him come out here, change his name and try to get a job and we'll see how long before he joins welfare or unemployment.

—Unemployed youth

Student attacks Kent verdict

Los Angeles, Cal.—Once again the American judicial system has revealed its pro-military position. The eight former national guardsmen accused of killing four anti-war demonstrators and wounding nine others at Kent State University, May 4, 1970, were acquitted. After the ruling, these celebrities had the barbaric nerve to throw a party and autograph pictures of the Kent State murders.

The day after the ruling, some of us at school were talking about the acquittal. We're disgusted. That all-American trial amazed me. I knew they would get away scot-free, but what was so unbelievable was the fact that the dead students weren't even the question. Instead, the trial was concerned with whether or not the students' rights were violated.

How can one sever these two elements? Evidently, in this society, to kill someone who wants to talk out on something they oppose and the government favors, is not to violate their rights.

This trial had a message to present to anyone who wanted to challenge this system again. The message was this: No we didn't violate their rights, they had none to violate. And yes, we will do it again if we want. Well, we have a message for them too: We read you loud and clear, but you'd better back up because we ain't gonna give you a chance to shoot at us again.

—James Copeland

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'We need workers telling their hands what to do'

by Felix Martin

We have to take back our heads. We have to be able to use our minds as well as our hands. We don't have our minds to decide how we should work to produce what people need. It is management that makes all of the decisions, and those decisions are always to increase production and profits over the previous year.

GM has taken our heads in its drive for more and more production and profits, and they have used automation to replace thousands of workers. Ten years ago we assembled 34 to 36 jobs per hour. Now we assemble 50 to 55 jobs per hour with a thousand less workers.

TOO TIRED TO SLEEP

Those that are left are forced to become more and more a part of the machine. We don't even feel the tiredness and pain of being overworked. By the time we get home, we are too tired and our body aches so we can't go to sleep. If we do get to sleep, it is only a few hours until it is time to go back to work. Our life becomes eat, work and sleep.

How can we keep on existing under these conditions? With prices going up and up, will workers be able to eat? What other than war and depression has the capitalist system given workers?

The only times in all history when real progress has occurred is when working people moved to take back their heads. This happened during the French Revolution of 1789 when the workers organized in Paris. But then capitalism took our heads after we got rid of feudalism. During the Russian Revolution, workers tried to build socialism, but state capitalism took their heads, too.

In the U.S., during the sit-down strikes of 1936-37, workers took GM and helped build the CIO. The first contract with GM was signed on March 12, 1937. There were 170 sit-downs in GM's plants between March and June, 1937. Neither John L. Lewis nor the radical lead-

Forced overtime at NY airport

New York, N.Y. — At Overseas National Airways (ONA), an air cargo and charter company, we have been working six to 16 hours overtime a week since June. The reason is that whenever someone leaves, the company has not hired a replacement.

In my department section there were ten people working; now it's only five. And since no new people were hired, we must work twice as hard. The same situation exists in the other sections and departments.

We went to the union and our representative told us not to complain. He said, "You know things are bad out there, and if you lose your job where are you going to go?" Is this what we have a union for?

The company also wants to make you work on holidays. They have even been trying to do us out of our vacation time.

I have been refusing to work the overtime. Even when you get time and a half or double time, after they take out all the taxes, you only get a few dollars more than your regular check. I'd rather stay home and have some time for myself.

What I can't understand is, with so many people looking for work, why ONA can't hire some new people to replace those who have gone?

— ONA worker

ers can't speak or control the workers. The workers acted on their own to settle grievances that arose on the line.

GRIEVANCES DISAPPEAR

The labor bureaucrats within the CIO took our heads after we took GM. The union agreed to deal with management through plant committees, and they became the agency that substituted itself for the workers' actions. Now workers write their grievances with their committeemen, argue about them with the foremen, then the first thing they know, in many instances the grievance disappears.

Revolutionary philosophy is based on the activity of working people taking back their heads. That is what Marxism is all about—each person being a whole person, with a mind to think, telling their two hands what to do. Marxism is not established Communism in Russia or China. The workers there have to take back their own heads, just as we must do in the U.S. We have to begin taking back our heads here at GM.

Uniroyal: speedup, layoff

Detroit, Mich. — At Uniroyal we don't have anything to look forward to. How can anyone face 20 or 30 years in a place like that?

I don't mind working if I have something to work for, but what am I going to look forward to — the same green color walls, the same job, the same supervisor every day? They have prejudiced supervisors there. They won't admit it, but if you give them a lie detector test, they would flunk.

We don't have anything there, no cost of living, no dental plan. What are the union representatives doing? They say, "Hey, you vote for me and I'll do this for you." Then they do nothing.

The last few weeks before they laid me off, the speed up was real bad. Now they say they are going to take my department down to Alabama. They will have to pay to ship the tires back up here, because this is where the trucks are made. They say they can get more tires per person there, but when they speed up, they get fewer tires. In one department, the foreman said they get five good ones out of every 20.

— Black worker, Uniroyal

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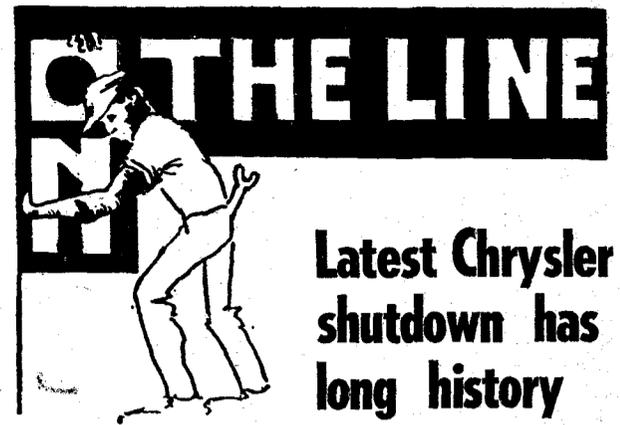
Just before Thanksgiving, Uniroyal laid off everybody with seniority back to Dec. 1969, which is just about one fourth of the plant and practically all the younger people.

The company really knows how to move a deal, since now they don't have to pay us any vacation pay for Thanksgiving or Christmas.

Nobody knows when we'll get back in there, or what it will be like when we do. Our committeeman said he didn't know, but that if some of us newer people are lucky, we may get back in by next June.

There are rumors that when we get back, the whole plant will be changed over just to radial tires. We know that if they get newer machines in, the work will be even faster than it was before.

— Laid off worker



Latest Chrysler shutdown has long history

by John Allison

The Chrysler Corporation, by shutting down all its auto assembly plants across the country except one between Thanksgiving and New Years, is showing the true nature of capitalism. We will now set the stage for Chrysler's recent behavior.

Go back in time about three years. Chrysler then was complaining about absenteeism. Every plant was on unlimited overtime. Would you believe that the Jefferson Plant was working overtime even when Chrysler released to the press that there was no future for the Jefferson Plant?

SEASON'S GREETINGS

Before we were over the shock of this surprise, Chrysler again revealed they were laying off large numbers of workers in Detroit and across the nation before Christmas. Peace on Earth and good will toward men.

Capitalists care not for men or women. Chrysler office workers and staff are largely made up of women. They were laid off in great numbers, too.

Douglas Fraser and Mayor Coleman Young, representing the UAW and the City of Detroit, met with Chrysler board chairman Lynn Townsend to discuss the problem of the workers at Jefferson and other workers in Detroit. The same thing happened in 1966, when Local 490 officers met with Governor Romney and Townsend about the closing of the Highland Park plant which is now in Perrysburg, Ohio.

We were informed we had nothing to fear but fear itself. We got the snake bite and the union got the shaft. Packard, Hudson, Highland Park and now Jefferson—we will never stop learning that the capitalist class is only out for its own kind.

