

ON THE INSIDE

Kolakowski on Alienation Reviewed

See Dunayevskaya's Two Worlds—P. 5

Eldridge Cleaver's Speech—P. 6

Columbia U. Workers and Students—P. 2

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

BLACK REVOLT AND AFRICA

Because the vast majority of black Americans are workers, the question of the Negro has always been the test and touchstone of American civilization. History will teach us that this vanguard role of the blacks stands out at all crucial points of America's development.

We can look at the organizing and building of the industrial unions and especially the UAW-CIO in the 1930's. They attempted to reconstruct society on totally new, truly human beginnings. If we look at what preceded the youth revolt in 1960—the 1955-1956 Montgomery bus boycott—we will at once see that it is both a race question and a class war.

The basic problem today seems to be that Nationalist leaders reject the idea of class war, and the moderate or liberal Negro leaders do not want to see it as a race question, only the class question. This is why the black revolution in this country has reached the crossroads. Not just between black and white, but between black and black. The most serious break is between the black masses and the black leaders.

The crossroads has been reached in Africa, too. And there is much black Africans and black Americans can learn from each other.

In my adult life the two most outstanding events bringing Africans and Negro Americans closer together were Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia, and the revolutions in Africa which gained so many countries their independence.

In the Depression I was traveling all over the country looking for work. So was everybody else I knew. Yet, next to the question of a job, what Negroes would talk about was Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia and how Africa is always getting the short end of the stick.

Somewhere between that period and up until the great independence movements of the Africans in the 1950's, the middle class Negro began to preach that the Negroes were not really African. They didn't seem to be satisfied just to point to the obvious—that the Negro was American in language and culture and experience. No, they showed they were afraid of the African heritage by talking of Africans as backward, if not outright head-hunters still.

As soon, however, as the Africans began to win their independence, the tune changed. I suspect they found how great the African people were with the help of the State Department because soon thereafter, in 1960, during the Congo crisis, the line between the middle-class Negro and the working-class Negro became very sharp.

Where the middle-class Negro was quiet as a tomb, the black worker first began to speak his mind during the assassination of Lumumba, lining up solidly behind Lumumba and his nationalist movement. The workers in my shop eagerly followed all developments both in the Congo and in the UN, warmly supporting the demonstrations before that body, holding it responsible for the murder.

One discussion has its comic aspects since it showed that the workers in Detroit knew more about Lumumba than they did about their own trade union leaders. They were discussing conditions in the shop and how the leadership is always selling the worker down the river. A white worker said it was all Meany's fault. A Negro worker asked: "Who's Meany?" But the very worker who did not even know Meany, the president of the AFL-CIO, knew every detail of Lumumba's life from the time he organized the national movement for independence to his murder.

The thing that irritated this black worker most was that the American trade union leaders go about telling the Africans how high the standard of living is in America, and how the American Negro therefore feels no kinship to the African.

What the bureaucrat fails to tell the Africans is that the car or home the black American has, has put him into debt up to his nose for the rest of his life, and that in no case does it mean he does not feel a close relationship to the freedom movement of the Africans.

I am not saying that the Negro American would exchange his life in America for one in Africa, though in America too many live on welfare aid. I am saying he has a feeling of unity with the African brothers, and would like to have a much closer relationship.

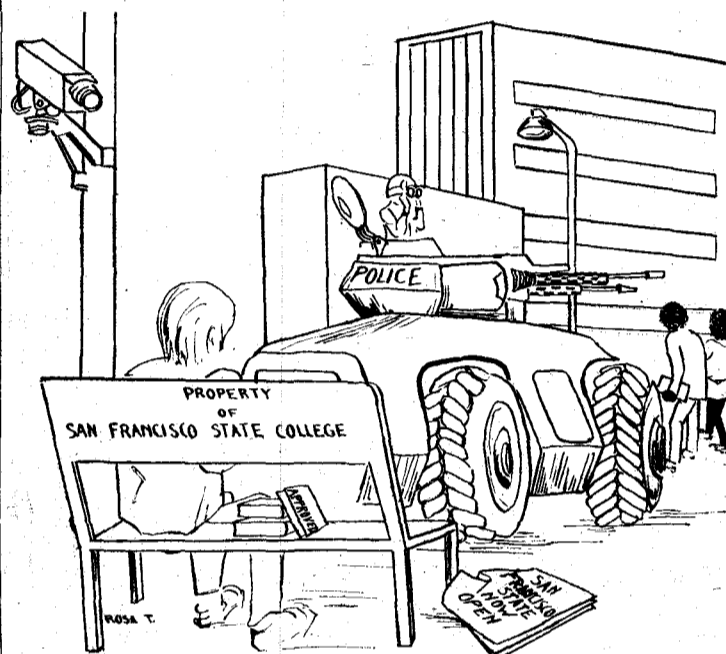
The experience that the African people have made with their revolutions, and the problems they are still facing after all the great advances they made with "Negritude", have much to teach us here. We, too, are facing a new stage. We have much to learn together.

*Season's Greetings
to all our
Readers and Friends*

Only Miners' Control of Safety Can End Mining Deaths and Disasters

By Andy Phillips

When the explosion blasted through Consolidation Coal Company's Jamison No. 9 mine in Farmington, W.Va., at 5:30 a.m. on Wednesday, Nov. 20, it opened the beginning of a ten-day vigil marked by steadily diminishing hopes of recovering 78 miners trapped 600 feet underground. Fires generated by the first explosion raged with uncontrollable fury throughout the mine in succeeding days, feeding on the highly combustible soft coal and setting off scores of additional coal dust and methane gas explosions which turned the mine into a blazing inferno of hellish death and destruction. When all efforts to establish contact with the trapped men failed, and air samples taken through holes drilled from the surface into the mine disclosed deadly concentrations of carbon monoxide and explosive mixtures of methane gas, coal company officials gave the order to seal the mine. It became the tomb for the 78 miners.



See S. F. State Revolt, P. 2

National shock waves set off by the tragedy brought forth a torrent of words from politicians in Washington, United Mine Workers union officials, company officials, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall charged with administering and enforcing federal mining safety laws), mine safety experts, and hundreds of writers. It is the same ritual which follows every major mine disaster: moral indignation, pledges and promises to take effective action, and then — nothing. The same will happen this time, and the next, and the next.

EXPLOSION SEASON

These next times will occur in the coming winter months, for winter is the most dangerous explosion season in the mines. This is so because moisture in the winter air is frozen out of it, and this relatively dry air is pushed or pulled through the mines by giant ventilating fans. This air provides oxygen for the miners to breathe underground and to dilute and drive off methane gas liberated from the coal, which otherwise will (and often does) accumulate in explosive concentrations.

This dry winter air moving through the mine removes the moisture which exists naturally in coal mines, making everything tinder-dry and increasing chances for coal dust explosion. This is the major fear, for coal dust is more explosive than gunpowder; a coal dust explosion is a chain reaction igniting millions of coal dust particles suspended in the confined mine air and hurtling with destructive speeds exceeding 50,000 miles a second.

Methane gas explosions, while potentially deadly, occur with some frequency, at times resulting in the loss of life, and often in severe burns, as explosions seldom, in themselves, produce the major disasters of the magnitude of the Jamison No. 9 mine. Their greatest danger, in the winter time especially, is that this first gas explosion will swirl any loose and dry coal dust into suspension in the air, and then ignite it to set off the dreaded coal dust explosion.

WHOLE MINE GOES

This all happens in a blazing split second, but once the coal dust explodes, its far greater force and velocity has the awesome power to blast throughout an entire mine if there is loose coal dust to feed on to propagate the explosion.

The real solution has not only been suggested, it has been demanded, by the rank-and-file coal miners. They know their conditions of work and the reason for these explosions and other safety hazards better than anyone else in the world, including all of the experts, politicians, and union and company officials. The reason is the ruthless drive of the coal companies for impossible coal

DIRECT FROM PRAGUE

Czech Student Strikes Forge Links of Unity With Workers

Prague, Czechoslovakia—Prague students ended their four-day strike by decorating girl students of the faculty of film and theatre studies with red roses "for bravery and spirit of sacrifice." Yet there was more in the student strike than this entertaining aspect. The most important phenomenon was the actual possibility of a genuine unity between workers and students which alone may have prevented the government and the ruling Communist party from suppressing the sit-in.

HOW IT BEGAN

Nov. 17 is International Students' Day in Czechoslovakia in memory of Nov. 17, 1939, when Nazi occupation troops closed all Czech universities and arrested hundreds of students in Prague and Brno, sending many of them to concentration camps. The present Czechoslovak government, fearing an outbreak of student unrest as a protest against Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, admonished the students a few days before that date to refrain from any violent demonstration.

The students, who did not want to give any pretext for Russian interference, pretended not to go to the streets, but instead proclaimed a sit-in and occupied virtually every college and university building, as well as their dormitories, all over Bohemia and Moravia.

The main purpose of the strike, however, was to support a list of ten demands: "For the first time after 20 years we, the university students, are coming forward in common political action as a social force which has to be reckoned with and which is also a part

of current political reality:

"1. The basis of our policy is and will remain the Action Program of the Communist Party as accepted by the April plenary session of the Central Committee of the CP. (Author's note: Under present circumstances, this Action Program, now being gradually abandoned by the CP, represents the most forward looking, comprehensive document of intended political action.)

"2. There shall be no 'cabinet policy,' especially the flow of information between the citizens and the leadership in both directions.

"3. The introduction of censorship in the mass media will be temporary and will not last longer than six months.

"4. Freedom of assembly and association must not be affected.

"5. Freedom of research and of literary and cultural expression will be guaranteed.

"6. Personal and legal security of citizens will be guaranteed.

"7. Those officials who have lost confidence and have never sufficiently made clear their positions will not keep any important posts.

(Author's note: This aims at those conservative Communists who are said to have invited the Soviets to occupy the country.)

"8. There will be no interrup-

(Continued on Page 7)

(Continued on Page 8)

Black Movement Fights New Repression

Cleaver Hunted

Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of the Black Panther Party, became a hunted man on Nov. 27. An arrest order was issued by the California Adult Authority when Cleaver didn't show up to turn himself in and return to prison.

The order was issued even though Cleaver had not been convicted of any crime. The Authority ruled that Cleaver had violated parole because he had been present last April when the Oakland police attacked several Panthers, killing 17-year old Bobby Hutton and wounding Cleaver. Cleaver was not even armed.

