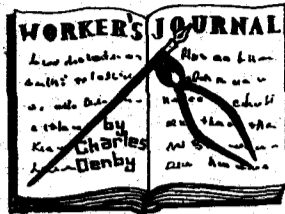


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## Health hazards a slow death for workers

By Charles Denby, Editor

I have just finished reading an article from the New York Times of March 12, dealing with occupational health and safety standards for workers in industry. The article began by saying: "The recent discovery of fatal liver cancer among vinyl chloride workers has focused renewed attention of government, labor, industry and medicine on the thousands of known, suspected and yet unsuspected health hazards that face 60 million working Americans.

"Despite the passage three years ago of the Occupational Safety and Health Act, granting every American the right to work without job-induced threats to life and health, the overwhelming majority of workers are not yet protected by the law's provisions. For lack of this protection, hundreds of workers are dying each day from occupational diseases."

### SAFETY LOSES TO PRODUCTION

The report is disturbing, but many workers have known this for years. Even after making occupational safety and health codes into law, the big question is having it enforced on the job in the plants. Any time a worker refuses to work a job because of health hazard, and that operation is vital to production, some worker will have to do it, or be fired.

Several years ago, workers struck over this issue at a Chrysler plant. The grievance of the Chrysler worker went to a Supreme Court Justice. The Justice ruled that a worker could not be forced to work under a job-induced threat to life and health, but workers have to have absolute proof of this before they can refuse to do that work.

One worker answered by saying, "What this really means is that a worker has to get seriously injured or killed before he can refuse to work on a dangerous or hazardous job." Even then the company and the courts, with the help of union bureaucrats, will find some loophole in any federal law to force workers to perform a hazardous job, as long as it is related to production standards.

### WHERE IS SAFETY MAN?

When the union actually represented workers in production, a worker would call the company safety man on some hazard, and if it was not corrected at once, the union would shut down the operation until it was corrected. Today there is no such thing.

Practically every worker who spends 15 years or more in a factory contracts some type of occupational health disease. I have met and talked with many workers, some who are still in plants and mines and steel mills, as well as retired workers. Practically every

(Continued on Page 6)

## General strike threat wins victory in San Francisco

San Francisco, Cal.—On March 16, 15,509 city workers of San Francisco won pay raises of \$600 each, a dental care plan, and an increase of 12.85 percent toward their pension plan. It took nine days of extensive solidarity—and only when a general strike was on the order of the day, was victory assured.

More than 100 union representatives recommended that the S. F. Labor Council sanction a strike for the city and county employees, the bulk of whom are in the Civil Service Maintenance Union, the hospital workers, the Civil Service Association, and Social Service Employees. When chairman Crowley of the S. F. Labor Council asked for an additional 24 hours delay for negotiations, the service employees wildcatted immediately. Every other union followed and demanded that a 22-member rank and file committee be added to the official negotiations committee.

The teachers, who were planning a strike a week later for their own demands, immediately joined the walkout. The municipal bus drivers gave up \$50 pay per day to respect the picket line, BART was closed down, and 500,000 daily riders were left to get around

# 10¢ NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

VOL. 19—NO. 3

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APRIL, 1974

## Nixon - Kissinger tell Latin Americans: U.S. will continue to rule hemisphere

By Eugene Walker

The meeting in Mexico City at the end of February between Secretary of State Kissinger and the foreign ministers from 24 Latin American nations, far from being a "new dialogue," had as its background the old realities—the domination of Latin America's economic and social aspirations by the U. S. and its most recent manifestations in the right-wing militarization of Latin America.

The military-led counter-revolution in Chile, the Peronist consolidation of power in Argentina, the rise of the military in Uruguay, the continued military dominance in Brazil, were the climate in which the foreign ministers met.

### REVOLT IN BOLIVIA

This is not to say that other voices cannot be heard in Latin America. The farmworkers who mobilized by the thousands in Bolivia spoke out clearly. Faced with a decreed 100 percent rise in the price of basic food, a rise which threatened the daily existence of the peasantry, they moved to take matters into their own hands. Six thousand manned barricades on the road into Cochabamba, Bolivia's second largest city. They demanded the resignation of the military's President Banzar, and called for the establishment of a worker-peasant government.

In solidarity with the farmworkers, the tin miners went out on a 48-hour wildcat strike and workers at a shoe factory went out on strike. After pretending to negotiate, the military responded with tanks and armored cars. Dozens were killed, hundreds wounded.

The crushing of the Bolivian revolt had its precursor in the murder of the Chilean revolution. In the few months since the Chilean military overthrew the Allende government, a state of siege has been in effect. The military governs by decrees carried out from the national seat of power to the smallest town by military appointees, mainly active or retired officers. The university is now under firm military direction after an anti-Marxist purge of hundreds of professors and thousands of students.