SAME AT GM AND FORD

Chrysler is not alone in the shannanigans it is pulling at the expense of the workers and their families. As everyone knows, the layoffs have also hit Ford and GM. But all of the corporations are pressed from the same mold. All they want is profits from workers' labor.

They get this by speeding up workers in the plants when cars are selling—and when the cars don't sell, workers are thrown on the unemployment scrap heap.

It's long past time for the working class to start looking out for its own kind by changing this whole rat race completely around to serve them and the majority of the people in this country.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

as you cannot admit to yourself, not me, that you were wrong, then you haven't learned anything.

"Another thing, Doug Fraser, our UAW big man, is going around yelling that it was bad management on the part of Chrysler that has caused them to close down their plants and has caused them to have so many unsold cars. But what the hell was their position when workers were yelling all over this country against overtime?"

"After so much pressure from workers, the union finally came out with a gimmick that after so many hours, six days a week, a worker could refuse every third Saturday. This didn't mean a damn thing in our fight against overtime. If we had not been forced to work all that overtime, the company would not have all those cars on hand."

RACIAL DIVISIONS APPEAR

Another worker was saying that the mass layoffs in auto have caused some distinctions between white and Black workers that are left in the plants. It reminded him of what his father said happened to his uncle in Chicago who had been working for Kraft Co. for many years. A white woman came in asking the manager to please give her husband a job. She was overheard telling the manager that he could give her husband that Black man's job. In a few days, management began riding his uncle for no apparent reason, until his uncle blew up and attempted to hit the manager. He was fired and the next week the white woman's husband had his job.

He said, "Quite a number of Black workers have gotten into the skilled trades over the past five or six years. Many have white millwright workers as their helpers. But now some are not cooperating with them as they did before the layoffs. Some Black workers believe that some of the white workers are playing the same role that white woman played in the '30s in order to get Black skilled tradesmen fired to be replaced by whites."

He said, "We do not have definite proof of this as yet, but it is our suspicion. We know we should be united, but this is what the current situation has brought on us."

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—It seems like before every holiday the company tries to fire as many people as possible. Before the Thanksgiving holiday there was a lot of harassment on the floor. You had to be careful to do everything by the book.

Compared to other plants that are shut down, Fleetwood or Cadillac is the place to be, because we haven't been laid off. But I've heard that everybody with less than 90 days will be laid off to save the company their holiday pay, even though they are working us nine or more hours a day now, and Saturdays too.

The only time the union gets concerned about problems on the job is when somebody gets fired. And we know the company fires people for every little thing where they almost automatically get reinstated. If the union was serious about supporting workers, they would see that the grievance process didn't stretch out so long.

If there was too much work piled onto a job, we ought to have a way to take that work off as quickly as possible. Now, a worker may be fired before the job is settled because his body may not allow him to do the job that long.

We need good committeemen and good zone men. They need to walk around, talk to workers and know the way jobs are set up before somebody puts in a call for them. The committeeman on second shift also needs to keep in touch with the committeeman on days as much as possible to make sure jobs are set up the same on both shifts.

—Fleetwood worker, second shift

The General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) is taking over management of the Fleetwood Plant. That's the division that is supposed to come in and make a plant more efficient and productive. They have started with supervision, and have already cut back there. If one foreman had supervised 32 workers, now he is in charge of 50. When GMAD goes to work on production jobs, they may really try to have us running around here. That is when the fight will start.

—Fleetwood worker, day shift

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich.—This truck plant is working while Chrysler's auto assembly plants are shut down till January. There has been nothing in the papers about layoffs here either. But they have been laying off. First they seemed to be picking off the young new-hires who hadn't worked anywhere before. These workers couldn't even draw unemployment on Chrysler.

The day before Thanksgiving the company laid off a number of seniority workers and the rest of the new-hires. The word is out that the company will soon shut down the light line entirely and push 50 percent more production out of the medium line.

One worker figured out that a new-hire pays over \$50 in union dues and initiation fees and still doesn't have union representation on the job. But seniority workers pay \$11 or \$12 or more a month and don't have union representation either. Just try to call the steward for a problem on the job and see if he comes. Workers have even been taken to labor relations to be fired and the steward wouldn't come with them.

—Dodge Truck worker

Readers' Views

GALLOPING UNEMPLOYMENT

Ford has a better idea. First, forced overtime. Now forced layoffs. It's useful to remember history. Back in 1914 Ford's \$5 a day was heralded in to justify exploitation of labor and was implemented to combat labor insurrection stirred up by the IWW in the Highland Park plant. In the 30s and 40s the sit-downs exploded into the UAW. And now here we are in 1974 and labor is still stirring. The more layoffs, the more we are thinking. Power to the producers!

Ford Rouge Worker
Detroit

* * *

The story finally leaked out about how some of the white-collar workers at Ford Motor Company's super secret design center and body engineering division in Dearborn reacted to losing their jobs recently. Some of them kicked in quarter panels on exotic sheet-metal prototypes, poured ink over seat covers and stole expensive tools. Ford spokesmen keep denying any vandalism happened, but it was verified by one Ford executive.

Observer
Detroit

* * *

What is being called "grassroots unemployment statistics" are beginning to show considerably more non-whites are out of work than official government figures indicate. The Midwest correspondent for "Race Relations Reporter" reports, for example, that Black officials in Chicago claim no less than 65 percent unemployment among some non-white workers on the city's westside. The official government figures don't include the people called "discouraged workers" who have let their names be dropped from state and federal labor roles. These people have been in a Depression for years, but Ford is still playing games with whether we are in a Recession or not!

Disgusted
Chicago

* * *

After they gave us our three-day notice, nobody felt much like building tires, especially the last day. People just sat around and talked.

Workers that don't get SUB-pay are in bad shape. There were a lot of new hires this past year.

And no one knows what's going to happen or how much worse all of this is going to get, but it looks bad. The last time there were this many people out of work all over the place, they got us into a war. I hope that doesn't happen again, but I wonder sometimes.

Rubber Worker
Detroit

* * *

Last week I was talking to my uncle who works in a food warehouse. He told me that he wasn't really worried about his job, even with this rotten recession, because he figures that "People have to eat, don't they? We'll be the last ones out on the streets." But then, a few days later, about 200 bakers and supporters

from the Hartford area demonstrated at the state capital to protest the fact that high sugar prices had forced several Connecticut bakeries to close and lay off about 150 bakers.

Obviously the capitalists don't agree with my uncle that people have to eat. And yet, if they can't even keep the bakers making bread, how come practically the only place in Hartford that is hiring now is the Colt's Firearms Corp., the company which makes the M-16 rifle for the U.S. Army? (Though it makes sense that the more workers who are out on the streets unemployed, the more guns the capitalists are going to need to keep them down.)

I wonder what Gerry Ford is going to say now? "Let them eat bullets?"

Liam Ryan
Hartford, Conn.

* * *

The radicals will be moving in fast to take advantage of the new unemployment. First the workers are exploited in the plant by the company, and then they're exploited by the Communists when they're laid off. I strongly believe that if it weren't for the radicals, the workers would have done a great deal to get rid of capitalism by now.

Retired Auto Worker
Detroit

AND STAMPEDING INFLATION

While Ford is in the White House pretending to be the President and playing with his WIN button, the country is sliding into major Depression. In the face of stampeding inflation and galloping unemployment, Ford tells us to buy less and save more, and the economic experts claim there is too great a demand for goods and that is what has caused inflation. One such genius recently proposed to cut inflation by cutting people's incomes so they can't buy so much. I wonder if he has looked at the storage yards in the car plants or the long lines at the unemployment offices.

Black Activist
Oakland, Cal.

* * *

Over 700 National Farmers Union members showed up to voice their protests over the current trend in the beef industry at a demonstration here in November. There was a similar action in Regina, Saskatchewan by NFU members which also attracted over 700.