POLITICAL PRISONER

Cleaver had been held in jail until June, when a California judge released him on the grounds that the imprisonment was politically motivated. Immediately, however, the Reagan administration went to work to find a more cooperative authority. They found one, and the order was issued for his return to jail.

(See Cleaver Speech, page 6)

Reagan and his friends weren't satisfied with this persecution. They arranged to have Cleaver tried for the police assault on him last April. The trial was scheduled for next month. The state hoped to put Cleaver away for another 20 years.

Added to this, Cleaver often said that he believed that if he went back to jail, he would be murdered there. He has good reason to believe this. Life is very cheap in jail, and murder is easily arranged.

COP VIOLENCE

The cop attack on the Black Panther Party is nationwide. In Newark, New Jersey, two white men blew up the Panther headquarters, wounding four Panthers, including the N.J. state organizer. The police claimed that the explosion was set off by the Panthers themselves. New Jersey Panthers decided not to wear their uniforms because they made them "walking targets" for police attack.

Across the river in New York City, no action has been taken against the 200 off-duty cops who attacked 17 unarmed Panthers in the lobby of a courthouse.

Even in Canada, the cops have reacted to Panther organizing with violence. In Halifax, on Canada's East Coast, two blacks were arrested and beaten after a Panther organizing meeting last month.

NOT THE FIRST

Cleaver is not the first black revolutionary to be hunted, jailed, exiled, or murdered. Medgar Evers was shot from ambush. Malcolm X was gunned down at a rally. H. Rap Brown is in jail facing long sentences on charges in four different states. Martin Luther King was murdered as he attempted to build a labor-black alliance in Memphis. Stokely Carmichael faces indictment when Richard Nixon becomes President in January. Huey Newton is now serving 2 to 15 years in a California prison.

It seems that every time a black revolutionary begins to shake the structure of white racism in America, something happens to him.

S.F. State Revolt

San Francisco, Cal.—Billy club education is what S. I. Hayakawa, acting president of San Francisco State College, has decided to give black, white, Oriental and Mexican-American student demonstrators who have struck against racism in the university and for the demands put forth by the Black Students Union.

Hayakawa simultaneously opened school, which had been closed by the students strike, and ordered some 500 police from the Bay Area onto campus to stop any demonstrations.

CLUBS AND MACE

The result; on Tuesday Dec. 3 there was the brutal clubbing by the cops, of striking students as they held a rally on campus to put forth their demands. So zealous was Hayakawa that he personally on Monday, had ripped the microphone wires out so that no one could be heard. On Thursday, Dec. 5, Mace was used against student strikers and shots were fired over their heads.

On the other side, the students served notice that they would not passively stand and be beaten. They armed themselves with stones and bottles.

The lines have now been drawn. Reagan, the Governor and Dumke, the chancellor of the California state system, have finally gotten a "law and order" man as president of the campus. They seem determined to throw all who disagree with them out of the California colleges and universities.

BLACK COLLEGE

This fall the black students asked that a department of black studies be established at the college. At first this was approved, with eleven teaching positions being allocated. But after going through channels it ended up with only one position.

The black students wanted all black youth who applied admitted to the campus. They argued that since 59% of the pupils attending San Francisco public schools are non-white there is racism present when only 16% of San Francisco State enrollment is non-white.

After they saw that their demands were going to be talked to death in committees, the students decided to force the issue.

But this only after the college had suspended without any hearing an instructor, George Murry,

A Grape Success

Detroit, Mich. — After eight long months of intensified action against the million dollar profit markets selling grapes, the UFWOC (United Farm Workers Organizing Committee) and its thousands of Detroit supporters experienced a stunning victory. All of the major chain stores beginning with A&P decided to up-hold the boycott by removing the grapes from the counter.

The most important factor leading to this decision started three months ago when the UFWOC office felt it was necessary to step up their campaign in order to counter-act all of the adverse publicity the boycott was getting.

Picket lines were doubled at over a dozen chain stores throughout Michigan. Techniques like "shop-ins" were started in an effort to increase the pressure on store managers.

By the middle of November the major target of demonstrations was A&P. Every Friday and Saturday scores of people showed up to express their disgust with the scab grapes.

The transition point to victory came when the threat of mass picketing and sit-ins just before Thanksgiving made seven major chains agree to remove grapes,

who was a member of the Black Panthers, after he had told black students they should carry guns on campus.

STRIKE CALLED

The students presented their demands for a department of ethnic studies and for the reinstatement of Murry, and at the same time called for a strike until all the demands were met. In this strike they were joined, both by other minorities and by some white students.

The strike took the form of rallies and of disrupting those classes which continued with business as usual. To the strikers, business as usual meant cooperation with the racism of the society. They felt all must take a stand.

After a series of clashes with police, the closing, opening and reclosing of the campus, and a convocation on campus to discuss the black student demands, the trustees of the college, led by Reagan forced out the moderate president, Robert Smith, and brought forth Hayakawa, billy-clubs and Mace.

The campus is now open, but for how long and with how many club-swinging cops? The demands of the black students and of their allies for a meaningful education will not disappear. All over the country black students are demanding a black education. They are finding white allies in small, but growing numbers.

Perhaps this combination, along with a faculty which does not want its every course scrutinized by the Ronald Reagens of this country, can begin to give meaning to education.

C.U. Workers Organize

NEW YORK, N.Y.—Over 100 Columbia University clerical workers won the right to a union last month. They were the first clerical workers ever to win one at Columbia. As the word spread, the workers were elated.

A secretary from the School of Social Work said, "Columbia used all the old racist, hate-mongers it could find to keep out the union. I went through the civil rights movement and the peace movement and stayed out of work in support of the student strike last spring. We always lost. It took this campaign to show me why. This time we fought the racists and the warhawks on the job and that's why we won."

Local 1199 Drug and Hospital Workers Union received requests from department after department of clerical workers asking to join 1199. But at the same time Columbia was trying another move. Organizers from Local 153 Office and Clerical Workers Union appeared on campus.

Local 153 is famous for the deals it makes with the boss. Local 153 met with little success on the main campus, but in the Controllers Office, which was isolated and which had not received word from 1199, supervisors threatened and harassed workers into signing cards for 153.

When the workers heard from 1199 that there was a union that didn't use the boss to get members, they repudiated the 153 cards and signed with 1199. Weeks afterwards, workers found out that Columbia decided to recognize 153 by using the cards the workers had repudiated.

WORKERS SIT-IN

Twenty workers, accompanied by 1199 organizers, sat in at the Controller's office that night. The next day most workers stayed out of work at the Controllers Office, and were joined by workers from other departments

around the campus.

While the Controllers Office elections were stalled, other workers were organizing: the Mailroom, Alumni Records, Computer Center and the School of Social Work. They all went to the Business Manager, Joseph Nye, to ask for an election. The doors to the Administration Building were then locked, leaving half the workers outside. The workers, joined by the students, protested, "Let the workers in."

To win the right to an election, the workers pulled job actions and slowdowns: the nine a.m. mail was delivered to the wrong place at noon, the library workers didn't collect fines and union leaflets were passed out all over the campus.

THE ELECTION

By the day of the election, workers had stood up under a vicious campaign of slander and innuendo. The university used every reactionary method it could find. "Organizers from 1199 are ex-cons", they would say. The three 1199 organizers had been arrested for civil rights. In spite of all this the workers voted overwhelmingly for 1199 in three of the four units. In Alumni Records Room, where the supervisors called in workers individually, bribed some and threatened others, the election was lost by four votes.

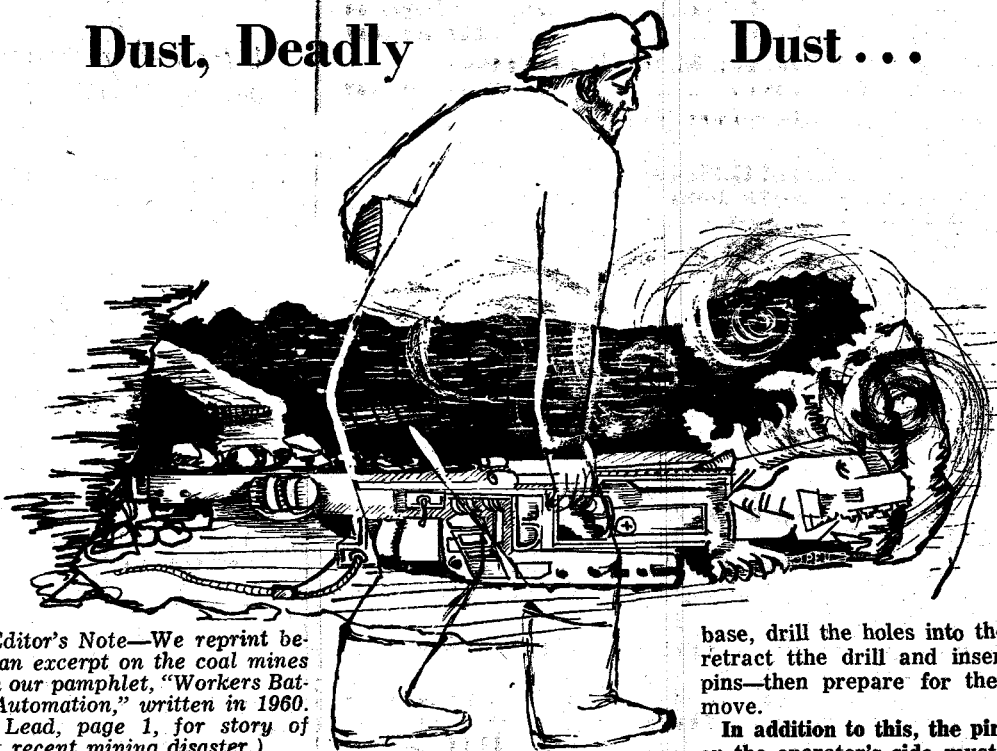
After the election, workers from the four units met for a victory celebration. First on everyone's mind were the brothers from Alumni Records. As one worker said, "As far as I'm concerned you're all my union brothers. If they mess with you they'll have to fight all of us."

HELP NEEDED

United Farm Workers
Organizing Committee
2500 Howard Street
Detroit, Mich. 48216
or Call 825-4811

Dust, Deadly

Dust . . .



(Editor's Note—We reprint below an excerpt from the coal mines from our pamphlet, "Workers Battle Automation," written in 1960. See Lead, page 1, for story of most recent mining disaster.)

Coupled with the intense heat of the continuous miner is the dust—coal dust from the grinding bits on the head of the "miner" as it rips and tears its way into the face of the solid coal, swirling the fine dust into the air, which clogs eyes, ears, nostrils and settles in a thick film over every part of exposed body and falls in layers onto outer clothing.