### CHILEAN LABOR SMASHED

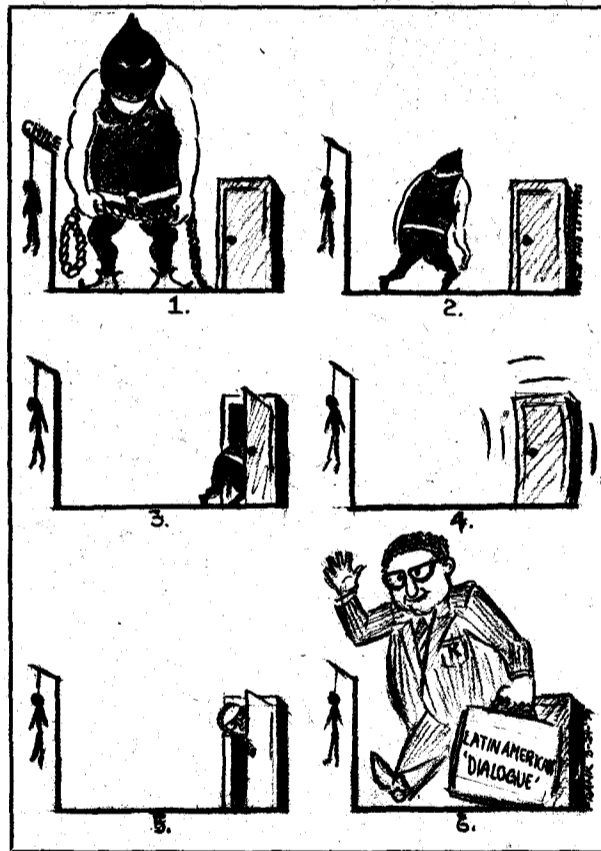
Labor union activity remains dormant after disbanding of the largest organization and a prohibition of strikes and unauthorized meetings of workers. Terror has been used at factories that had been taken over by workers during the Allende government.

Thousands of political prisoners are in the Santiago penitentiary, prison camps in the Northern desert, and in military garrisons throughout the country. Estimates on political prisoners run upwards of 10,000 who have not been charged with a crime and who have no dates set for either their prosecution or release.

The Chilean poor have faced price rises since the coup of 250 percent for bread, 600 percent for cooking oil, 1,400 percent for sugar, 800 percent for chicken.

### ARGENTINE LEFT SUPPRESSED

In Argentina, the Peronist consolidation of power has meant an attempt at immobilizing the left. Using the excuse of a guerrilla attack on an army garrison, Peron



Quick-Change Artist

if they could. The San Mateo Alameda Labor Council was considering closing down the S. F. Airport. When pickets appeared on the docks, they were sure to win the support of the longshoremen and warehousemen, which would close down the Port of San Francisco.

Those already on strike joined the picket lines: Sears strikers; the United Farm Workers; the Home-makers Association — domestic workers who had just won their first victory in history. The picket lines kept growing, absenteeism was at an all time high. It was then that the all-night negotiations session recognized the power of solidarity of labor, and victory was assured for the strikers.

Vicious political infighting was taking place in every area, including between the rank and file and the union leadership (long time supporters of Mayor Alioto—who at first proclaimed "no police as strikebreakers," and later reneged). Governor Reagan said "Send the troops — public employees have no right to strike." The S. F. Board of Supervisors was split three ways, and ended up voting 8 to 3 for the workers' demands. The S. F. Chamber of Commerce is suing the unions involved for one billion dollars a day and trying to get court

(Continued on Page 8)

(Continued on Page 8)

## Fear of philosophy stops WL at 'culture'

The following is an excerpt from RAYA DUNAYEV-SKAYA's introduction to a collection of letters written to her by members of News & Letters Women's Liberation Committees. The pamphlet is available from News & Letters for 50 cents.

If the uniqueness of our age is the elemental movement from below meeting an original movement from thought itself; if this unique interpretation of the "Absolute Negativity" as new beginning relates not only to "the woman question" but to the liberation of humanity; and if, nevertheless, the validity of an independent women's movement is integral to what Marx called the "quest for universality," we have something great, something truly liberating to project . . .

So why should we be self-conscious about Hegel's dictum, "individualism that lets nothing interfere with its universalism, i.e., freedom?" And why not expose the other groups whose fear of philosophy is, in fact, fear of revolution, and proves their middle-class nature that stops at Culture?

One way of rephrasing the question — and working out the answers — is what is the relationship of philosophy to "culture"? Every time a new force arises it is most natural and correct for a new pride, a new awareness to be born. Whether that be "Black is beautiful," . . . or "I am woman . . . I am invincible" — it is voiced loud and clear and repeated over and over again.