Walter Miller, vice president of the NFU, speaking to the Minister of Agriculture for Ontario, called for the establishment of a National Beef Marketing Board to deal with the situation. Miller also said, "It's a national disgrace that in a time of food shortage throughout the world, with millions starving and on the verge of starving, farmers in Quebec and the U.S. are slaughtering beef cattle." The NFU could never condone or support such actions.

It is useless, however, to present briefs to the government. They just receive them gracefully and file them away. Tractor demonstrations have been successful in the past and there are other tactics which would be more effective in moving the government. If you have to fight you might as well choose the time and place for the contest.

NFU Supporter
Toronto

* * *

About 750 people braved raw winds to attend a rally at Civic Center as part of the National Movement to Fight The High Cost of Living. It proved a depressing and futile effort.

The speakers called for: "Cutting the military budget in half; ending all aid to foreign dictatorships; ending tax loopholes for corporations; demanding the burden of inflation be put on the shoulders of big business; rolling back prices on food and all necessities; controlling prices and profits; taxing profits not people."

None were meaningful solutions to the perpetual problems of inflation, unemployment, racism and sexism; they

were only calls for another band-aid on the cancer of capitalism.

Long Time Demonstrator
San Francisco

BUSING

Something that didn't get covered at all on national news is the fact that in Springfield, Mass., the second largest city in the state, there was also a court-ordered busing plan, and the racists there tried to oppose it, too. But the same day that thousands turned out in Boston, the demonstration completely fizzled in Springfield. Since then the busing has been carried on there with no problems.

Observer
Massachusetts

WAR AND PEACE

The Amnesty group here is very small, and there are different opinions on how to combat Ford's so-called amnesty plan. Should we sit comfortably in Canada and simply refuse to recognize Ford's plan, or should we return to the U.S., refuse alternative slave-labor service and fight the issue in the streets and the courts? Many have too much invested in their lives in Canada to go back short of a genuine amnesty, and a de facto admission that we committed no crime in fighting a criminal war. The truth is that the U.S. government can't grant real amnesty before they really end the war. And that day is certainly not near at hand.

War Resister
Quebec

* * *

The Filipino soldiers who served with the U.S. Army in World War II, after 26 years of struggling for their rights, last week were told that a special three Judge Federal Court had ruled they were not entitled to G.I. benefits. The decision affects 250,000 veterans and their dependants.

On April 26, 1941, President Roosevelt called all existing military in the Philippines into the service of the U. S. Armed Forces, and thousands fought, died and were wounded in the battles of Bataan, Corregidor and other sectors.

Considering that since 1945 the U.S. Government has sent 2½ billions of dollars in military and economic aid to prop up Philippine dictatorships, and that 59 percent of our tax dollars annually goes for military expenditures and paying for past wars, (with only 6 percent allotted for G.I. Benefits), it will come as no surprise to U.S. Veterans of World War II, the Korean War and the Vietnam War, that these same judges also claimed that: "Even U.S. citizens and residents have no constitutional or fundamental right to receive Veteran's benefits."

Fighting Mad Veteran's Wife
San Francisco

REVOLUTIONARY FEMINISM

I'm disgusted with Jane Alpert. Not only does she denounce her boy friend who died at Attica and is unable to defend himself, not only does she say she will not mourn the 42 "male chauvinists" who were murdered at Attica, but she doesn't even take responsibility for her own actions. She claims that she was "dragged along with" Melville because she was scared he would "leave me if I backed out." Her mistake was not in "following her man" but in following him because she did not have her own philosophy so that she ended up practicing the same terrorist tactics of bombing and substituting yourself for the revolution that was Melville's politics.

As proof of her rehabilitation she says that she "has spent the last four years making a slow shift from political revolutionary to radical feminist" as if being a radical feminist means you are not a revolutionary. As a woman who is a revolutionary feminist I resent not only her separation of the two but the assumption that revolutionary means ter-

rorism rather than a revolutionary philosophy of liberation.

Feminist
Detroit

QUEBEC LABOR

The Bourassa gang has finally decided to intervene at United Aircraft. The union has been on strike there for nearly a year, but U.S.-owned UA is not interested in settling the strike.

United Aircraft received many millions from Bourassa to operate the plant and produce certain products in Quebec. They are refusing to approve the union dues check-off system usually used in Quebec, and are using this excuse to cut Quebec production and transfer it back to the U.S.

Bourassa has been out-hustled by superior criminals and because they are so violently anti-union, they automatically supported UA against the union for nearly a year. Now they are very embarrassed and have ordered UA and the unions to present their cases before the National Legislature. The "labor" minister has called UA's refusal to accept the check-off "disgusting". The strike may be brought to an end, finally—but the workers will lose anyway.

Reader
Montreal

LIFE IN BRITAIN

Your piece on the para-military groups in Britain in your October issue confused two lots which it is important to keep separate. Walker is an orthodox right-winger who has gathered support in the traditional founts of Tory power and overlaps with the various fascist factions. Sterling is quite a different kettle of fish. He is far from the normal blimp, founded a multi-racial group in Rhodesia which was highly thought of in the Labor Party and even for a time in the Communist-Party-anti-imperialist circles. He is ultimately more dangerous, as he is liable to attract people to his armed anti-working class stance that would be repelled by the normal right-wing supporters of Walker.

One must admit that Walker is a very real (nearly immediate) threat. He is rumored to have more arms than the IRA, and the type of training his volunteers are undergoing does not suggest he has in mind fighting unarmed strikers.

If one notes that there are a proliferation of petit-bourgeois organizations being founded, coupled with militancy among farmers and others who are normally fairly inactive Tories, the parallels start to get closer than is comfortable.

Laurens Otter
England

* * *

The Labor Party and the Trades Union Congress leaders are pretending that there exists a "social contract". Many thousands of workers, particularly in Scotland, have been involved in unofficial strikes. Most of them are members of the trade union over which Jack Jones, supporter of the so-called contract, stands out as the boss.

The top leaders of the Labour movement here are in a state of disarray. It is now we are to see the seriousness of the crimes committed by those self-appointed guardians of Marxist theory. The forces making for real change are seriously weakened. The tactical plans of the French and Italian Communist Parties are not working out, but the new groups formed in Europe are not going to disappear just because they are not liked by the politically bankrupt Communist leaders. The question is to what extent have these groups made a complete break with the rubbish that has been made to appear as inseparable from Marxist theory?

Harry McShane
Glasgow

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TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION**
and **Marxism and Freedom**

(Editor's Note: From the paper on Hegel's "Absolute Idea As New Beginning," which Raya Dunayevskaya delivered to the Hegel Society of America conference at Georgetown University, on Nov. 8 we've excerpted the section on the relationship of the movement from practice to philosophy. It is a critique of philosophers, including those who consider themselves Marxists, specifically Theodor Adorno and his philosophic legacy, *Negative Dialectics* (Seabury Press, New York, \$17.50), in contrast to the Czech philosopher, Karel Kosik's *The Dialectic of the Concrete*.)

HEGEL'S ABSOLUTES never were a series of ascending ivory towers. Revolutionary transformation is immanent in the very form of thought. As we saw from the Absolute Idea chapter, the unifying force was free creative power. By the time we reach the mediated final result, Absolute Mind—the absolute negativity that was the moving force in Logic, in Nature, in Geist where we saw them as concrete stages of human freedom—there no longer is any difference between theory and practice. This is why our age, which has been witness to a movement from practice for two long decades (ever since the death of Stalin lifted the incubus from the heads of the masses in East Europe), can best understand Hegel's Absolutes.

To this writer, Hegel's genius is lodged, precisely, in the fact that his "voyage of discovery" becomes one endless process of discovery for us, and the us includes both Marx's new continent of thought of materialistic dialectics, and Hegel scholars, and the movement from practice that was itself a form of theory once its spontaneity discovered the power of thought along with its physical might.