But this is not all, for there is yet another kind of dust—the dust produced by drilling into steel pins to bind the roof to keep it from falling, and this dust is deadly. It is silicon dust from drilling into overburdening rock, which produces silicosis of the lungs.

This then, is the environment, but there is still the pace of the work. They named the machine well when they named it continuous. The operator of the machine is constantly maneuvering levers—to move the "head" in and out and up and down, then in and up and down again and again, at the same time moving the machine boom up and down and sideways and repeating this again. All day long.

Then there are the pinners, preparing their pins as the machine moves forward. Then, when it stops for a few moments to have the head move up and down, they hurriedly throw in their drills into the hydraulic rotating drill

base, drill the holes into the top, retract the drill and insert the pins—then prepare for the next move.

In addition to this, the pin man on the operator's side must hang canvas to provide artificially fanned air from the outside to drive out deadly methane gas, which is liberated from the coal, to avoid an explosion.

With the coal piled up behind the men working on the "miner," there is no free circulation of air; gas which is liberated may accumulate instead of being driven off—and a single spark from any one of the motors or from the grinding bits hitting a piece of sulfur and throwing sparks turns the enclosed area in which the men on the "miner" are working into an explosive, searing, flesh-rendering and burning inferno of hell. There are many tombstones which attest to this fact.

From The Auto Shops

Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich. — Ford Rouge has found a new way to speed up the line. They do not change the actual speed of the line. Instead they have taken out the spacer which runs between cars. The cars now run bumper to bumper for long periods of time. This allows Ford to get an extra unit in every seven or eight units. The company has been doing this over the past few weeks for a few hours at a time.

This new tactic in speed-up has been occurring on the number two trim line and in white metal. In white metal the soldering booth has been especially bad. Guys are really mad about it over there. They went up to see our so-called union leaders in the committee room to get some answers, but the union officials have absolutely nothing to say.

The committeemen are supposed to time the line every morning but they are not doing it. Instead the foremen are having their way. And they are taking advantage of this by writing up more people now than ever before.

Many of our union officials seem to have more in common with the company than with the men. Why is it that so many committeemen and other union offi-

cial have suddenly become foremen and supervisors. Some of them were union officials at the same time that they had applica-

tions in to become part of Ford foremen who sweat production out of us. Whose hat do these men wear?

Arrest at Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich. — Ford Motor Company seems to have become pretty nervous about the distribution of newspapers that have articles by Ford workers about conditions in their Rouge plant. Three students were recently arrested after distributing News & Letters to assembly-line workers on the morning shift—for "illegally parking in the Ford parking lot."

Everybody knew that the real reason they were picked up was because of the articles in their paper that were written by Ford workers blasting racist policies in the shop. One of the security guards had even told them "We're going to fix it so you never come back again." The workers feel that Ford is especially nervous since the recent Dodge Main strike over racism in that plant.

Not long before this latest arrest, some black militants who were passing out other literature to the Ford workers were also arrested on the same charge. It was heard that they wound up paying over \$200 in fines.

The three white students were found guilty, but given suspended sentences. The workers in the shop were glad about that, but everyone felt that if they had been black, they would have had

the book thrown at them, too.

In fact, three black youth, who had been arrested for trespassing somewhere else in Dearborn and were up for trial that same day, all got \$110 fine or ten days in jail.

Fleetwood

DETROIT, Mich.—We were out on strike at Fleetwood for three weeks. The International finally authorized a strike, but only after we wildcatted. Now we are back at work—and working overtime.

We wildcatted because GM just tried to get more and more out of each worker. They wanted us to do two or three men's work.

Now the line is just as fast as it was before the strike. The company refused to slow it down at all. Instead they promised to hire more men, but they are hiring so slow that it hasn't made much of a difference.

When we were out on strike a lot of the men got messed up on strike benefits. They do them on an IBM system, but somehow it got messed up between the Local and the International. So they asked us to come in and sign up for the benefits. If people didn't come in, they didn't get anything.

Some of the men who came in to sign up were given the wrong cards to sign. Now it's only \$30 or so that's involved. That's not much to the union, but it's a lot if you have a family and you've been out on strike. Finally the Local said you had to file a grievance if you didn't get your benefits. But nobody has got it yet. It's our money—and their mistake—but they act like we have to pay for it.

—Second Shift Worker

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich. — Chrysler Mack is ruining our lives while we produce their cars. Right now I have a pain in my chest because of unsafe working conditions in the shop.

Smoke from the welding on the first floor is not taken out by ventilation and we who work in the area have to breathe smoke hour after hour everyday. It gets so bad that guys have had to stay home sick after a day of breathing fumes in the shop. If you blow your nose after working a couple of hours, your handkerchief is full of soot trapped during breathing.

Grievances have been filed for over three years, but nothing has been done. We don't even know if the union has talked to the company. When we ask the company, they say talk to the union. When we talk to the union they keep saying a grievance has been filed. Workers' health and safety becomes merely a grievance that has been filed.

When we try and get better representation, the union officials use tricks to get and keep who they want in power. Recently one guy was running for chief steward. On the very day of the election the union officials found an excuse to say that he was not in good standing. They said he could not run and declared the man he was opposing as chief steward. Sometimes you wonder whose side the union officials are on. I guess things will only be changed when we, the workers, take things into our own hands.

Chrysler Mack Worker

On the Line

Seniority Wins One Round

By John Allison

Chrysler Highland Park management has finally agreed to recognize seniority. Workers with 25 to 30 years seniority were being told they had to accept lay-offs and leave the young workers in the plant, because the old timers with a code could no longer satisfy management's appetite for production.

A person with a code is a person who has an ailment or injury which limits the amount of work he or she can do. The company doctor has given these workers their codes, but the great injustice about all this is that these people with codes have got them from working at Chrysler Corp.

WORK INJURY

In other words, say a worker has a stiff elbow he got from an accident in the shop. This limits him, and the corporation doctor has given him a number, a code, indicating that the worker can do some work, but cannot do everything that a person who has not been injured can do.

The company has often tried to fire workers with codes. They have failed often before, and this is another time they failed.

The union had no choice but to remind Chrysler that the Union and Seniority were the same thing. Section 80 of the contract states it in these words: "When an operation or department is discontinued, the employee affected will be given other work in the plant which he

can do, without change of ranking for seniority. Work will be made available in the following order: a—open jobs; b—jobs of probationary employees; c—jobs of lesser seniority employees."

COMPANY CONTRACT

The contract, in every case, favors the corporation in every section signed by the Union. Here is an example on the line in the H.P. plant: there are no probationary employees left in the plant; there are no open jobs left, either, because we are working in a plant that is closing down. The only jobs left in the plant are those held by workers with less seniority than the old timers.

Yet Chrysler management was telling the Union it could not find jobs for coded workers. The company was insisting they would have to lay off the older workers and keep the younger workers because the young ones could get production out.

I am happy to report that all this has been changed since the union sat down and made management see the light.

Fight for Union Vote Won By N.Y. Hospital Strike

NEW YORK, N.Y.—Workers at New York state mental hospitals won a fight against the state and its bureaucratic unionism on November 27—they waged a ten-day strike and forced the state to allow them to select their own union.

A year ago, Governor Rockefeller had unilaterally declared 124,000 state employees members of the Civil Service Employees Association, (CSEA), and was just completing contract negotiations with it. Hospital workers at Creedmoor State Hospital in New York City walked out, with the backing of Council 50, to demand an end to those negotiations and a guarantee of free elections to determine the proper unions. Over a week's time, workers at four more hospitals struck, and the state was finally forced to grant both demands.

COMPANY UNION

Recognition of CSEA had come about because of a change in the labor law, giving state employees the right to collective bargaining, but calling the wrath of the law down upon strikes. In this state of compulsory bargaining, CSEA was the perfect union for the state: It has always included supervisors as members (its present president held the impressive title of "assistant executive director" in the state bureaucracy), and in fifty years it has never called a strike.

The governor, who has had a vogue among certain trade unionists as "Rocky the friend of labor," proved friendly and even eager to cooperate with "responsible" unions by organizing from the top, with one administrative stroke, all the state's employees for CSEA.

When workers at Creedmoor State Hospital walked out to oppose being included in a union of the governor's choice, they were immediately branded with the onus of striking "illegally"; the state served injunctions on the strike and two officials of Council 50 were sentenced to short jail terms as scapegoats.

Newspapers printed without opposition statements by public officials that the "real victims" of the strike were the mental patients. With such legal and publicity power behind him, Rockefeller maintained an intransigent pose: he even admitted that if an independent commission recommended free elections for employees, or even if workers voted for other unions to represent them, he would still negotiate with CSEA because he had to "get out the budget"—a clear statement of his view of a union's role in administration.

STRIKE WINS

But workers at Creedmoor maintained their strike, and hospital workers at four other state units expanded it, thereby upsetting Rockefeller's budgetary plans. After ten days, while workers at other state hospitals were preparing sympathy strikes, the state administration gave in—they stopped negotiations with CSEA, and granted the workers' demands for free elections.

Three days later, the State Commissioner of Mental Hygiene and Governor Rockefeller decided that they had given up too much to the hospital workers. Rocky ordered Commissioner Miller to charge all 3,000 strikers with two counts each of misconduct under the Taylor Law. Workers convicted of this charge could be fined and fired from their jobs.

In addition, 13 "ringleaders" at Bronx State and Manhattan State Hospitals will be charged with "harassment and violence" against scabs. Each of the 3,000 cases must be heard individually, and workers are already organizing meetings to fight back. It is obvious that Rocky is desperate when he tries this tactic; it will only further unite state employees.

The successful strike should signal a new firmness among state employees in protecting their own interests. It shattered as well, illusions of Rockefeller and others that the state's workers could be totally manipulated from the top, even with new-style cooperative unions.

Black-Red Conference

An all day Black-Red Conference on revolutionary philosophy and the black liberation movement will be held in Detroit on Sunday, January 12. For more information contact News & Letters, 415 Brainard, Detroit 48201—833-1989.