What made Marx's singling out labor as the key to total transformation of society unique was that he did not go on to deify labor, as "culture" goes on to declare the Particular to be the Universal. Rather, in his insistence on the pivotal role of labor, he pointed to production, i.e., the objectivity of that Subject. The proof of the uniqueness of the role of labor was that it negated itself, negated class society, and, therefore, became the new beginning of the true human dimension freed from all "pre-history."

What culture didn't ever achieve was the transformation of the world, the pulling out root and branch all the old, the creation of totally new human foundations. Whether it was the Enlightenment preceding the French Revolution or Romanticism following it at the turn of the 18th century, or "proletcult" in the 20th century, not to mention Mao's "Cultural Revolution," culture, at best, was "The Great Refusal" and, at worst, escapism—via capitulation to what is! There just is no substitute for revolution.

When even a Hegel whose genius did create the dialectic, "the algebra of revolution," had to escape to "pure thought" once he didn't turn to proletarian revolution, how can present-day individual "alternate lifestyles" with capitalism intact do otherwise?

Marx's genius was greater because he related to the elemental revolt and on that Subject recreated the dia-

## Wounded Knee reveals depth of Indian women's struggle

The trials of 110 Federal cases arising out of the Wounded Knee liberation have begun. The 110 men and women range in age from teens to middle age. Some are long-time activists on the reservation, others were making their first political stand for the civil rights of Indian people.

Many of those charged tried to bring food, medicine and clothing into the liberated area and face sentences of five to 35 years on various charges.

What has seldom been pointed out in the non-movement press is the fact that many of the defendants are women, many with small children, who were stirred to their first active seeking of justice for Indian people by the inaction of authorities in the brutal slaying of Raymond Yellow Thunder in 1972. The following is excerpted from a statement by a Lakota woman participant at Wounded Knee:

"This tiny piece of land was surrounded by U.S. troops, armored personnel carriers, helicopters, a daily barrage of bullets, a blockade of all medical and food supplies. No services were supplied except by the Oglala people in their own independent nation.

"For the first time in many years, the Oglala people could organize themselves according to their ancient spiritual values and ways of life — the Indian Way. We were free! It was the first time we had ever known freedom. We ran a hospital, a school for our children; we had a common commissary, we ran our own security force to enforce our borders.

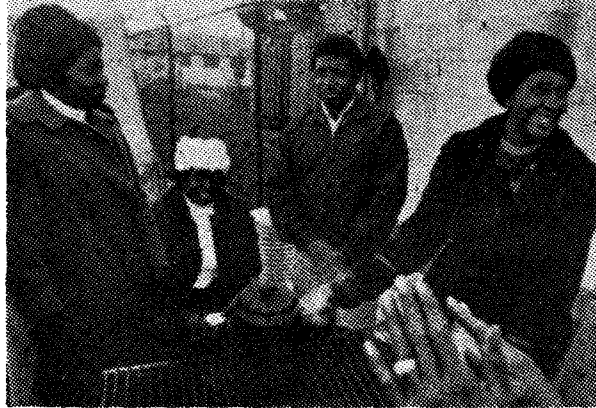
"People got married, babies were born in a free land. For 71 days there was power in the hands of the Indian people. Men and women stood side by side in the kitchen, in the bunkers, on patrol, in the hospital and in the schools, and at the constant negotiations with the United States government. The governing body of the Oglala Independent Nation consisted of every resident."

— American Indian Movement (AIM)

lectic. He saw at once that the overthrow of the old had to undergo "second negation," a historic transcendence. "Human power beginning from itself" followed and climaxed (1) the recognition of Man-Woman as the fundamental relationship and, (2) a class-less society as the only ending to "pre-history" where first individualism and Universality, objectivity and subjectivity, would be one — self-development of all innate talents.

For us, for this moment of development of Women's Liberation when both the total emphasis on male chauvinism and "invincibility" of woman have brought the Movement to an impasse, philosophy and revolution can become the unifying force and the unfoldment of ever-new passions and forces for changing the world if we learn to replace fear of philosophy with its practice.

## WL NOTES



Birmingham strikers warming up on picket line.

Foundry workers, 60% of whom are women, struck Stove and Range Iron Foundry in Birmingham, Ala. Some conditions they protested were low starting pay, few raises for women, racism and sexism in hiring and promotions, unsafe working conditions and company paternalism—as well as apathy on the part of the union. Workers banded together and drew up their own contract.