This writer has followed very closely this movement of revolt ever since June 17, 1953, and saw in it a quest for universality because she had already discerned in the dialectic movement of the three final syllogisms in Absolute Mind a new point of departure in the Idea and in the movement from practice.

THIS MOVEMENT FROM practice hardly had the ear of contemporary Hegelians, "orthodox" or Marxist, as witness the erudite and Left late director of the famous Frankfurt School, Theodor Adorno, whose very reason for being, for thinking, for acting was Dialectics,

DIALECTICS OF LIBERATION

that is to say, for negation of what is. He entitled the summation of his life's thought which he certainly considered his intellectual legacy, *Negative Dialectics*. This however, has little to do with dialectics of negativity, least with concept of Subject, with which Hegel distinguished his philosophy from that of all other philosophers who left the search for truth at Substance only. As "concretized" by Marx for proletarian class, Subject is supposed to have been accepted also by Adorno, but, again, he keeps his distance and originality locked into what he calls *Negative Dialectics*.

From the very start of the Preface of his work, Adorno informs us that the positive in the negative, "the negation of the negation," is the enemy: "This book seeks to free dialectics from such affirmative traits without reducing its determinacy." (p. xix) The "theoretical inadequacies of Hegel and Marx" revolve around what he sees as the all-encompassing evil, the concept, that "subsuming cover," its "autarchy."

NATURALLY ADORNO ALSO keeps his distance from "positivists" and the vulgarisms of the knighted Karl Popper of the infamous "Hegel and fascism" school. Nevertheless, Adorno very nearly out of nowhere intimates some sort of kinship between it and absolute negativity. "Genocide is the absolute integration . . . Auschwitz confirmed the philosopheme of pure identity as death . . . Absolute negativity is in plain sight and has ceased to surprise anyone." (p. 362)

By "nearly out of nowhere" I naturally do not mean Auschwitz wasn't the reality of fascism, nor do I mean only the suddenness and shock of introducing the subject matter in the climax to the book, "Meditations on

*Contrast Adorno's accusation of "conceptual fetishism" against Marx's famous "Fetishism of Commodities" as "truly a piece from the heritage of classic German philosophy" (pp. 189-90) to Karel Kosik's analysis of the very same section: "it can be characterized in Hegelian terms as the unity of being and non-being, of distinction and similarity, of identity and non-identity. All further determinations are richer definitions or characterizations of this 'absolute' of capitalist society. The dialectic of interpretation or of exegesis cannot eclipse the central problem: how does science reach the necessary beginning of the exposition . . . The dialectic is not a method of reduction, but the method of spiritual and intellectual reproduction of reality." (Translation in *TELÓS* Fall, 1968). See also Ch. 2, "Marx's Historical Materialism" esp. pp. 76-94 in *Philosophy and Revolution*.

Metaphysics". Rather I mean it is "wrong," that is to say totally illogical, non-dialectical, from his own point of view of an adult lifetime devoted to fighting fascist "ideology" as the very opposite of Hegelian dialectics, its very death in Nazi Germany. Perhaps a better word than "wrong" would be Adorno's own swearword: "naive."

I mean that, as late as 1957, in *Aspects of the Hegelian Dialectic*, Adorno was almost defending even subject-object identity: "Subject-object cannot be dismissed as mere extravagance of logical absolutism . . . in seeing through the latter as mere subjectivity, we have already passed beyond the speculative idealism . . . cognition, if it is genuine, and more than simple duplication of the subjective, must be the subject's objectivity." And indeed in *Negative Dialectics* he reiterates the same truth when he writes that, despite the fact that Hegel "deifies" subjectivity, "he accomplishes the opposite as well, as insight into the subject as a self-manifesting objectivity." (p. 350)

WHY, THEN, the vulgar reduction of absolute negativity? Therein is the real tragedy of Adorno (and the Frankfurt School): the inescapable one-dimensionality of thought once one "gives up" subject; once one does not listen to the voices from below — and they certainly were loud and clear and demanding in that decade of the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s; once one returns to the (Continued on Page 7)

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA is the Chairwoman of **NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES**, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, which practices the unity of worker and intellectual, and of philosophy and revolution, and totally new human relations. **NEWS & LETTERS** is edited by a Black production worker, CHARLES DENBY. It was born in 1955, the year of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, on the one hand, and the wildcats against Automation, on the other. It is a monthly publication which does not separate reports of the activities of workers, Blacks, women and youth against capitalism, racism, sexism, and imperialist war, from the activity of thinking and working out theory for our age. Participation in the freedom struggles and the creation of a forum for all the new voices from below by the publication of the paper, pamphlets and books are all forms of activities we invite you to join in working out with us.

Close contract vote shows miners want control over working conditions

(Continued from Page 1)

business and war industry profits skyrocketed.

By breaking the government's wage stranglehold, the miners paved the way for all of the working class in America to win wage increases that helped them keep pace with rising living costs.

The miners' battles inspired the rest of American labor, which erupted in a near general strike in 1947. This action challenged capitalist control of industry, and Congress immediately responded with the slave-labor Taft-Hartley act. This law required every union in the U.S. to register with the government, and also empowered the President of the U.S. to break any strike he considered to be against the "national interest" by requesting a court injunction ordering strikers to return to work for an 80-day "cooling off" period.

Lewis and the miners called on the nation's labor leaders to refuse to register their unions, which would have united the working class against this vicious anti-labor legislation and nullified the effect of the law. Although nationwide mass rank-and-file protest meetings were held opposing the law, the so-called labor leaders demonstrated how far behind their own ranks they were and promptly registered their unions.

Then came 1949, the year of the continuous miner. Unfortunately for the coal miners, Lewis supported this "technological progress." In return for his cooperation, Lewis demanded increased wages for miners and more money for the Health and Welfare Fund when the contract expired in 1949.

Unlike Lewis, the miners knew that the continuous miner meant speed-up and more dangerous conditions for them, and they meant to show the operators their opposition to this kind of oppression.

However, the miners could get no aid from the union because of the Taft-Hartley injunction, and by the end of the year were in destitute circumstances. They lost cars, homes, furniture; their children had no food or clothing and could not go to school in the bitter cold of winter; many died from hunger and malnutrition.

While the UMW could not help them, the miners knew that workers in other unions were eager to provide aid. So the miners set up a box number in a post office, and sent out strikers throughout the East and Midwest to appeal for aid. From steel, rubber, auto, meat packer and municipal worker unions, funds amounting to thousands of dollars began to pour into the post office mail box.

This display of labor solidarity defeated the government and the coal operators—they could not starve the miners and their families into submission; they could not break the fighting spirit of the coal miners. After nine long and bitter months of striking, the operators signed the contract in March of 1950.

ANSWER WILL DETERMINE FUTURE

But what the workers did in the course of that strike goes beyond anything that had ever occurred before. Up to that time, the workers had fought to gain greater fruits for their labor. The coal miners, faced with the threat of the automated continuous miner, transformed the battle into something enormously greater that demands an answer today more urgently than when it was posed 25 years ago. It is more urgent today because the crisis economically, politically and philosophically has literally reached the point where the answer will determine the future course of civilization.

What the miners were demanding was an end to the division between physical and mental labor as it exists under capitalism, a division which has resulted in automated production which dehumanizes the workers that have jobs, throws millions out of work, and creates a worldwide crisis that can only be solved by another war.

The alternative is to carry through what the miners set in motion in 1949—the attempt to determine their own conditions of labor that would unite rather than divide physical and mental labor. It is a movement that all of the working class is involved in now, because all are engaged in the battle against automation as it is organized under a capitalist system that is in international ruins and cannot now provide the basic requirement of any economic system—a means of making a living for the people.

SYSTEM FAILING ENTIRE NATION

This is seen in the headlines of every newspaper reporting state and government figures of the skyrocketing increases in unemployment in almost every industry. Data from the national government officially puts the unemployment rate nationally at 6.6 percent with nearly six million out of jobs. But as all reports indicate, this figure reflects the situation at the middle of November—before well over 200,000 more were laid off in the auto industry, including both auto workers and workers among the suppliers for auto production.