PUBLICATIONS OF NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

- A.—American Civilization on Trial—
Statement of the National Editorial Board. The Negro as Touchstone of History 50c per copy
- B.—State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism—
By Raya Dunayevskaya 50c per copy
- C.—Workers Battle Automation—
By Charles Denby, Editor of NEWS & LETTERS 25c per copy
- D.—The Arab-Israeli Collision—
A Political-Philosophic Letter
By Raya Dunayevskaya 25c per copy
- E.—The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution—
By Mario Savio, Eugene Walker and
Raya Dunayevskaya 50c per copy
- F.—Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism
and the Afro-Asian Revolutions—
By Raya Dunayevskaya 25c per copy
- G.—France: Spring '68—
An Eyewitness Report by Eugene Walker 10c per copy
- H.—Black Mass Revolt—
Statement of News & Letters Committees 35c per copy
- I.—News & Letters
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published
10 times a year \$1 per sub
- J.—Also available from News & Letters: Marxism
and Freedom
By Raya Dunayevskaya. New paperback edition contains
added chapter 17, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-
tung" \$1.98 per copy

MAIL ORDERS TO:

News & Letters,
415 Brainard,
Detroit, Michigan 48201

Please enter my subscription to NEWS & LETTERS,
12 issues for \$1

Enclosed please find \$..... for the following:

A B C D E F G H I J
(Please circle number corresponding to literature desired
as listed above)

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP

EDITORIALS

French Workers Devalued

While it may have come as a surprise to most of the world that De Gaulle refused to devalue the franc, it should have come as no surprise that the price for maintaining the value of the franc will be borne by the French working class.

The new De Gaulle austerity regime will include a strict wage-freeze, while putting price-freeze measures on a voluntary basis. The billion dollar cut in government spending will include cutbacks not only in the military establishment, but in subsidies for nationalized industries and the recently adopted revolutionary education reform, as well. An "added value" tax will add two percent to the cost of living for the average French worker.

WORKERS BEAR BRUNT

The French workers, who gained a 13 percent across-the-board wage increase as the result of last Spring's demonstrations, had already begun to see those wage increases wiped out through price and tax increases. Unemployment has been running at 500,000, about two and a half percent of the working force—and the new austerity program will probably increase this figure substantially.

As was to be expected, De Gaulle put the blame for the monetary crisis in France on the ten million workers and thousands upon thousands of students who challenged him—and came close to toppling him—last May. That it was conditions of life under the De Gaulle regime that gave rise to the revolt of the students and workers did not deter Le Grand Charles from denouncing their near-revolution as the "foul blow" from which France was still struggling to recover.

He seized the opportunity to make clear the repressions that followed that revolt would get worse, not better: "Because the crisis started from the moment order was disturbed . . . the necessary measures must be taken to put an end to all agitation and demonstrations, all tumult and parades, that prevent work and offend sound-minded people, so that each man who has a duty to perform, a post to hold, a function to accomplish, is able to do it conscientiously."

CRISIS NOT SOLVED

It is true that the economic concessions forced out of the regime this Spring created a panic among the French bourgeoisie, who, in the last six months, had managed to drain three billion dollars in gold out of the French gold reserves. Though De Gaulle was forced at one point to station special police and troops at the borders and airports, where people carrying suitcases full of French francs were stopped and sent back home—he referred only in passing to the speculators who have transferred vast sums in French francs abroad in the last few weeks.

His insistence on putting the blame for the present crisis on the backs of the workers and students has not solved the crisis of France. Instead, the heavy emphasis on the "law and order" issue, the renewed attack on the millions of workers and students who went on strike in May, and the adoption of austerity measures that are sure to make the lives of the workers more intolerable than ever—all point to the fact that he has merely postponed the day of reckoning, both for his regime, and for the fate of the French franc. In fact, he may well have just hastened it.

Vietnam Politics

As the barbarous, still undeclared war in Vietnam drags on into its eighth year since American troops were first sent as "advisors" the South Vietnam, and the peace talks have turned into a ludicrous game of musical chairs in Paris, it becomes increasingly clear that all sides have been playing politics about peace—and that the stalemate will continue to drag on.

The announcement of the bombing halt on the eve of the elections was obviously not unrelated to an attempt on LBJ's part to push Humphrey into the winning spot at the last moment. But LBJ's impotent South Vietnamese puppet, Thieu, proved potent enough this time to ruin his game. Thieu's arrogant refusal to participate in the Paris talks not only canceled them, but canceled LBJ's chance to go down in history as a "peace maker," as well.

That South Vietnam has now agreed to come to Paris after all, can hardly be considered a sign of any new interest in peace on Thieu's part, when he dares to send none other than that Hitler-loving despot, General Ky, as his chief peace-maker!

NIXON'S MOVE

The day after Nov. 5, the problem of ending the war became Nixon's, not LBJ's—and, caught between the hawks and the doves in his own party, Nixon is certainly in no hurry to settle it quickly, one way or the other. He is inheriting all the headaches of the old regime, and has his hands full with plenty of problems right at home: black revolt, student rebellion, poverty in the midst of affluence, a soaring inflation—all of which are part of the total crisis, and none of which can be solved short of a total solution.

Nixon's attempts, for example, to curb inflation will surely mean taking it out on the workers, and being "nice" to big business—with the same sort of rise in unemployment we saw during the Eisenhower years when he tried to curb inflation. Insofar as the black revolt is concerned, Jesse Jackson of the SCLC put it as bluntly as it can be put: that problem will be decided by the black people themselves and what they do, not by Nixon and anything he tries to do.

TWO WAYS OF LIFE

Under these circumstances, though all the crises at home are, of course, related to the war, it seems likely that Nixon will not rush to do anything "drastic" on the war-front—anything drastic like ending it, that is. War seems to have become "a way of life" for American capitalism. The struggle against the war, however, has also become a "way of life"—for the Second America. Far from letting up, that struggle will have to reach new dimensions and new allies, until the question of war and peace will be decided by those whose lives are the stakes, not those who are playing the game.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE LEFT

People today are not clear about what they want and how to get it. Events in Czechoslovakia are showing up fresh contradictions all over the globe.

Many American freedom fighters condemned the Russian invasion. So did Mao—but for his own reasons. Ho Chi Minh defended the Russians. The Czech students declared solidarity with the student rebels of Western Europe. They, however, chant "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh."

So do many of the SDS youth in this country. Does that mean they want the North Vietnamese model for the U.S.? Wouldn't "Ivan, Ivan, Ivan Svitak" be a more meaningful slogan than "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" if SDS really means what it says?

Debray, meanwhile, says he thinks the CIA engineered the Czech crisis. They probably wish they could engineer such things. It would represent quite an improvement over their Bay of Pigs engineering. Debray reveals a basic contempt for people to think they could be so easily manipulated.

Reader
Florida

The three-day Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam here was a pretty miserable affair, all around.

There were about 2,000 delegates from about 25 countries present. But the majority of the crowd so far as we could tell were heavily Russian-oriented. There were lots of Du-Bois people around. And old Stalinists trying to be on all sides at once. One woman wore a McCarthy button on one lapel and a Dick Gregory button on the other.

There were the usual fights about Black Power and money was voted to have Bobby Seale of the Panthers come to speak.

One group tried to sell copies of your beautiful new pamphlet, "Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution," but could only sell half a dozen copies to that whole crowd. There were some SDS people there, but they were pretty effectively overpowered.

Outside, a group of Maoists was attacking Russia for being in "open all-around collusion" with the U.S. and accusing the delegates of being "Revisionists," "fascists" and "Zionists."

Inside, resolutions were being passed calling for the U.S. to abandon the Vietnam war and stating that the best way to free Vietnam was to struggle against "imperialist aggression" in all countries.

But we heard later that when one group tried to

introduce a resolution condemning the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, they were stopped from reaching the rostrum. The Panthers said the resolution would be embarrassing to the Vietnamese delegations.

I am sorry to sound so "old," but all I could think of was that we seem no further ahead than we were over 30 years ago when everyone allowed the Stalinists to kill the Spanish Revolution from the inside, just as the Fascists were killing it from the outside — on the grounds that an independent line would "hurt" the revolution.

It is shocking to see how easily some can break up the true struggles for freedom despite their claims to be "against imperialism everywhere" and "for freedom everywhere". When will the left ever learn that only an independent fight freed from ALL STATE POWERS can ever gain us true freedom?

Old Politico
Montreal

Disillusionment may come to many who have heretofore refused to a face facts vis-a-vis Russia. Yet the long list of inhumanities perpetrated by the Soviets should have been sufficient without the added weight of its military jack-boot in Czechoslovakia.

Surely, with Russian "Socialism" showing itself to be only Russian Imperialism in a Red Shirt, as Hitler's Nazism was German Imperialism in a Brown One, people more and more should be driven to the conclusion that "Imperialism is Imperialism" whatever color it operates under.

W.Z.M. and W.A.P.
California

The self-imposed myopia of some of the New Left is tragic.

Example: I saw a young SDSer from Ann Arbor on a recent TV interview program, who proudly confessed that before the program (on which an Indonesian ambassador was also to appear) they had tried to do a lot of homework about the slaughter of the Indonesian Communists after the downfall of Sukarno, in order to embarrass the ambassador with their questions.

To their surprise they could not find much in the bourgeois press about the slaughter. They thereupon decided to use the experience to point up the one-sidedness of the American press, instead. Their conclusion: the American press isn't interested in reporting the slaughter of Communists, but devotes headlines and pages of copy to the "nonsense" (sic!) that is going on in Czechoslovakia.

I was just sick to hear so

warped a statement from a supposed defender of "participatory democracy." In the first place, if the Indonesian tragedy proved anything, it proved where following the Maoist line had led the Indonesian CP. In the second place, to call the new page of freedom struggles that the Czechoslovak people are writing, "nonsense," proves where deciding everything only on the basis of whether it is anti-U.S., is leading the so-called "New Left."

Marxist-Humanist
Detroit

I heard a withering analysis by Bob Consodine of the Russians' hypocritical excuses for invading Czechoslovakia. It was excellent — as far as it went. But it lacked balance.

The U.S. uses the same parallel hypocritical excuses in, for example, invading the Dominican Republic, launching an attack on Cuba, toppling a Guatemalan government, carrying mercenaries to the Congo, or supporting a Hitler-loving dictator like Ky in Vietnam.

Consodine pointed out the trouble the next president will have dealing with the Kremlin, but doesn't seem to see the difficulties other countries will meet dealing with the next U.S. president.

That's why the Establishment's self-righteous condemnation of Russia is wasted breath. The world sees it as just so much more propaganda.

Reader
Virgin Islands

THE COP RIOT

When the American capitalists themselves have to admit that this is a white racist society (as the Kerner report did)—and that what happened in Chicago was a cop riot (as the Walker report just did)—what more is there to say?