A stamp commemorating Rosa Luxemburg, one of the few women recognized as a revolutionary theoretician, is causing an uproar in Germany. Because she was murdered for her revolutionary activities, some see the stamp as evidence of "radicals" supposedly infiltrating the government through Brandt's Social Democratic Party. Luxemburg was a member of the revolutionary left wing of the Social Democratic Party before she founded the Spartacist Union with Karl Liebknecht during World War I.

A one-day women's strike is planned for May 26 (Mother's Day) in France. The strike is to oppose the idea of woman-as-object and to call an end to discrimination against women. Women will be called on to stop work in offices, factories, or homes; to boycott shops and to refuse "marital rights" and other sexual favors.

In Ottawa, Canada, 2,000 civil service secretaries marched on Parliament Hill. They were protesting the fact that a secretary's pay and ability is decided according to the rank and pay of the man she works for. The women objected to "classifying secretaries . . . in the same fashion as the boss's furniture."

## Rotten jobs for youth

Hartford, Conn. — The job I have now, as a supermarket checker, is a job that is held predominantly by young people — young women in particular. There are many other types of work reserved mainly for young people — less desirable waitress jobs; work at take-out food chains, or part-time jobs at odd hours like stock work, newspaper carrier, etc.

These jobs have many things in common. They are all hard physical work, with extremely low pay, no benefits, no overtime pay, and they are the only jobs students and other youth can get.

Young people are automatically not hired for many jobs. One high school drop-out I know was told "we never hire anyone under 18" even though the legal minimum age for that job is 16.

I've heard the argument that young people are not supporting a family, so why should they get high paying jobs because they are only for extra money. But, most of my friends who work are either supporting themselves, contributing very needed money to their families, or putting themselves through school.

People say that there are far too few decent jobs to go around. They should just say that everyone has a right to a living wage with decent working conditions.

—Young woman worker

## WAY OF THE WORLD

### Hitler's kind still around

by Ethel Dunbar

I was listening to Lou Gordon's TV show recently. One of his guests was a racist white man from Georgia, who is the chairman of this party that wants to run every Jew and Negro out of this country. I got so mad listening to that maniac. It made me sick to see people stating openly and in public that they have more hate in them, than Hitler had.

This madman said that he is running for some political office in Georgia, and hopefully from there to President of the USA. He said that if he were President, he would take away all property from Jewish people and send them to Israel. This plan was a modified version—the first plan was to exterminate all Jews. I wondered how Lou Gordon, who says he is Jewish, could have this man on the show and talk with him.

After he got done with the Jews, he said that Black people are not human beings, because they murder each other, and in recent years they have started to murder white people. All of my life, whites have been murdering Blacks, and most of the time with no retaliation from Blacks and no prosecution of the white killers.

He also said that he used to be a Communist hater, but now they are OK because they are against Israel and because of the treatment Jews are now getting in Russia.

Lou Gordon asked him where he came from, and finally pinned him down that his grandparents came here from England. He said that the Jews just followed the white people over here. He couldn't say that the Black people followed the whites over here, because they were brought here by the whites as slaves.

I feel that although Hitler is dead, the truth is that there are some just like him that are still alive.



## International Women's Day

NEW YORK, N. Y. — The International Women's Day march drew 300 to 400 here on a miserable, rainy day. It really showed the roots of the women's movement in New York City, how it started with the 1857 garment workers' march.

They started at the site of the Women's House of Detention, went on to the site of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory where there had been the terrible fire, on to A&P for the United Farm Workers, and to Klein's for Farah.

The speakers were good, too — one from Ireland, one from Vietnam who was very moving on the situation there now, a woman who had been in jail in a Panther case, and a farmworker.

DETROIT, MICH.—International Women's Day was celebrated in Detroit with strong emphasis on its American roots in working women's fight for their human as well as labor rights.

After a brief presentation on the history of International Women's Day, there was discussion by a panel including a Black welfare activist from West Side Mothers and a Chicana organizer from the United Farm Workers.

In this year's celebration of March 8, there was a new seriousness in the attempt to move away from strictly "cultural" activities and to look for a way to link up with Black and working women.

E. OAKLAND, CALIF. — The Third World Women of the Bay Area held their own celebration of International Women's Day with a theme taken from the first Black newspaper, published in 1827, the Freedom Journal: "Too long have others spoken for us."

Over 1,000 women and men of all complexions attended. Photo displays movingly depicted the history of Third World women in the U. S. The pungent skits hit at sexism, the educational system, welfare, women at home and on the job, unemployment, and the entire capitalist system of oppression.

If you have a story, or want to contact News & Letters Women's Liberation Committees in San Francisco, Connecticut, Detroit, Los Angeles or New York, write to the addresses in the box on page 3.

## GM South Gate: Small cars mean automation, lay-offs

By Felix Martin

South Gate, Cal.—Not only are the oil companies using the energy crisis to do away with their competition, but also the large manufacturing companies, under the impact of the energy crisis, are going to more automation to do away with workers.