Since auto accounts for a tremendous amount of production—steel, copper, aluminum, glass, rubber, coal, iron, fabrics and plastics—these industries have experienced cutbacks resulting in massive lay offs of workers. The total amount simply is not known, and with the slowness of the reporting procedures set up by the U. S. gov-

(Continued on Page 8)

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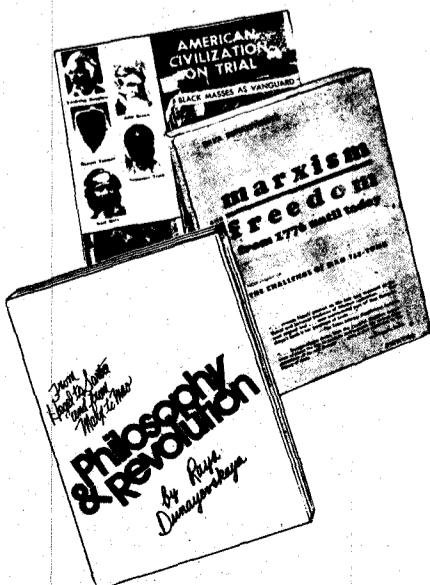
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Repression grows in Argentina and Uruguay

Montevideo, Uruguay—Who is the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (A.A.A.)? It is an organization created by the C.I.A. Here in Uruguay we have a new U. S. Ambassador, Mr. Siracusa. He was in Bolivia while there was the take-over against Torres. He was in Argentina during Peron's first presidency. He came here shortly before our take-over and was here during the take-over by the military in Chile. I strongly think that one of his missions is to destroy the movement in Argentina.

The members of the A.A.A. are militarists and policemen, and their function is to kill or eliminate anybody that does something about consciousness raising. Until now they have generally threatened or killed professors, teachers or workers' leaders.

They go around Argentina doing all they want with police and secret government approval. Since Peron's arrival, and more so since his death, Argentina has turned to the right. There has been an increase in repression. The life of the A.A.A. is a clear example of this.

The popular movement in Buenos Aires and in the other parts of the country is strong, but divided. The leaders of the workers' movement are not the ones who necessarily represent the needs and wishes of the working class. The working class is now trying to cut their influence down.

As to the popular movement, there is one thing that concerns all of us: the majority of the well-prepared revolutionaries from Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, Chile and Uruguay are now living in Argentina. This creates the necessity of the ruling class and the imperialists' being more repressive, even staging a take-over. Also, strong ideological discussion concerning the revolutionary movement in Latin America is taking place there.

Concerning the latter, I have information that the A.A.A. has done something. Every day, Uruguayan revolutionaries are disappearing within Argentina. When the

family tries to find out where they are and goes to the police, they say they didn't arrest them and therefore don't know where they are. The A.A.A.'s role in these disappearances has to be known by everybody and published as much as possible, because publicity is almost our only tool left to save at least the ones that are still alive.

In Uruguay, the only union left — the construction workers' union (SUNCA)—has been made illegal because of a big strike they had lasting 24 hours. Their leaders are now underground. Yesterday at nine o'clock, everybody was supposed to turn their lights off in their house as a protest. From what I heard it was pretty good.

—Maria

SOLIDARIDAD



'La Migra' harasses Chicanos in Los Angeles barrios

Los Angeles, Cal.—It is a well known fact that numerous Mexican citizens cross the border into the U. S. illegally every year. According to a recent newspaper article, Attorney General William Saxbe estimated the number of illegal immigrants residing in the U. S. to be as high as 12 million.

Many Americans, like Saxbe, view the immigrants as foreign parasites who quickly join the welfare rolls or find jobs "that American citizens should have."

Harassments by police and Immigration Service officials—called "La Migra" by Chicanos—occur every day in one barrio or another. People are often stopped on the streets and questioned about their citizenship status. The "Migra's" style of questioning is usually aggressive and abusive, making a person feel like a criminal.

"La Migra" often detains and deports people who are legal citizens of the U. S. In my neighborhood two years ago, a young man who was born in the U. S. was arrested and deported because he couldn't speak English. Immigration agents asked for identification papers, and then arrested him when he didn't present any. The young man's mother appeared on both Spanish and English

language television to explain the situation before her son was eventually returned.

The most devastating experience for the immigrant is the raid—a common occurrence in my neighborhood.

One particular incident took place during the massive immigration sweep of June, 1973. I saw several car-loads of Immigration agents stop at an apartment building, rush into an apartment, and within minutes, whisk away about seven persons. I can understand the terror many people feel after witnessing the Gestapo-like tactics of that raid.

Most illegal immigrants have come to the barrio to find work, and in many cases, they send money to relatives still in Mexico. These people are open to all kinds of exploitation by employers.

The desire of Mexicans to come into the U. S. provides the opportunity for smugglers—known as "Coyotes"—to charge them several hundred dollars apiece for the "favor" of transporting them in miserable vehicles.

I personally believe that the so-called "problem" of Mexican aliens will never be resolved until the economic systems of both the U. S. and Mexico are so transformed that there will be no need for existence of an "illegal alien."

Blanco subordinates peasant movement to vanguard party

Land or Death: The Peasant Struggle in Peru, by Hugo Blanco, Pathfinder Press (1972) 178 pp., \$2.45

The armed guerrilla as in Cuba and the popular front as in Chile seemingly have been the two poles for transforming Latin American society from its condition of under-development under native and U. S. domination. But the 15 years since the Cuban Revolution have seen the crushing and isolation of the guerrilla forces on the continent, while the Popular Unity of Chile has been put under the heel of the fascist generals.

Hugo Blanco, a leader of the Quechua peasant struggle in the Chaupimayo area of Peru in the early 1960s, and a Trotskyist, puts forth what he feels is a third pole. He counterposes the mass base of the peasant movement, their spontaneous activity and their willingness to engage in guerrilla activities when necessary, to the reformism of the Communist Party and to those who see the guerrilla as the only subject of revolution.

Blanco writes poetically as he relates the activity of peasant struggle, of individual peasant fighters: in mass demonstrations, in land seizures, in learning to put out their own leaflets, in a variety of spontaneous actions. He is indigenous to the peasant movement and is an uncompromising revolutionary who is not fooled by the "left" junta in Peru. He has an appreciation of the creative self-activity of the peasantry.

And yet the definitive test for a revolutionary—the reorganization of thought and thus action based upon the upsurge of the historic moment—has not been met by Hugo Blanco. For behind this creative upsurge of the Indian peasant that Blanco is part of lies "the party."

"We were, in a word, the representatives of the party in this zone, the conscious factor in the workers' struggle." (p. 87) In advising a peasant leader, he writes of the necessity of dividing the role of peasant union leader from political leader: "... for the latter there is a revolutionary vanguard of the workers: the FIR" (Trotskyist group in Peru). (p. 113) Such quotes fill the book.

Why are we once more forced to relive the old concept of the vanguard party to lead—a concept born out of the falsehood of the backwardness of the masses and the necessity to lead them? Doesn't the Indian struggle for freedom in Peru, indeed, the global struggle, demand a whole new conception of theory beginning with the theory of the vanguard party and a new conception of the role of revolutionaries in developing theory to meet the mass movement from practice?

The self-activity of the masses in Peru and worldwide in the past two decades must be our take-off point. For the revolutionary with a party to lead, no less than for the guerrilla absolutist, or the reformist, it has not become so.

—Eugene Walker

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Italian crisis deepens

Milan, Italy—What is happening in Italy is happening everywhere. We are living through a particular crisis—the collapse of the automobile industry. The U. S. and the other Western governments are interested in Italy's problems because it is a center of NATO in the midst of the Mediterranean crisis. No country is willing to let Italy be free, be they for NATO or anti-NATO.