Hospital Worker
Detroit

I have not found much that the Yippies say that I could agree with 100 percent, but when Abby Hoffman, said of the Walker report that it was fine as far as it went, but nothing more would be done about it than was done about the Kerner report—he sure hit the nail on the head this time!

Mother
Chicago

CANADIAN DEPORTATIONS?

We wish to bring to your attention the case of Robert Sherwood who is being charged with violating the Immigration Act (section 50f), namely, not divulging a criminal conviction upon his entry into Canada.

This so-called "criminal act" referred to, involved his participation in the civil rights movement in Chicago several years ago against segregated schooling, alongside such notorious persons as Dick Gregory, and the late Rev. Martin Luther King. He was found "guilty" of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest, and fined \$25. Even in reaction-ary Daley-ruled Chicago, it is not listed as a "criminal" offense. A reason for such victimization of Mr. Sherwood could be that he is a draft resister and a member of the Workers

News & Letters

Vol. 13, No. 10

Dec., 1968

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

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman

Charles Denby

Editor

O. Domanski

Managing Editor

Second Class Postage Paid
at Detroit, Michigan

Views

League of Canada, and is actively engaged in working class politics.

If the Government should prove successful in its court case it would create a dangerous precedent for all politically-minded immigrants in this country, and open the way for mass deportations as happened in the United States in the 1950's during the McCarthy period.

It is of the greatest importance that all socialists, trade unionists and black militants make clear their opposition to this undemocratic move of the Canadian Government.

Workers League
Toronto, Ontario

WAR AND PEACE

Despite all the nice talk about peace on the part of the statesmen, they have never ceased for a single second in their preparations for war. The invasion of Czechoslovakia by Russia gave the western powers an excuse for doing what they were already gasping to do. Feeling has been whipped up in order to justify the strengthening of the NATO forces.

Russia, on the other hand, has been showing a display of naval strength from the North Sea to the Caspian, through the Mediterranean.

British and American forces have been reinforced in the Mediterranean. America has resumed the supply of arms to Greece, and Russia and America are supplying arms at a feverish rate to Egypt and Israel, respectively. Threats and counter-threats are being made in regard to West Germany.

An explosion on a world scale is inevitable unless the people find a way to express their hostility to the war drive. The politicians and military men are only able to proceed in this way because we allow them to do it.

H. M.
Scotland

Everybody knows it's all a big game they're playing—with our lives as the stakes. LBJ could have told Thieu off any time he wanted to.

The workers in our shop think LBJ was really helping Nixon, not Humphrey. In fact, we can't really see much difference between Nixon and LBJ on foreign policy. It's only on the home front they may play the game differently.

Auto Worker
Detroit

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

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

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

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

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

MORALITY

I really appreciated Denby's article on his hospital stay. My mother had the same test two months ago and was quite shaken by the whole thing.

On top of that, the hospital lab made a mistake and for five days we thought she had diabetes and kidney trouble. Then a "consultant" doctor charged Medicare \$310 for reading the test and saying hello and goodbye to her for 21 days. These doctors that were so against Medicare are now going to use it to gouge the elderly.

I can't help wondering how people can speak of the immorality of "rioters" looting TV sets, but can accept the above doctor as a reputable member of the community.

Working Woman
New York

CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS

The ice between LBJ and De Gaulle sure melted fast once it was clear that De Gaulle was going to solve the French monetary crisis by taking it out of the hides of the workers. LBJ couldn't wait to send congratulations and praise De Gaulle's decisions. Capitalists sure know how to stick together in a crisis. I wish we were all as class-conscious as they are!

Worker
Detroit

MARXIST-HUMANISM

I broke with official Marxism some time ago, having become frustrated and disgusted with their arid dogmatism and empty polemics. The various communoid sects waste reams of verbiage castigating one

another an exonerating themselves from doctrinal heresy, while the real problems pass them by.

They are rationalists in a very bad sense. Somehow they have abandoned both the realm of theory and the world of social struggles.

That's where N&L appeals to me: an attempt at dialogue between revolutionary workers and intellectuals, with a lack of formality and cant on both sides.

By rescuing Marx from the dried-up minds of "orthodox" commentators and various types of opportunists and politicians, and examining and applying it anew, you are, I hope, contributing to a reappraisal of Marxism by society as a whole, which indeed seems already in the air.

New Reader
Arkansas

It is my feeling that Erich Fromm's book, *Marx's View of Man*, is good in correcting uninformed concepts of what this man taught. Socialist Humanism, in my opinion, has little attraction. It seems to be a hodgepodge of articles, many of them uninspired (not Raya Dunayevskaya's).

Perhaps this is due to the meaningless of the word "socialism" today, and also the association of "socialism" with state bureaucracy, which has a deadening effect, just to think of it. I think the word hampers communication.

Observer,
Florida

I liked Raya Dunayevskaya's article in *Socialist Humanism* very much. To use *Capital* as the basis of her discussion was the best way to show that Marx's "humanism" and Marx's "materialism" are not two entirely separate things. It was most interesting to read the essays written by those in Eastern Europe, as well.

Reader
Milan

I read an article about how "Reuther Fiddles While Auto Workers Burn" in a recent issue of *Progressive Labor*—and was struck with the contrast between these Maoists and your Marxist Humanist approach. Whatever the truth of the information they give, and in spite of all their noisy working class talk, they seem to feel it their role to give orders, tell workers, and the UAW what to do. There are no quotes from workers themselves, and individual workers in their article seem to have only the function of physical labor of carrying picket signs.

Reader
Florida

TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

Kolakowski On Alienation

(Ed. Note: The following review was originally written for "The Activist," student journal of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.)

THE ALIENATION OF REASON, A History of Positivist Thought, by Leszek Kolakowski. Translated by Norbert Guterman (Doubleday & Co., N.Y., 1968)

The name of Leszek Kolakowski, the most original and most controversial philosopher in Poland, first came to the attention of the American public in 1956, when the existential questions he had raised, as well as the Humanism of Marxism he tried to re-establish, came into head-on collision with official Communist doctrine. By the time the intellectual ferment in Poland reached its climax in the Hungarian Revolution, philosophy and revolution had indeed become inseparable. The Communist state labelled his views as "Revisionist" and Professor Kolakowski came under violent attack.

Today the philosophic ferment in Poland again coincided with youth unrest and economic crises preparatory to revolution, not only in Poland, but in Czechoslovakia as well. This time a strong dose of anti-Semitism was injected into the attack on Professor Kolakowski. He was expelled from the Communist Party, removed as head of the History of Modern Philosophy at the University of Warsaw, fired from any position at the University.

UNDER THE circumstances, it is only natural that the reader approaches a work by Kolakowski on several levels simultaneously. On one level runs a succinct narrative history of positive thought which differs sharply from academic texts on that subject in this country. There is nothing dogmatic about the views presented either from a Marxist or bourgeois vantage point. The deceptively simple style and the emphasis on the informational aspects of this history of a philosophic system so bent on "pure experience" and "demystification" of Reason, and seemingly so far removed from the concerns of Communism, do seem to add up to a subject with no inferences for Communism. By the time the reader reaches the last sentence of the work, however, he is startled by the reality, the timeliness, the oppressive presence of something unstated but implied.

"The philosophical work of our day," Kolakowski concludes, "has found itself caught—to a great extent under the influence of positivist criticism—between the philosophy of life and the lurid Manichean vision." (p. 219)

It is then that the reader decides he better retrace his steps to the beginning. It is then he notes the title of the book—*Alienation Of Reason*—and begins to feel that the author's critique of Positivism is an implied critique also of totalitarianism. It seems to this reviewer that Kolakowski is also asking the reader to work out some of the implications of the criticism of positivism for "our day."

IT IS QUITE a challenge to confront the book on that level, especially when one is conscious that it is not as easy to decipher Aesopian language in philosophic and political tracts in "our day" as it was during Tsarist days. All Lenin had to tell the readers when, after the revolution, he reprinted an old text, was for him to keep in mind Tsarist censorship, and for the word, "Japan," to read "Russia," or for the expression, "scientific philosophy" to read "revolutionary Marxism." Moreover, even were we able to read correctly the inferences, that is not all Leszek Kolakowski is saying, for this is a serious and original study of Positivism "in itself"—that is to say, outside of any relationship it might have to our day in state capitalist countries calling themselves Communist.

"It is possible to begin the history of European positivist thought almost anywhere," the author informs us, "for many strands we regard as of primary importance in contemporary positivist doctrines had antecedents in antiquity." (p. 11)

Space forbids a reviewer from attempting to follow the author in covering the breadth and scope of the work. I shall, therefore, limit myself to the central points which, in the view of Kolakowski, entitled Positivism to be considered in its "diachronic unity," despite the many transformations in each historic period not only from antiquity to Hume, but especially from August Comte who coined the words, "positive philosophy," to our day when it still exists under the shortened term, Positivism.

"Positivism," writes Kolakowski at the very start of his analysis, "is a collection of prohibitions concerning human knowledge." (p.9) The chief of these prohibitions is any consideration of universal concepts like Reason. Its demotion as an autonomous sphere, if not outright rejection on the ground that it could not be reduced to an observable fact, meant the discarding of everything that was not verifiable fact at the moment, and the elevation of science to a worship. Along with the elevation of science to a worship, this "philosophic, or, if you wish, anti-philosophic revolution," Kolakowski writes, has signalled the "going away with subjectivity." It is against this that Kolakowski's critique is directed.

NOTHING SO sustains his anger as a philosopher and as simply a human being: "The primary aim of this subjectivism without a subject was to formulate the idea of a 'pure' experience" (p. 104) as if thought is no more than a reflex "like a knee jerk" and, indeed, Positivism had made its aim "to track down those elements in the current scientific image of the world that had been 'thought into' it." (p. 104). Positivism was determined to root this out, considering that metaphysics as a whole belongs in the dustbin of the pre-scientific, pseudo-hypothesis and pseudo-problems. The trouble was, as Kolakowski beautifully demonstrates, that it wasn't only "metaphysics" that Positivists eliminated but all knowledge, including that which was more meaningful than science, but not empirically verifiable. Their abandonment of metaphysics, concludes Kolakowski, "applies not only to ontological and epistemological reflection but to the historical and humanistic disciplines, which the positivists lump together with metaphysics." (p. 198)

(Continued on Page 7)

A Thank You and a Reminder

We wish to thank those readers who responded so quickly to our Appeal for Help in continuing NEWS & LETTERS. It was especially good to receive so much help in the form of gift subscriptions which many of our readers ordered for friends they wanted to introduce to Marxist-Humanism.