Before the oil crisis we were making large cars—Chevrolets, Pontiacs and Buicks at GM South Gate. We had about 3,600 men and two shifts. Since the crisis hit, the second shift has been abolished and over 2,000 have been laid-off. Those of us left have worked only three weeks since Dec. 14, 1973.

I was talking to one of the foremen recently, and he said that when we come back for the new model year in August we will be back to two shifts and producing a small car, the Vega. I asked whether that meant GM would be calling back those laid-off. But he said they will only be calling back at most 400 of those laid-off.

### BODY SHOP AUTOMATION

It seems that the body shop is almost going to be eliminated by automation. There is going to be no solder plate, no solder grind booth, no pickup men who now

## No layoff notice at Uniroyal

Detroit, Mich.—Everybody I've talked to is pretty disgusted over the recent layoffs here at Uniroyal. The one thing they all tell me is "never trust anything the company says! Only believe it if you hear it on the news."

This reaction came about because Uniroyal laid off about 250 workers with only three days' notice. But, workers have come to expect this kind of stuff from Uniroyal—people are always being laid off with no notice or being sent home after four hours. And with this kind of uncertainty plus what's happening in other plants, most workers are saying "don't believe anything you hear . . . until you get official notice."

This layoff was caused by speed-up, no matter what the company says. Most of the workers laid off were in the radial tire department. Although radials are really selling today, this department is the most automated. In radial, tires are built on a dual-drum machine where one worker turns out over 200 tires a day. These machines are very fast, too fast for one person. But, that's why Uniroyal could lay off 250 people.

work soft metal. All that will be left will be a few door hangers and hard metal finishers. The body shop now has over 200 men on a shift. The vast majority will be eliminated—over 400 for two shifts. The exact number eliminated isn't known. But we know that with GM, the amount left will be the bare minimum.

Already they are working in the body shop to begin the change.

There is a lot of mixed feelings among those who are still left in the plant. The smaller car means having work. But we know all the trouble they had in Ohio when Vega workers were forced to wildcat at Lordstown because of the automated production there. We can expect Hell when it comes out here. And it shakes the workers up. No one knows who is better off—the guys who are out of the plant getting SUB but not having a job, or those left who are going to have to try and keep going on the line but aren't sure whether they will be able to keep up.

### WHO PAYS FOR LAY-OFFS?

Half of the workers in our plant will be without a job. If this was a national trend we would end up with 50 percent of all workers, out of work. Will the government tax the corporation's extra profits to take care of those laid-off workers and their families? No, it will be those still working who will pay more to feed and clothe those out of work. Those working will end up supporting two families.

In switching to smaller cars GM is reorganizing production. And it is a reorganization which is bringing in more automation, putting workers out on the street and forcing further speed-up on those workers who are left. Everytime this system faces a crisis, their solution means bad news for the working people.

Local News & Letters Committees can be contacted directly in the following areas:

**SAN FRANCISCO:** PO Box 77303, Station E, San Francisco, Cal. 94107

**CONNECTICUT:** PO Box 291, Hartford, Conn. 06101 (527-9868)

**LOS ANGELES:** PO Box 24371, Los Angeles, Calif. 90024

**DETROIT:** 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit 48207 (961-1010)

**NEW YORK:** PO Box 5463, Grand Central Sta. New York, N.Y. 10017

## FROM THE AUTO STOPS

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—We have all heard that on March 25 approximately 1,000 more workers will be laid-off at Fleetwood. The word is that the line speed will be slowed down to 48 jobs an hour. The committeeman came around in my department and said that the workers laid-off would be from 1967 up. With the layoffs at Fleetwood and Cadillac Motors and all the other plants in the Detroit area, a lot of people are going to be on the street this summer.

There was a discussion in my section the night we got the news. A Black worker predicted: "It's going to be a hot summer." A white worker said: "There's going to be a revolution." Even people who are usually quiet are mad as hell. After our 26 weeks of benefits run out and there are no jobs available, the only thing we have left is the welfare.

At the union meeting that was held last Sunday, Jim Adams announced the new lay-offs. He said that in April, the plant might be down to one shift and then 2,500 union members at Fleetwood will be on the street.

### Chrysler Mack

I have worked in this plant for nearly 30 years. In my early years I never thought I would live to see the day when the company would control and dominate workers with the blessing of shop stewards and committeemen.

I am working on a job which was a seven-man operation before the lay-off. Now it is a four-man operation. When we yell for our representatives they never come, so we rush into management's office with our contract. The supervisor counters with the supplemental agreement to the contract, showing us we do not have a leg to stand on. He only reads, "Management is accountable for all working assignments."