The increase in prices in Italy during the last year are around 22 percent, while the price of food has increased by 40 percent. Prices have increased by 20.2 percent in Italy, compared to the 11.2 percent in the U.S. and the dreadful figure of 637 percent in Chile.

WORKERS WORRY RULERS

West Germany would seem to be best off with an increase of only 6.9 percent during the year, but is beginning to have its problems, too. In September, prices there increased by 7.3 percent, while unemployment increased from 29,000 to 557,000 and half the automobile workers were put on a half-time week. This is the same country that gave Italy a loan in August.

What frightens the world rulers is that the Italian workers are not just accepting what is going on. In Turin, a quarter of the population went on strike after the auto workers were put on a three day week. A few days later a quarter of Milan went on strike because of the incredible increase in layoffs there, and almost all the high school and university students were also on strike.

The workers hit the worst are those that work in small industry, companies with 10 to 500 workers. These workers have occupied many of the small factories throughout Milan.

HOW LONG?

One small factory of 30 workers, right in front of my apartment, is a branch of a French-American company, Gemey, which has its headquarters in Paris and New York. It set itself up under a false name—IDI-PAR,—and hired workers that have contracts that are completely illegal. The director sent what funds were left to a Swiss bank and took off. Because of this, the workers have no rights to unemployment insurance.

Since they belong to the chemical union, I asked one worker why the union had not intervened. She said they didn't have much faith in their union leaders; in fact, they had hardly seen one before they occupied the factory last week.

Milan is full of relatively small factories in the same condition. The question is: how long will the situation continue. The workers are simply not accepting the inept solutions of the "welfare state economists."

Wounded Knee jurors unite to work for Indian acquittals

When the charges against the Indians involved in the Wounded Knee rebellion were dropped, national publicity gave the impression that Indians facing court prosecution were being treated fairly. That simply is not true in many places, and jurors of the Wounded Knee trials have organized to help other Indians.

For example, in Custer, S.D., four witnesses saw 21-year-old Wesley Bad Heart Bull stabbed by Darald Schmitz. Wesley's mother Sarah and the four witnesses went to Custer to meet with the prosecuting attorney. He would only meet with one, Robert High Eagle, and said he would not change the second-degree manslaughter charge: "It's your word" (as an Indian) "against his" (as a white man).

When some Indians came up, the riot police were called. Sarah approached and they beat her and dragged her away. The picture run in national newspapers showed the Indians like they're attacking these policemen, but didn't show the part with the police dragging Sarah away.

Schmitz was tried during the occupation of Wounded Knee and acquitted of second-degree manslaughter, but Sarah was charged with arson and riot, because when the police overreacted, the whole town blew up. This September she was found guilty in State Court and sentenced to one to five years. Of the 22 Custer cases, six have been tried and convicted.

This is unlike Wounded Knee trials. Of the 41 tried there, all have been acquitted or dismissed in Federal Court. Judge Fred Nichols became so disgusted with the government's "case" that he dismissed all charges against Russell Means and Dennis Banks.

We are sure there would have been a jury acquittal, because 12 of the 16 jurors formed an organization, "Jurors and Others for Reconciliation," to work for the dismissal or acquittal of all charges against American Indians.

To send funds or letters of support, contact: Free Sarah Committee, National AIM, Box 3677, St. Paul, Minn. 55101.

—Ojibway woman, Detroit

For our Detroit readers

Be sure to listen to Raya Dunayevskaya on radio station WDET, 101.9 on your FM dial, speaking on:

HEGEL, MARX, FANON—AND A
WORLD IN CRISIS

Date: Tuesday, Jan. 7

Time: 7:30 p.m.

BLACK-RED VIEW Academic Black lynchings

by John Alan

At the 59th Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, Dr. Ewart Guinier, chairman of Harvard University's Afro-American Studies Department, accused Harvard of "academic lynching of Black students."

Dr. Guinier's blast against this venerable institution stems from his experiences with President Derek Bok and Dean Henry Rosovsky. Dr. Guinier said: "President Bok and his underlings have not the slightest compunction about perverting truth and twisting reason and sequestering behavior, in order to maintain the oppression of Black people . . . in fact, the treatment Blacks receive at Harvard today parallels their treatment in the conservative majority of the U.S. Supreme Court, the current occupant of the White House, or the local police force."

CAMBRIDGE AND SOUTH BOSTON

Whether Dr. Guinier intended it or not, he has reduced the distance from South Boston and Cambridge to absolutely nothing. In South Boston, certain white people, given the moral sanction of President Gerald Ford, would prevent Black children from receiving "quality education" by threats of physical annihilation. Just outside of Boston, Harvard University seeks, by intellectual absolutism, to deny any intellectual understanding of the role of Black people in American history and culture.

Harvard is not the only university engaged in the retrogressive act of curtailing and disciplining their

Black Studies departments, in the name of academic efficiency and scholarship.

If an analogy could be drawn of this situation, it would be akin to what happened during the Reconstruction period. At that time, the Black Revolution was left incomplete and the reactionary planter class was able to reassert its powers.

BLACK REVOLT OF '60s

The tragic result was that racism hung like a pall over Black Americans for generations, until in the 1960s the masses of Blacks were able to break triumphantly through on the issue of civil rights. The historical dynamics of this mass movement changed the very status of Black intellectuals by compelling the big white universities to set up Black Studies departments and to hire Black professors to teach the true role of Black people in American history.

Once again we face a period of reaction. This time it is the Nixon Ford "reconstruction" that would roll back the gains which the mass Black revolts achieved. The extensiveness of this racism caused elements of the "new left" to consider that the near lynching of a Black man in South Boston during a school integration protest, was "really a protest against big government!"

Our only hope is for the emergence of a new Black mass movement, not from where it began in the 1960s, but from a new beginning, one that will forge a unity of Blacks, workers, women, oppressed minorities, intellectuals, students and all others who are necessary to end capitalism in America and build toward a society that recognizes no one is free, until all are free!

As others see us

Impact of Lenin's philosophic ambivalence on revolution

Review of Raya Dunayevskaya's *PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION*, excerpted from *THE NEW SOCIALIST*, July 1974, Denver, Colorado.

NO FIGURE IN the socialist movement has left a more ambiguous legacy of success and failure than Lenin . . . It is precisely a variety of this ambivalent attitude toward Lenin, his place in pre-World I social democracy and his impact on the Russian Revolution and its evolution which marks the most interesting and challenging work of Raya Dunayevskaya and her theory of Marxist-Humanism . . .

She first thoroughly elaborated her views in the late fifties in her book *Marxism and Freedom* and has recently expanded upon and reiterated them in her new book *Philosophy and Revolution*. Dunayevskaya shows in both works how totally and completely the libertarian, humanistic spirit dominates throughout all of Marx's

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

ivory tower and reduces one's (his) purpose to "the purpose of discussing key concepts of philosophic disciplines and centrally intervening in those disciplines . . ." (p. xx). Irresistibly came the next step, the substitution of a permanent critique not merely of "absolute negativity" but of "permanent revolution."

Now, whether the enduring relevance of Hegel has stood the test of time because of the devotion and rigor of analysis of Hegel scholars, or because from below there upsurged a movement for freedom that was followed by new cognition studies, there is no doubt that because Absolute Negativity signifies transformation of reality, the dialectic of contradiction and totality of crises, the dialectic of liberation, Hegel comes to life at critical points of history which Hegel himself characterized as "birth-time of history."

There were Marxist scholars, revolutionary dissidents, who built on new ground. Where a scholar from the West like Maurer was preoccupied with Hegel's concept of where to end, the Czechoslovak philosopher, Karel Kosik, was preoccupied with where to begin anew. Of the East European studies that accompanied the revolts, and revolved around Marx's Humanism, especially Marx's "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," one of the most rigorous studies was Karel Kosik's *The Dialectic of the Concrete*.