We are still a long way from the amount we need, however. If you have forgotten to put YOUR check in the mails, please don't put it off. WE NEED YOUR HELP. WE CAN'T CONTINUE WITHOUT IT. SEND IT TO:

NEWS & LETTERS

415 Brainard St., Detroit, Mich. 48201

- I enclose \$..... as my contribution to keep News & Letters going.
- Please enter my renewal (), new subscription () for one year at \$1.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

Doing and Thinking Worker-Student Alliance Can Combat Wallace-ism

By Bernard Wendell

There has been much talk about and some action toward the formation of a worker-student alliance to revolutionize America. The Wallace phenomenon has put both the intentions and the understanding of student revolutionaries to a severe and possibly decisive test.

Wallace happily carried less of the white labor vote in the recent election than had been expected. Though his movement has receded, it is still present, waiting for an opportunity to expand. This reactionary phenomenon which reached out with a degree of success to Northern workers as well as to Southern poor whites will either overwhelm or deepen the commitment of young radicals to a worker-student alliance as America's only hope.

ORIGIN OF WALLACE

For students in particular the real meaning of Wallace-ism is very difficult to understand. Living as most students do in an atmosphere of abstractions and pure ideas, the reactionary ideology of the Wallace movement has prevented many of us from recognizing the fact that the Wallace movement has its origins in the unrest with the American system.

The New Left has not developed a program that relates to the dissatisfaction of the majority of Americans, that is, to the white workers. The New Left wasted too many vital years wallowing in notions of student superiority and muttering about "working class fascists."

Radical intellectual snobbery must not be allowed to get in the way. We must find the positive in the negative.

Obviously, there is nothing positive in the Wallace movement itself. However, it could only gain such working class support as it got by capitalizing on the large-scale workers, unrest against their insecure position in capitalist society and against the ruling politicians and the double-dealing labor bureaucracy, expressed in terms of opposition to the politically dominant liberal ideology of those groups.

Until an explosive break occurs, it is inevitable that the oppressed repeat many of the ideas of the ruling class. Until a society breaks down the dominant ideas are naturally those of the ruling class.

WALLACE OPPOSITION

It is vital that we as students oppose the Wallace movement. But we will get nowhere by reading with middle class intellectual arrogance and cracking clever jokes about Wallace and calling the workers who support him "rednecks" and "honkeys." Such middle class prejudice has been a great contribution to Wallace-ism's strength.

Wallace can only be opposed in the name of the great ideals for which the working class has always struggled. If such opposition is posed by student radicals

in terms of "black mass revolt vs. labor racism," we will never reach the workers. Opposition to Wallace can meaningfully be expressed only in terms of "black mass revolt and labor vs. racism," that is, in terms of the workers' own historic struggle against the division of the working class on racial lines by agents of the system in the interest of the capitalists. No real opposition to the Wallace movement is possible without faith that, as Raya Dunayevskaya put it, "the proletariat as a whole will regain its good class sense."

In our struggle against Wallace we must not be like the white liberals who are so obviously more afraid of their own people than of anything else. If radicalism is not based on the working class it is hollow abstract revolutionism based on nothing. The need for a working class basis in theory must always be kept in mind so that it can be consolidated in reality.

The struggle against Wallace and the anti-black, anti-student, anti-labor fascism for which he stands could signal the beginning of the pulling together of the student power, workers' power, and black power movements in opposition to the ideology and the movement that threatens all three with a dangerous policy of "divide and rule."



→ YOUTH

Cleaver: Moving Out of Race Hatred

(Editor's Note: We print below excerpts from Eldridge Cleaver's public speech for the Newton-Cleaver Defense Committee in Los Angeles on Nov. 17, a few days before his disappearance).

Good afternoon my fellow human beings. All power to the people! All power to the people!

Because Thursday's deadline is coming up, a lot of people are asking me these days how I feel about it. I'd just like to say that I'm happy about it. Because if anything that I've tried to do has caused them any trouble at all, I'm glad . . .

When I was committing crimes, I always had trouble with my parole officer . . . But they never took me back until I committed another crime. They never framed me.

I found out that when I got out and started talking about politics, started talking about freedom, started talking about the liberation movement . . . not only did I incur the wrath of my parole officer, but the entire department of correction . . .

THE TASK THAT is before us today is nothing more and nothing less than getting out of the bag of ethnocentrism and race hatred. Moving beyond that so that we can all realize our humanity and destroy utterly everything and anything, whether it be a political system, a police

force, a chief of police, a president, a Supreme Court, a United Nations, no matter what it is, if it stands in the way of the realization of these ideals, it has to go into the garbage can of history and we will not mourn its passing . . .

A lot of people don't understand how it is that the Black Panther Party, confronted by very vicious police forces, can maintain a consistency and refuse to go off into a racist bag.

I just want to say that Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, when they organized the Black Panther Party, did it after much experience in other organizations of black liberation. They checked out the operations of various ideologies. They speculated upon where all that would lead to.

THEY CAME TO the conclusion that it has always led to disaster when a party or a people, even out of desperation to be liberated, decided to practice the same philosophy that was practiced upon them, inflicted upon

them by the oppressor. And they understood that it's really not true when they say that you have to fight fire with fire—they knew that you have to fight fire with water.

So we have attacks from other organizations in the black community that have gone a little too far and that began to formulate and incorporate into their ideologies the principles of racism. But we never got uptight about the attacks . . . We understood that time would tell.

(We understood) that being consistent, taking a forthright position, and defending that position against all who attack us . . . was the principled way to do things. And that black people, in particular, were not going to buy racism because they have a history of struggling against racism. They don't want it. They're not going to have it.

They may be influenced to listen to it for a while, if it comes in a spectacular manner, but ultimately they are going to recoil against it . . .

Students at Cass March on Board

DETROIT, Mich.—On November 26 some three hundred Cass Tech high school students marched to the Board of Education building to demand that the board put an end to unnecessary spending of school money and to protest the board's plan for ending "good" education in our high schools.

The school system is spending some ten million dollars on a performing arts and music addition to an inner city school, Northwestern. Their plan is to get more white students into the all black school. But with the condition that Northwestern and other schools in the ghetto are in, no white, middle-class youth is going to go there. So the board's plan is already a failure. Northwestern, and the other schools, could use that money to improve their conditions, but the administration, as usual wants to recklessly throw away needed money.

Another issue Cass students are concerned about is that eventually the board will abolish Cass and send all of its "specialized" program to various high schools around the city. This will mean the end of Cass and the end of any hopes for a half-way decent education in Detroit. Cass is one of the few schools in Detroit where there is any real integration.

—Cass High Student

Quebec Students Battle for Increasing Voice in Schools

MONTREAL, Quebec — The Quebec Ministry of Education is experiencing a period of unusual quiet following its latest seige by angry CEGEP (junior college) students. At this moment, four of the CEGEPs have been closed due to lack of student "cooperation" and a reign of terror by the government prevails at most of the others.

Recent occupation at a dozen of the schools have been successfully crushed by the government, and only one unit—Vieille, Montreal—has achieved a lasting student voice in the day to day functioning of their school.

RULES AND THREATS

A government directive issued immediately after the students went back to their classes at most of the CEGEPs forbids unauthorized meetings, verbal or written criticism of administrators of faculty, and demands that classes be kept strictly according to the curriculum. The penalty for students and faculty who disregard these rules is expulsion from the school.

Thus the aftermath of weeks of occupation has been broken promises, increased polarization of the students, and a general disillusionment about the demands and leadership they had followed.

UGEQ (the Union General des Etudiants de Quebec) is almost completely ignored in any talk about the future. Local leaders have lost their following and a general chaos exists while stu-

dents decide where to go from here.

It is apparent from talking to CEGEP students who took part in the occupations that the present lull will not last for long. Students are already reorganizing and building their strength for the battle which lies ahead. None of the problems which made the occupations necessary has been solved, and the present repression can only bring more violent student reactions.

McGILL OCCUPIED

Meanwhile, at McGill University, the occupation of the Political Science Faculty enters its second week. Students are demanding one-third representation on all department committees. Students in English and Sociology have achieved parity with faculty in their departments. A recent occupation of Ottawa University failed to give students a meaningful say in their university education.

The coming Wednesday, Dec. 4, the Quebec Minister of Education Jean-Guy Cardinal is running in a by-election to fill the position held by the late Premier Daniel Johnson. Students have organized their own party — Pouvoir Etudiant — to oppose M. Cardinal. A victory for the Minister would give him a good opportunity to become the next Union Nationale provincial leader. A defeat could end his reign as Education Minister and would be a great victory for the students.

Whatever the outcome, the students' battle with the government and the administrators of the CEGEPs will continue, and the end is not yet in sight.

R. T., Montreal.

To How Many Thousands of Vietnamese Peasants

Gone are days of tears and days of the hearse,
Green has turned white while those young who once
Drank and laughed, lie now, sunken skin where
the clock's been forgotten over their tombs;

Thracian winds and frown October's moon of
Horror, carry no more burst surreal-
istic steel and tears, now staled
that were cried and sold to then another.

Remember the hearse fulfilled, dead with
Man and op'ning day, soft lined; yet the
Green has turned white then dry ash, for time's
Crystal black watch bells have been wound; alone
Night is soon to come, while Charon old torch
flourescent and blurred, crosses the Styx.

—Bill

New Issue Just Out
The student journal of
political affairs
THE ACTIVIST
One year's subscription, \$2
5 issues,
Send orders to
THE ACTIVIST
27½ W. College,
Oberlin, Ohio 44074

Two Worlds

Kolakowski On Alienation

(Continued from Page 5)

Thus, positivist theory gave up the potentialities of mankind for "facts" and anything that was not at the moment a fact had to be discarded, as was the case with Ernest Mach, a founder, at the turn of the century, of Empirio-Criticism, who, a scientist, said that the atom was but a "mental artifice." As against this type of mechanical materialism on the very eve of the nuclear revolution, Karl Marx, who lived when Newtonian mechanics dominated the age, said: "To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie." We have been living under this lie ever since: the cultural crisis manifested in the philosophy of positivism cannot be seen outside of the historical circumstances that gave rise to it.