All workers who have been out of the plant on dis-

ability are back working. Some who have been out for four years had to come back or lose their jobs. It makes one sick to see a person work in pain.

The union (in other words, us) paid for Jim Adams to go all the way to Dallas, Texas, to the GM Council meeting, and all he had to report was that no one in the whole UAW officers knew what to do about the lay-offs.

Out of 5,000 members of UAW Local 15 you would expect the union hall to be packed due to the lay-off crisis. But there were only 42 people at the union hall, and that includes the union reps. Everybody is aware of what kind of union we have. That's why the members don't even bother to come to Local 15 when there is a crisis.

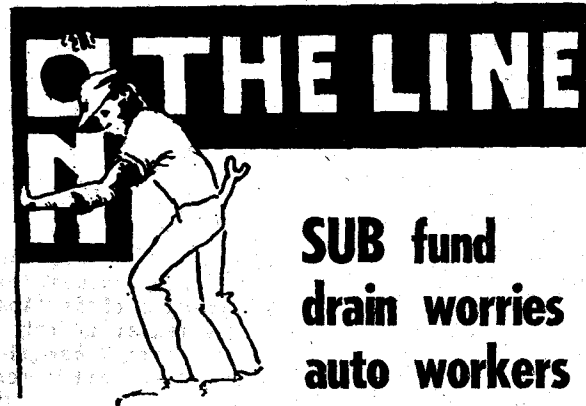
If we have a union, it is the workers in the plant. Let's get ourselves together.

—From FLEETWOOD WORKERS SPEAK  
P. O. Box 27004

Detroit, Mich. 48227

The union is nothing but a dues collection agency. All they can boast about is how much overtime they made last year that brought salaries up to \$20,000. Workers are going to be forced to revolt to change their conditions in these shops.

—Mack worker



by John Allison

The United Auto Workers union is planning to have its convention in Los Angeles this June, and one of the top subjects will be supplemental unemployment benefits (SUB) because SUB funds are in danger of being wiped out in its present form.

Remember the Guaranteed Annual Wage? Well, unemployment compensation and SUB were supposed to take the horrors out of lay-offs. So long as lay-offs were limited to model change-over and a work force cut back here and there, it appeared that everything was under control.

### SUB MAY GO BROKE

Everything has changed with the huge lay-offs. The matter of numbers has made the SUB fund look like the banks in the depression. There's just so much money that goes into the SUB fund, and if the crisis continues and the old timers are laid-off late in the fall, the SUB fund will be broke.

Workers are also asking why there are so many funds to contend with when they're laid off. You have SUB, unemployment compensation, food stamps and welfare. Everything is at a different place, and you have to run all over town and stay in line for hours in each place.

### SUB IS TAXED

And that's only part of it. If you go on welfare, you have to pay it back or surrender your insurance policy. In SUB, you have taxes deducted from your check, or you pay them at income tax time.

This running all over town to sign up here and there and waiting in line runs tempers pretty short. And on top of this, when you get to the point where you're the one being taken care of, you're often treated like dirt. The people working in the offices act like they're doing you a favor, or like you're a criminal because you're not working.

### PUT IT ALL TOGETHER!

Workers are sick and tired of running all over town to get what is rightfully theirs. They are demanding: One Stop For All! One Fund For All! One Check For All!

And they're all saying the same thing—that if the work situation doesn't change for the better, there are going to be a lot of young workers out in the streets, which means that there can be a very, very hot summer in Detroit this year.

## Pipefitters' union racism

San Francisco, Cal.—I have been working with the Pipefitters' Union since the early sixties and am still not a member. I was one of the first Black workers in this job and have made a number of attempts to join. The union has made it almost impossible to get in. The initiation fee is now \$1,010.

In addition there are tests which involve an OK from union supervisors. I can pass any of the tests, in fact I have taught other workers how to do jobs. But when and where those tests occur is another thing and so I am still only a permit worker. A permit worker works only when the regular union members don't want the job. You get the worst jobs and when the job is done you are out, with no seniority accumulated.

I am a marine pipefitter and work onboard ships. The union also handles field work—city construction of new buildings. But these are the choice jobs in terms of pay, and you never hear of them through any regular channels. There is no posting for these jobs. The union officials know of them, but you have to brown-nose to get these jobs.

The union is called the United Associated Journeymen and Apprentices, Local 38, but the apprentice in that title is the biggest lie I ever heard. I have never seen an apprentice program advertised. It is still like when I got out of high school and couldn't get into a training program of any kind. I had to learn the trade on my own.

Blacks are still in very low numbers in the union. And there are very, very few Black field members who work on new building construction at twice my wages as a marine pipefitter. The union recognizes me, but only when the job is nastier than they want to do.