Nor were these serious studies limited to the "East." As Frantz Fanon saw it, the African struggle for freedom was "not a treatise on the universal, but the untidy affirmation of an original idea propounded as an absolute." There is no doubt, of course, that once action supersedes the subjectivity of purpose, the unity of theory and practice is the form of life out of which emerge totally new dimensions. To this writer this is the "proof" that the ending of *Science of Logic* is the absolute as new beginning, the self-bringing forth of liberty.

WHEN PHILOSOPHERS LEARN to eschew elitisms, then the unity of theory and practice, of absolute as new beginning won't remain abstract desire, or mere will, but philosophy become action. In his re-examination of Hegel, Professor Findlay was right when he stated Hegel's exegeses "can seem arid and false to those who see nothing mysterious and god-like in the facts of human thought." But isn't it equally true that philosophers who stand only in terror before revolution not only do not "comprehend" it, they cannot fully comprehend revolution in thought? And Hegel did revolutionize philosophy.

work and how sterile and meaningless are the attempts to divide his work into the periods of the "young Marx" vs. the "mature Marx." . . .

AFTER MARX DIED, the socialist movement and Marxism flourished—or seemed to—until World War I broke out and the phony socialists quickly took cover behind a thick blanket of chauvinism. In the face of this Gotterdammerung of socialism, Lenin—Dunayevskaya claims—broke with his old concept and was forced to search for a new philosophy. He found it in the Hegelian Marx and expressed it most notably in his unpublished *Philosophical Notebooks*.

But Dunayevskaya never stops here to ask the question "Why only Lenin?" Where were Luxemburg, Trotsky, Mehring, Martov, Turati and others at this time? Why didn't these revolutionary socialists also feel the pressing need that Lenin did to search for a new philosophy? . . .

She does not answer the key question of why for nearly 50 years, Hegel was lost to Marxism. For if Marxism is a theory of liberation generated by the objective factors of capitalist development, then it shouldn't depend on one single individual to supply the subjective spark of revolutionary dialectics . . . The unstated question that logically flows from Dunayevskaya's interpretation of the integration of philosophy and revolution (is) how important was Lenin's Hegelianism in determining his success in 1917? Was it a crucial element? Or is it coincidental to his role in the Russian Revolution with the real historical and theoretical interest in Lenin the revolutionary tactician? . . .

WHAT WAS THE importance of philosophy in 1917 and toward revolution in general? Unfortunately, Dunayevskaya never gets around to attacking this problem head on as she gets bogged down in dealing with Lenin's more famous theory of the vanguard party.

However, her interpretation of what Lenin's "real" view on this theory was in 1917 and after, is the most fuzzy part of all of Dunayevskaya's writings. In *Marxism and Freedom*, she claims that under the impact of 1905 and even more in 1917 in face of the revolutionary spontaneity of the workers in the Soviets, Lenin broke with the theory exposed in *What Is to Be Done?* Yet, in *Philosophy and Revolution*, Dunayevskaya admits that "the events of 1914 did not lead Lenin to cast doubt on his Bolshevik politics and organization." . . .

YET, WITH ALL of the above said, Dunayevskaya does offer a biting critique of Stalinism and illustrates how completely ideologically and politically bankrupt the Soviet state is. Also, most timely are her observations on Mao and her interpretation of the "Cultural Revolution." Here she brilliantly shows how completely alien Maoism is from Marx and the socialist vision . . .

Dunayevskaya concludes *Philosophy and Revolution* on an optimistic note discussing the third world, the crises in Communism and the "new passions and new forces" and revolutionary potentialities in the West. While one can take issue with a number of her contentions, her overall point is telling: that no simple formulas or magic resolutions are going to make the revolution, only the proletariat itself can by working out "so new a relationship of theory to practice . . ." Dunayevskaya's work is a most important contribution to the successful realization of this task and is a book well worth reading.

—Phil Goodstein

BOOK REVIEW

Labor and revolution

A Guide to the Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Warner W. Pflug, ed., Wayne State Univ. Press, Detroit, \$8.95.

If you want to learn about the history of the American labor movement in the twentieth century, from the IWW to the CIO, and from the Flint sit-down to the Black caucus movement, Warner Pflug's catalog of the Wayne State labor archives proves that library to be the place to go. Although Pflug describes the book as "a research aid for patrons" of the library, anyone thumbing through its 195 pages will be fascinated by the breadth of history it contains from the labor and revolutionary struggles.

There is a special section on the unionization of the auto industry, with oral history transcripts from workers involved in the early Briggs strikes; the Anderson, Ind. fight; and the campaign at Ford Rouge; as well as stories from inside Fisher Body in the Flint sit-down.

It is saddening, therefore, to discover that these transcripts are open only to "regular academic faculty" or to graduate students working on theses on the subject—and then only with a letter from a professor. You can't even find out about the history of your plant.

More disheartening is the fact that only five pages are devoted to "Blacks in the labor movement". Charles Denby, editor of *News & Letters*, and author of *Workers Battle Automation* and *American Civilization on Trial*, is not even listed anywhere in the book, despite his more than 40 years as a Black revolutionary in the labor movement, though all these works are included in the Raya Dunayevskaya collection.

The Guide does contain a brief description of the Raya Dunayevskaya collection. But neither is there a reference to the uniqueness of combination of intellectual and Black production worker as editor of *News & Letters*, nor does it include any reference to her role as Secretary to Leon Trotsky in Mexico, during that critical period when Stalin was destroying all opposition from the left.

The entire Dunayevskaya collection, which is a rich history of the development of Marxist-Humanism in America, is available on microfilm, and can be ordered directly from the Archives Library of Wayne State U.

—Michael Connolly

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

World food conference - - starving millions become political football

The 1,000 delegates to the World Food Conference met in Rome, consumed \$500,000 worth of food, discussed the plight of an estimated 400 million people throughout the world who are facing starvation, and departed without any solutions to the problem.

The pretensions of Kissinger, that "within the next decade, no child will go to bed hungry, and no family will fear for its next day's bread", is small consolation to the ten million people who are expected to die within the coming year of starvation. U.S. President Gerald Ford denied a request that a million tons of grain be made available for feeding the starving. The Conference set up three committees "to study" the situation, plan for the future and regulate the export and import of food.

Capitalist greed plus the quadrupled oil prices of Middle East potentates have driven up the price of grain, oil, sugar and fertilizer while weather conditions in Africa, India, Russia, China and the United States have diminished the 1974 crop returns

to the point that surplus supplies of food no longer exist. Or so say the Big Powers, including the artificial billionaire kingdoms, who refuse to pay transportation costs. Instead, they occupy chairs as if they represent the Third World. It is estimated that the shortage of grain amounts to between 7 and 10 million tons and the death of millions in India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sub-Sahara Africa are a certainty.

110 nations met under UN auspices, and food for the starving became a political football. The United States has restricted food production to the quantities that might be sold profitably; India prefers nuclear development over social change; Pakistan chooses its military establishment over its starving people; the African nations demand their own non-existent distribution system over outside assistance. The Soviet Union and China have, through huge purchases of grain, without revealing their own production, assured their own supplies and may be in the position of helping to supply

world need if their political demands are met. The Arab nations, wealthy beyond dreams, are in a position to help financially but the price of their oil for food transportation and chemical fertilizer adds to the problem rather than helping. There is not a nation or government on the face of the earth that is blameless in this crisis.

Nothing speaks so shockingly of the impotence of all existing class societies—state-capitalist parading as "Communist" as well as private capitalist, not to mention feudal oligarchies anointing themselves as new "Third World"—as their unwillingness and inability to provide the most basic of all commodities, food, needed for the very survival of mankind! At the same time not a single government has stopped arming itself to the teeth. All this was climaxed by the Vladivostok "victory" of SALT II by Ford and Brezhnev which even the bourgeois press had to admit "reduces neither terror nor costs."