KOLAKOWSKI implies, but does not explicitly state, that, at its very birth, "positive philosophy" was a conscious reaction against Hegel's "negative philosophy," that is to say, the dialectics which does not affirm, but negate, reality, i.e., the status quo. Stahl, the German counterpart of Comte, openly proclaimed his intention to destroy Hegelian philosophy because inherent in it was "the principle of revolution." It is true that Positivism destroyed also the metaphysical illusions in natural science and thus freed the scientific temper of the age. Kolakowski holds on to this merit of Positivism, rejecting, however, its worship of scientism. Toward the end of the work this rejection rises to a crescendo of emotion:

"Suffering, death, ideological conflict, social clashes, anti-theoretical values of any kind — all are declared out of bounds, matter we can only be silent about, in obedience to the principle of verifiability. Positivism, so understood, is an act to escape from commitments, an escape masked as a definition of knowledge, invalidating all such matters as mere figments of the imagination stemming from intellectual laziness. Positivism in this sense is the escapist's design for living." (p. 210)

And again: "The language it imposes exempts us from the duty of speaking up in life's most important conflicts." (p. 210)

The reader must always bear in mind that when Kolakowski writes about speaking out on today's conflicts, "our day" is never only a point of time, but also a point on the map of Europe, specifically the Communist state of Poland. Moreover, he must say what he has to say in terms of his subject matter, Positivism. The Positivist attitude to "metaphysics" is, precisely, the Communist attitude, so that when Positivists ascribe the failure of their proclamation of the end of "metaphysics" "once and for all," not to their scientific doctrine, but to "human stupidity," Kolakowski's remarks have a double edge to them: "They are not seriously interested in finding out why the social results of their work are so insignificant, nor why people continue to ask questions that science cannot answer." (p. 198)

THIS REVIEWER considers the above chapter, "Logical Empiricism: A Scientific Defense of Threatened Civilization," the most important chapter of the book. Both in its attack on science, "technological efficiency," and "the pragmatic interpretation of truth" as well as in the way the author relates Positivism to the specific historical period between the two world wars, Kolakowski is crying out his opposition.

But, suddenly, Kolakowski sees merit in Positivism: "The sheer rigor of the positivist rules has awakened intellectuals to their own responsibilities, and in my opinion have been of practical aid in counteracting attempts to blur the boundaries between the position of the scientist and the obligation of the believer." (p. 206)

Anyone who is acquainted with Kolakowski's most famous work during the 1957 period, *History and Responsibility*, can have no doubt about whom he is castigating. Moreover, Kolakowski returns to his critique of Positivism where institutionalized Communism can certainly see its reflection.

THIS QUEST for Reason and refusal to lose the identity of "Subject" will continue to "create" the individual as "something" quite unique, irresponsible, "negative," i.e., revolutionary, and pushing history forward. And Kolakowski, in conclusion, therefore, repeats the question that has been running like a red thread throughout his work: "How can we account for the peculiar fact that over many centuries human thought has ascribed to 'Reason' the ability to discover 'necessary' features in the world, and for so long a time failed to see that these features are figments of the imagination? The vast amounts of energy squandered in these explorations and the extraordinary tenacity with which they were carried on are worth pondering, all the more because the explorers were perfectly aware of the technological inconsequence of their efforts." (pp. 215, 216)

The reviewer must end with apologies to the reader for not letting him in on Kolakowski's highly original views on the very topic that would no doubt most interest the American reader — the chapter on Pragmatism. He will need to read this for himself and, since it is a field with which he is familiar, have the special pleasure of comparing his views with those of Professor Kolakowski. He will, in any case, find this experience especially rewarding because the excellent translation by Norbert Guterman will make him forget that he is reading a translation.

Czech Students Forge Links With Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

tion in the establishment of workers' councils as authority of enterprise self-government within the enterprises.

"9. Freedom of travel abroad will be guaranteed.

"10. In the field of foreign policy we must not take part in actions that are contradictory to the feelings of Czechoslovak people, the UNO Charter and General Declaration of Human Rights."

MODEST DEMANDS?

These demands may seem modest. Yet they are based on Czechoslovakia's internal situation. The student claim for recognition as a political force is revolutionary because it came as a complete surprise for the political leadership. At the very moment when politicians are cajoling the youth, this same youth turns against them.

All this happened at a point when no social group has emerged with a comprehensive, clear cut program. Workers, still influenced by the Communist Party, are partly disorganized and cannot claim a single organization to be their own. Intellectuals, as outspoken in their criticism of the large groups as possible, form a large pressure group but without a free press cannot influence public opinion. Farmers are almost without any political power at all.

The students acted as a very conscious and well-organized force indeed. They were quite aware that their demands would hardly be met. But, as one of their representatives put it, they "wanted to test their ability for action." They also wished "to test the nation's unity as well as the possibility to realize this unity throughout the nation." Set-

ting "rational unity" against the "emotional" unity following Aug. 21, the students tried to gain more self-consciousness as a step to future action.

The students deliberately sought allies, above all among the workers. Their flying delegations visited most of the big factories, especially in big cities like Prague and Brno. Many factories, on the other hand, sent representatives to some colleges.

Though not prepared for an all-out strike, the workers nevertheless were willing to openly show their solidarity by means of a token 15-minute strike on the third day of the sit-in, on Nov. 20. On the whole, about 150 factories—small as well as big—took part in some sort of a solidarity movement.

HIGH SCHOOL ALLIES

Another quite unexpected ally was found in the high school youth. This was surely the first time in Czechoslovakian history that high school students went on strike. With rare exceptions the entire body of university professors also stood unified behind the student action and behind the students' demands.

There were numerous solidarity manifestations on the part of other social groups and the public in general: one firm sent sausages to the strike committee of the Prague School of Economics; 7,000 eggs came from one agricultural cooperative alone; the Prague military hospital gave soup; bakers sent pastries.

Journalists, painters, writers and musicians visited the colleges to entertain the students and to ask for the students' opinions. A wave of identification with the students' demands went through Bohemia and Moravia.

The situation in Slovakia was rather different. University students there are not as tightly organized as their Czech colleagues. One of the key posts in the students' movement is being held by the son of Gustav Husak, the first secretary of the Slovak Communist party, a man deservedly called "neo-conservative." But a part of the Slovak universities went on strike anyway.

STUDENTS DEFY GOVERNMENT

The government was very much angered. Since the strike was extremely quiet on the outside and perfect order was kept inside the occupied buildings, there was no apparent reason to suppress the sit-in by force. However, from the point of view of the government, no political concession could be made.

The presidency of the government appealed, therefore, to the students to end the strike. In defiance of the government, the students, anxious to show their independence, answered by extending their sit-in one more day.

On Thursday, Nov. 21, the strike ended. This decision was preceded by meeting of student leaders with the leadership of the country, Secretary Dubcek and President Svoboda being among the present. Following the end of the strike the government promised to analyze the reasons of the sit-in and to meet and inform student leaders on political actions it is preparing.

Thus the student movement showed its relative strength and its ability to rally large masses behind its demands if these demands express the masses' desires. The significance of this quest for freedom cannot be overestimated.

Ireland's Catholics Protest Vicious Persecution

By Harry McShane
Glasgow, Scotland

While, with strong justification, we have opposed discrimination in many parts of the world of Jews, Negroes, and other racial minorities, we have overlooked the glaring acts of discrimination that take place every day across the Irish Sea.

There was discrimination against Catholics in Northern Ireland long before the country was dismembered, but the forces of "law and order" have been able, since 1920, to intensify the bigotry. The recent brutal attack on a civil rights demonstration, in Londonderry, spotlighted the situation for the people on this side of the Irish Sea.

Northern Ireland is the only place in the United Kingdom where every policeman is armed, and where persons can be held in detention without trial. The armed police are supplemented by the "B" Specials who are part-timers trained in the use of fire-arms.

Then there is the Special Branch always on the watch for "troublemakers." Clubs and other organizations not favorable to the to the views of the Unionist Party are banned. Men like the Rev. Ian Paisley, an apostle of anti-Catholic hatred, is allowed free scope for his activities.

ONE MAN, 16 VOTES

Constituencies are so arranged that a majority of Unionists are certain to be elected. Single persons who are not householders have no vote. In municipal elections a person in business can have as many as 16 votes. In Londonderry, two-thirds of the population are Catholics, but they can only elect eight members as against twelve by the other one-third of the population.

The allocation of houses is in the hands of the Mayor, who is

a member of the Unionist Party. Catholics are discriminated against in regard to housing and employment.

PARTITION

Religious intolerance was fostered by the opponents of Irish freedom and played a part in bringing about the fraud of Partition. It was the agitation of British and Irish Tories that gave rise to the suggestion that the North should be separated from the rest of Ireland.

The move by the Lloyd George Government was a fraud. Not only did it dismember Ireland, but Ulster was dismembered. Three counties of Ulster are part of the Irish Republic while the other six come under the Government of Northern Ireland. This was done by the British Government so as to ensure that the Tories, called Unionists, would be in power, and that she would have a military base in Ireland.

It should be emphasized that Partition did not have the support of a single political grouping in Ireland. Not one Irish M.P.—not even an Irish Tory—voted in the House of Commons for the Bill to impose Partition.

DIVIDE AND CONQUER

The religious issue is a false issue. Some of the outstanding

fighters for Irish freedom were non-Catholics. For many years, the Pope and the Irish hierarchy supported British rule in Ireland.

It suited the interests of the Irish employers and reactionary politicians that Catholic and Protestant workers fight each other. The suppression of Ireland, it should be recalled, started when England was a Catholic country.

The Catholic people of Londonderry have demonstrated acts of discrimination by the people in power. They have been met with police brutality.

It would be very foolish of us if we were to become complacent about the situation. Northern Ireland is allowed representation in the British House of Commons, and Britain subsidizes Northern Ireland to the extent of £100 million. For these reasons, if for no other, the British Government has a duty to do something about the scandalous situation in Northern Ireland. We should raise the matter in our trade unions and other working class bodies.

In regard to Partition, that is a problem for the Irish people to solve. It will not be solved if religious discrimination is tolerated. We must show our complete abhorrence of what is happening in Londonderry and in other parts of Northern Ireland.

Czechoslovakia:
Revolution and Counter
RevolutionForeword, by Raya Dunayevskaya and Harry McShane
The Current Crisis, by Ivan SvitakAt the Crossroads of Two Worlds, by X, Prague
Editorial Statement from News & Letters, Aug.-Sept. 1968

50c a copy

Bundles of 5—\$2

Order From: News & Letters, 415 Brainard,
Detroit, Mich. 48201

Special Offer

Two Works by Raya Dunayevskaya
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

(preface by Herbert Marcuse)

regularly \$1.98

and

LECTURE NOTES: LENIN ON HEGEL

regularly 50c

BOTH FOR \$2

from NEWS & LETTERS

415 Brainard Street
Detroit, Mich. 48201

Miners Must Control Safety

(Continued from Page 1)

production quotas and the fantastic profits they make from the labor of the coal miners.