—Black Pipefitter

**EDITORIAL**

**FAMINE AND REVOLT IN AFRICA**

That a general strike erupted in Ethiopia — where feudal conditions still prevail, with one third of the land owned by the royalty, one third by the church, and one third by land-owners — is proof that the African Revolution was not stopped, but only driven underground, despite the countless military coups that have seemed to negate it during the past decade.

The creativity of revolution is nowhere better seen than in the way it developed in Ethiopia, one of Africa's poorest countries, with a per capital income of less than \$60 and a literacy level of less than 10 percent, a land of 26 million people who are divided into 40 tribal groupings and speak 70 languages and 200 dialects.

**DIALECTIC OF REVOLT**

The upheaval began on Feb. 18 in Addis Ababa with a strike of taxi drivers protesting higher gas prices and license fees. Inflation had doubled the price of flour, rice and bread since January. Thousands were soon in the streets, and soldiers were sent in to crush the revolt. Over a dozen were killed and 1,000 arrested.

Far from crushing the unrest, however, the army itself broke out in a mutiny eight days later, forcing the dismissal of Haile Selassie's cabinet. No sooner had a new premier, Endalkatchew Makonnen, been appointed, than the students began demonstrations, and rebel troops presented a list of 11 social demands, ranging from creation of political parties and release of political prisoners to labor and land reform. By then, even the Emperor's promise to call a constitutional convention could not end the upheaval.

The events culminated on March 7 in a four-day general strike — the first strike in Ethiopian history. The Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions presented 17 demands, and won them all — including the right to strike, free education for poor children, a free press, a minimum daily wage (of \$1.50, three times what it is now), and even a clause, unprecedented in the world, to give workers their pay from employers for the time they were on strike.

The depth of the revolt is seen in the fact that there were so many voices represented by the labor confederation, and so many diverse committees to deal with in the army, that one diplomat protested, "you don't even know who is the army." Moreover, a full week after the general strike was over, a new mutiny broke out, this time among the airmen, who demanded the ouster of 21 of their officers.

Ethiopia in 1974 has become, at one and the same time, an inspiration for the freedom movements, and a warning to the world powers that Africa is a power they cannot afford to turn their backs upon.

**MALIGNANT NEGLECT**

In the decade since the African Revolution first remade the map of Africa at the beginning of the 60s, and the "Christian West," in fear, promised one percent of their Gross National Product to build up the Africa they had enslaved, there has been an actual movement backward by the technologically advanced countries.

The current drought and famine in subSahara Africa is the direct result of this imperialistic policy of, not benign, but malignant neglect. Thousands upon thousands of children have died from starvation, and more from measles epidemics tied to the famine. The deaths of 100,000 Africans have been laid directly at the feet of the U. S. in a recent report prepared for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace by Roger Morris, a former aide to Secretary of State Kissinger. It was known for the last five years that a long-term drought was developing, yet no emergency plans were drawn until it was clearly too late.

Horrifying as conditions are in the worst affected countries — Niger, Chad, Senegal, Upper Volta, Mali and Mauritania — UN Secretary Waldheim has warned that "the worst is definitely not over." Meanwhile, it is not only Africa, but a full one-fourth of the world that is in danger of losing its fight merely to survive. Some of the most conservative of the experts are now predicting starvation for as many as one billion people by 1975,

in 30 countries throughout Africa, South Asia, Central America and the Caribbean.

What was supposed to be the "decade of development" has become the decade of despair for the underdeveloped lands — and the final blow may well have been given by the feudal Arab powers who have suddenly arrived on the global power scene. While they have been touting the "oil weapon" as a "revolutionary" act against the U. S., it is not the U. S., but the underdeveloped countries, that have been hurt the most. The cost of energy for the poor two-thirds of the world in 1974 will rise \$10 billion over two years ago, and the additional cost of food and fertilizer imports will be at least \$5 billion more. As bad as their plight was before, it has become a thousand-fold worse today.

There is no way out except such revolts as in Ethiopia and the solidarity we must show the African masses by both demanding massive aid to Africa and continuing our own anti-imperialist struggle.

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**AFRICA**

At the beginning of March, two African Rhodesians were hanged — allegedly for guerrilla activities. Prior to this news there was a report on the expulsion of the Russian author Solzhenitsyn. About the end of the same week, an anarchist in Spain was hanged. Of the three incidents, the Rhodesian episode had the least attention in the foreign press . . . In the cases of both the Russian author and the Spanish anarchist there was strong solidarity between peoples of like mind. Why was there no solidarity with the Africans?