UNESCO and Sartre

The so-called majority—Arabs and others inspired by PLO—went all out in Paris and excluded Israel from its regional groups as well as barring aid to Israel. For once, the intellectuals who have so often uncritically supported all the PLO did, this time denounced the "victory" of the UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Those who said they will no longer lend their talents to UNESCO are Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Eugene Ionesco, Kenneth Arrow, Hans A. Bethe and Eugene P. Wigner of the U.S. They will, no doubt, not remain the only ones rejecting the latest perversion of UNESCO's "culture" and "humanitarianism".

The real tragedy is that the ones who will suffer most are not the Israelis, but the Arabs—especially the Palestinians. They were the ones who had gained the most from the few humanitarian and educational projects supported by UNESCO, whose budget depends in the main on the U.S. which is now threatening to cut a planned \$16-million contribution.

Czechoslovakia

From a traveler in East Europe, comes the following report:

This traveler's first visit to Czechoslovakia in five years left the deep impression of an occupied, largely demoralized people fighting a rearguard resistance with the only weapon left to it: the spoken word.

During my stay I spoke to no "leftists," or perhaps I should say that everyone to whom I spoke was a leftist. Barring the party bureaucrats and opportunistic hangers-on, never have I seen a people

so unified in its sentiment: enmity toward Russia.

After the Soviet invasion of 1968, the Czechs and Slovaks, highly civilized, were said to have resisted "to the last drop of ink." The intellectuals like Ludvik Vaculik, who articulated the aspirations of the whole country for freedom, socialism and national independence during the heady days of the "Prague spring," have disappeared into exile or into the provinces, where they hold manual jobs. The public press, which briefly was said to be the freest in the world six years ago, is now a dreadful drab counterpart of its big brothers in Moscow. No one reads it or believes it, expecting that anything important will arrive by word of mouth.

Thus, a young woman who manufactured "Russians go home" placards in her home in Aug. 1968 related to me the latest hot rumor: that a daughter of a high state official had defected in France with a young socialist leader while on a mission in support of the Chilean resistance. An artist told me that his country sells arms throughout the world and stopped sending them to fascist Chile only after Gen. Pinochet thanked them in a public speech.

Soviet flags draped all the public buildings together with the inspiring slogan, "With the Soviet Union until the end of time." The Czechs delight in telling stories like, "Why are the Russians our brothers? Because your friends you choose, your relatives you don't."

The highlight of my trip occurred in a working-class buffet, where I encountered a beer-drinking man who had fought with the Soviet army during the world war. Asked, if he was a Communist, he replied indignantly: "I was never a Communist! I was a Bolshevik!"

The regime of nameless, faceless, soulless bureaucrats locked up a young worker who set off a firecracker on an anniversary of the invasion. Mean-

while, at a Slovak garage, works a non-person named Dubcek. And in the forests of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia, hidden from view but felt at every moment, encamp a few thousand soldiers. Their name is Ivan.

French strikes

The growing militancy of the French workers ever since d'Estaing came to power is seen in the many strikes in France. The municipal workers' strike was but the last in a series, having been preceded by the striking postal workers and followed by farmers' protests. From the miners in Lorraine to the workers in state radio and television, the mood of the workers is unmistakable.

Moreover, the strikes for higher wages (two-thirds of all French workers still make under \$30 a month), is accompanied by political demonstrations, while the reactionary nature of the regime has unleashed a McCarthy-type "anti-Communist" attack against all workers.

The "equilibrium" d'Estaing promised has, instead, seen unemployment rise no less than 40 percent over last year. The unions claim that 800,000 are now unemployed and that that will top one million during the winter. At the same time inflation has risen 17 percent or twice the rate last winter.

All the kowtowing to the Arab oil monopolists has not stopped the quadrupling of oil prices which resulted in added tax on national revenue of some \$7.5 billion, or \$400 for each French family. The ones most hurt, as is the case in all countries, are those already at the bottom of the ladder—youth, women, unskilled. No one doubts the unrest; the only question is how deep will be the workers' upheaval.

Close contract vote shows miners want control over working conditions

(Continued from Page 5)

ernment to determine the extent of unemployment, every report is far behind the actual reality. What this means is that whereas the government reports a 6.6 percent unemployment rate, it is already almost positively more than seven percent nationally.

Except that even this does not really show the depth of the depression in many areas of the nation, such as Detroit, Flint, Pontiac in Michigan, Mawah, N. J.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Birmingham, Ala.; Gary, Ind.; Pico Rivera, Cal.; and hundreds of other communities and cities totally or significantly dependent on auto production. In these areas, spotted throughout the entire nation, unemployment is as high as 20 to 30 percent—well above the levels of the great depression of the 1930s. In Detroit it has zoomed so high that 30 new locations will be added to the seven state unemployment offices to try to handle current claims.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION

Unlike the depression, however, when prices were very low to correspond with the state of the economy, now there is a continuing inflation that now stands at over 12 percent (more when it comes to basic needs like food, clothing, housing and medical care). This is the first time in the history of capitalism, which goes back to the French and American Revolutions of the 1870s, and during that time has produced over a dozen major recessions or depressions, that there has been both a recession and inflation—and at a rate higher than either one has been by itself, except for the 16 percent national unemployment during the depression—which can easily become the nightmare reality unless this system is totally changed.

The crisis is indeed total, which is why the actions of

the miners in 1949, and of workers everywhere when they fought against automation, are so important today. What they demonstrate historically and philosophically is that there is a movement from practice to theory, as well as a movement from theory to practice. That is, they were doing their own thinking and acting, and in their action, were showing that their thought was a very critical part of the movement to change society.

On this 25th anniversary of the 1949 miners' strike against automation, there is much in their experience since then that can help illuminate the needs of today to change the world we live in.

FRUIT OF AUTOMATION

Much has happened to the miners since those fateful days of 1949-50. They have seen the fruits of automation first hand—suffering as the juggernaut of the continuous miner swept through the coal industry, slashing the work force from 450,000 in 1950 to some 120,000 today. In the course of trying to find their own answers to their problems, they have had to go through the experience of horrible misrepresentation by their former president W. A. (Tony) Boyle, whose incompetence as the leader of the UMW brought disgrace and losses during his ten year reign until the miners threw him out and elected Arnold Miller in 1972.

Although Miller has initiated many much needed reforms in the UMW, the fact is that neither he nor any one else operating in the capitalist framework of contract negotiations can achieve for the miners what they must have: control over their production, over their working conditions, over their safety.

That only the miners can achieve for themselves, and only through combining with other revolutionary elements in society that include other workers, Blacks, the

youth and women who are all seeking the solutions to the crisis of present day society.

By overcoming the forces within their own organization which tried to suppress them, the miners gained a consciousness that resulted in actions that gained for them a higher degree of democracy in making union decisions than they ever had before. In the course of gaining the degree of freedom they now have, the miners have had to carry on difficult battles that ranged from political strikes in West Virginia against their own bureaucracy and state legislators to force the legislature to recognize black lung as a mine-industry-associated disease that must be compensated, to the cleaning out of their old corrupt leadership, as well as to the just-concluded strike at a time of national economic crisis that exists in the U.S. today.

NEW MOVEMENT WILL ARISE

Armed with the knowledge that these experiences have developed for them, and showing their determination to let nothing stand in their way of fighting to obtain a safe and decent standard of living for themselves, the gains the miners have just made may once again spearhead a massive movement by the American working class.

The answer today must obviously go beyond the stage, important though it was, of industrial unionism and the CIO of the 1930s. We have had the CIO for 40 years, and have seen the great promise it offered in the '30s turn into organizations dominated by bureaucrats who are the first to oppose any meaningful, revolutionary actions by their rank-and-file workers.

What new forms of organizations the workers will create to serve their needs today remains to be seen, but they will surely arise.