WANT OWN CONTROL

During the United Mine Workers' convention held in Denver, Colo., this year, delegates demanded that UMW president, "Tony" Boyle, insist on a contract provision to give miners the power to enforce coal dust control measures (see p. 2 editorial, Nov. 1968 N&L). Boyle, instead, decided to bypass the rank-and-file and transfer the problem of dust control to the field of national legislation, by seeking an amendment to the federal mine safety laws.

What is much more revealing, however, is the difference between Boyle, speaking to miners at the UMW convention, and Boyle, speaking before TV cameras in Farmington, W. V., after the explosion. In Denver, Boyle told UMW convention delegates that the explosion and disease dangers of coal dust can no longer be accepted as "an inherent part of the industry." Before the TV cameras, he said, "... as long as we mine coal, there is always this inherent danger of explosion."

Nothing could be farther from the truth than the statement he made before the TV cameras, and what is more, every coal miner knows it. To be sure, so long as the present mine safety laws and their enforcement is concerned, the dangers of explosions will not only be there, they will be guaranteed to occur. This is so not only because there are not, and can never be, enough federal mine safety inspectors to enforce the laws, but also because they don't even enforce the present laws when they discover violations.

DAILY VIOLATIONS

There is not one single miner who works underground who does not know that from the time he goes into the mine at the beginning of his shift until he comes out, he will be violating safety laws and practices more than he will be following them. This is not because he wants to, but because if he does not, he will be discharged.

It is simply that if every safety practice prescribed by law was carried out, production and profits would be slashed, and the coal companies will never tolerate that. While it is true that some of the safety laws written in 1952 are outmoded and simply cannot be applied to conditions of today's automated coal mines, it is also true that even a completely new law, while certainly needed, will not solve the problem.

The basic problem is the same one that is at the root of every major problem in every major industry: the mine owners are not in business to save miners' lives or to keep them from being injured any more than the auto, steel, or other companies are in business to protect the health and welfare of the workers in those industries.

MONEY WINS

They are in business to make a profit. If it becomes a question of paying for needed safety equipment or losing production to be safe, there is no contest between the lives of men versus money—money always wins.

Money and coal company profits have been winning at the recent rate of about 220 to 250 miners killed each year, with the total to exceed 300 deaths this year. This does not include the high injury rate of course, which in 1967 maimed over 6,300 miners, nor the thousands who are uncounted but who die of lung diseases caused by long inhalation of the coal dust.

There are an estimated 90,000 coal miners who are suffering from such respiratory diseases, and whose lives will be cut short

by many years because of these infections. To give a long-range idea of the truly staggering toll in miners' lives that company contempt for safety has reaped, there have been over 100,000 coal miners killed underground since 1900, and over a million injured. **SINCE THE LAW**

It is also apparent from another set of figures: since the present federal mine safety law was passed in 1952, over 5,000 miners have been killed underground, and 250,000 seriously injured in accidents. This is the disgraceful record of safety in the too-bloody hands of mine management and its compliance with the law.

The mine owners are a powerful group, and they have successfully defeated every effort to strengthen mine safety laws in Congress. The owners of this multi-billion dollar industry do not only extend their influence into the halls of Congress, they literally dictate to state governors and legislatures in such states as coal rich West Virginia, the state producing the largest amount of coal in the nation.

And insofar as the Federal Bureau of Mines is concerned, even Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin felt forced to charge on the basis of its records that "The bureau appears to be little more than a coal industry mouth-piece, failing to foster safety studies, failing to take the initiative in recommending stronger legislation to the Congress, and failing to enforce existing laws." **ONLY 18 "SAFE"**

An example of how lax the federal mine inspectors are can be seen from their own records of inspection last year: of the 5,400 underground coal mines inspected, only 18 were found to be free of law safety violations, or less than one-third of one percent! Major violations were found in 82 percent of the mines—but not one was closed down, despite the fact that federal mine inspectors have the authority to order a mine closed if there is "imminent" danger.

Can anyone believe that there could be these thousands of violations if coal management even remotely considered it important at all? Management merely considers the inspections as nuisances, and certainly nothing that has to be complied with. They have this attitude because it has been confirmed in their experiences with state and federal inspectors.

What may be even more revealing is that inspectors will often call mine management to alert them of inspections. This, of course, gives management an opportunity to correct some of the more obvious violations that have usually existed for many months. Even so, the thousands of violations are still found. **KNEW OF VIOLATIONS**

In the Jamison No. 9 mine, for example, the reports of the federal mine inspector during examinations in August showed repeated visible violations of both unsafe accumulations of loose coal dust and a lack of rock dust, a limestone powder which is required to be scattered in the mine in such quantities as to prevent the coal dust from exploding. These, of course, are among the most serious of violations, and they can remain uncorrected only at the peril of the miners' lives. The failure to correct them at the Jamison mine is tragically apparent.

Safety in the mines can only be enforced by those whose lives depend upon safe conditions, the rank-and-file coal miners who are at the point where they can effectively do something about it, at the face of the coal. So long as it takes for them to win this power to make mine safety a reality, so long will the daily underground carnage and death continue.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

Protests in Russia Expose Growing Discontent

The funeral of Aleksei Kosterin, a Russian writer with 52 years membership in the Communist Party before his recent expulsion, became the scene of the most open protest against Russian totalitarianism to be seen in recent years. The brief eulogy was delivered by his old friend, Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, who recently led another demonstration at the trial of five people arrested for protesting the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

While 300 looked at the casket surrounded with wreaths bearing slogans "For his struggle against Stalinism" and "From his comrades in the prisons and camps," Major General Grigorenko, now dismissed from the Red Army, delivered a ten minute eulogy, despite numerous attempts by the authorities to interrupt him.

"In farewells it is usually said, 'Sleep quietly, dear Comrade.' We will not say this,"

ITALIAN STRIKE

Over 12 million Italian workers, from one end of the country to the other, conducted a one-day general strike for the purpose of obtaining higher pension and social security benefits and to protest the ever-rising cost of living.

The students left the universities and high schools and marched alongside the workers to support their demands and to add one of their own: an end to the antiquated and inadequate educational system. For 24 hours the entire country was at a standstill and the result — the government resigned.

It has been said many times that Italy was on the threshold of revolution, yet the last people to call for it would be the leadership of the so-called radical parties, the Socialists and Communists. A five-day debate in the United Socialist Party of Italy agreed on only one thing, to remove "United" from their name. The disgusted rank and file threw their delegate badges at the platform, shouted "farce" and "fakers" and broke up the party conference.

Little is expected from the new Italian crisis except another compromise government, the 29th since World War II. So long as the Italian fat cats get fatter at the expense of the workers and the Italian political parties are what they are, institutions to maintain old political leaders in power, there can be no change.

The one new encouraging sign is the new unity of workers and students, which united as they are, could overthrow the old political leadership, and the government, and get the church off their backs.

DETROIT DAILY

The Detroit News, the more reactionary of the two Detroit daily newspapers, is girding itself for war against the black community. After depriving the people of the city of news during a nine-month newspaper strike, the fearful management replaced the glass windows around their building

began Grigorenko, glancing down at the visage of his friend. "In the first place, he will not listen to me. He will continue to fight, anyway. In the second place, it is impossible for me without you, Alyosha. You sit inside me, and you will stay there. Therefore, do not sleep, Alyosha! Fight, Alyosha! Burn all the abominable meanness with which they want to keep turning eternally that damned machine against which you fought all your life."

Grigorenko urged the listeners to work for the persistent development of genuine Leninist democracy and denounced the current totalitarianism that hides behind the mask of so-called Soviet democracy, as its antithesis.

He condemned the regime in which Aleksander Solzhenitsyn is unable to publish his works, while the consensus of the Soviet literary community claims he is the country's most important writer. He praised

other writers, now in jail for criticizing the regime or opposing the Czechoslovakian invasion.

Among those present were a group of Crimean Tatars, whose rights had been defended by Mr. Kosterin in his writing. Kosterin had, since his release from Stalin's prisons, defended various national minorities persecuted by Stalin and never fully rehabilitated by the present regime. Kosterin was among the 12 Soviet intellectuals who sent a letter to the Budapest meeting of the pro-Moscow Communist Parties in February protesting "the trampling on man in our own country."

It is inspiring to see men like Grigorenko, Kosterin and hundreds of other fearless fighters raise their voices in protest under the very noses of the totalitarian, de-humanized regime and suffer imprisonment or death rather than give up the principals of Leninist democracy.

with concrete block, installed steel doors, posted guards in the lobby and will permit no one into the upstairs offices without a special security pass.

The newspaper, which prints a daily "crime blotter" article which consists of a long list of muggings, holdups, rapes and murders with the details of the racial origin of the victims and accused assailants, has aroused the ire of the entire Negro community, which is boycotting the paper.

One editorial employee commented, "This is very demoralizing. We make jokes about it because you have to laugh so you don't cry."

A disgusted reporter commented, "There are more important things to do in this city than to brick up windows and wear I.D. cards."

NAACP IN TROUBLE

The dismissal of Lewis M. Steel from the legal staff of the NAACP for writing an article critical of the Supreme Court, has touched off an explosion inside the organization that has resulted in the resignation of the entire legal staff.

If the dismissal of Mr. Steel had taken place under similar

circumstances in any other bourgeois organization, the hue and cry could have been justly raised that his civil rights had been grossly violated since neither Mr. Steel or his superior had been notified of the dismissal. That it took place in the NAACP makes the violation of human rights even more flagrant.

The dispute brings to a head the basic differences within the organization between the old guard, who believe that all civil rights cases must be fought before the courts, and the younger elements, who believe that a more militant approach with the full utilization of mass protests is a more effective method of struggle.

The recent condemnation by the national executive board of other more militant black leaders marked the first open split in which one segment of the black community has openly attacked another.

"The problem," said one young Negro lawyer, "is that the NAACP, and especially its board of Directors, is, in effect, a de facto arm of the Federal Government. Why else would they find it necessary to defend the Supreme Court?"

Special Offer—For Holiday Giving The American Journalism of Marx and Engels

(33 articles on world events by Marx and Engels for N.Y. Daily Tribune)

Edited by Henry M. Christman, New American Library, hardcover . . .

Only \$3.95 regularly \$6.95

Order From: News & Letters

415 Brainard, Detroit, Mich. 48201

Name
Address
City State Zip