Correspondent, The Nation  
West Africa

The state of affairs in Ethiopia is not new. In 1963 there was discontent that only the rich were making progress and the poor still struggled for subsistence. In 1971 school children demonstrated against increased bus fares. But this seems to be the turning point in Ethiopia's history, which provides a lesson to African governments. The protests were not started by the army but by the people, who in the final analysis determine the course of events.

Banku Seido  
The Gambia

**WOMEN'S LIBERATION**

A woman burned herself alive in Russia's Red Square on International Women's Day last month. The only reason that we know about it was because she did this in front of some British tourists. Her body was carried away and we don't know if she is living or dead.

I have to believe that this was no mere suicide. The fact that the only way she felt she could "speak" was to make a human torch of herself shows the world the depths of corruption of the Soviet system. I can't help but wonder who she was. Maybe she was Jewish or she might have been a woman activist.

Perhaps it is better not to know and to think of her as a symbol of protest of all that is reactionary, fascist, and anti-human in state capitalist Russia.

Feminist  
Detroit

\* \* \*

When I first arrived at one of the International Women's Day Conferences here, I was surprised to see more men than women in attendance. On my way to the child-care room, I passed literature tables and was flabbergasted to see pictures of Stalin and Mao up on the wall along with ones of Marx and Lenin, as well as two huge flags with the hammer and sickle on them.

When I saw who was selling literature (China-Albania Bookstore, U. S.-China Friendship Committee, Revolutionary Union) I figured that there were more men than women because these groups didn't trust their women members to hand down their own line.

It was clear they were just trying to use the idea of Women's Liberation to further their own elitist goals. I didn't stay around to get "educated" by the various speakers because, after seeing Stalin and Mao staring me in the face, all I wanted to get was out.

Mother  
Detroit

\* \* \*

We'd like to inform your readers that the Women's Organization of Bowling Green State University is planning another Tri-State Women's Coalition Weekend, April 19-21. The purpose is to bring ideas and people together to further communication and growth. A series of films about women is scheduled for Friday night and there will be workshops on varied topics ranging from Health Care to Revolutionary Feminism, on Saturday.

Local members can provide accommodations and free child care will be provided all weekend. Registration is \$3. To register, or for more information,

please write Lauren Carter, 312½ E. Merry St., Bowling Green, Ohio, 43402.

Women's Coalition  
Bowling Green, Ohio

**MINERS' STRIKES**

I was a reporter on a paper near Wheeling, W.Va., in 1970 and my first assignment, fresh from college, was to write a story on wildcatting coal miners during the time of the Yablonski murder.

I spent two days interviewing miners and came back to the office with a feature on the miners' own stories, packed full of explosive words against the company, union bureaucracy and Nixon. I thought, Oh, Boy, my first by-line!

The editor-in-chief took me into his office and quietly explained to me that neither he nor the public gives a damn what the miners think—he wanted to know from the union when the whole mess would be over. He called the local union president and took the story over the phone.

I was glad that the last issue of N&L carried stories from the miners. Let them speak for themselves.

Ex-Reporter  
New York

\* \* \*

I read a statement by Harry Patrick, an officer in the United Mine Workers' Union which expressed solidarity with the British miners' strikes you reported on in your last issue. Speaking of coal, which he had heard was being sent from U. S. mines to England, he said, "We have no direct control over American coal once it leaves the mines. But we stand shoulder-to-shoulder with brother miners in England and we regard any attempt to break their strike as a direct attack on us."

He also requested that "our brothers

on the docks of England not . . . unload any American coal" shipped for the purpose of breaking the strike.

Reader  
Detroit

\* \* \*

The recent successful strike by W. Va. miners which forced the governor to suspend his ruling that you couldn't get any gas unless you had a quarter tank or less is not the first political strike of the miners. They also closed all mines in W. Va. during 1968 to force the state legislators to approve a bill which recognized black lung as a coal industry-related disease. They won that one, too.

Ex-W. Va. Miner  
Detroit

**TERRORISM**

The hijacking by Arab and Japanese radicals finds the Communists here blaming the Japanese terrorists but silent on the Arab terrorists. The Japanese mass media does not support terrorism, but does not express any criticism against the Arab terrorists. Any criticism against Russia, China or the Arab nations has been taboo for the Japanese mass media since 1960 or the later 1950's — that is, since the Ikeda Cabinet. This tendency has become more conspicuous lately.

Correspondent  
Japan

\* \* \*

John Alan's "Black-Red View" on the SLA put into words what I had been feeling but wasn't able to express about the relationship or rather, lack of it, between people like that and the mass movement. It's frightening in the Bay Area right now because an environment of fear has been created. Worse, their actions have made it easier for the forces of repression to crack down on



## TWO WORLDS

## --- CONFUCIUS WHO?

By Raya Dunayevskaya

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

The linkage of the name of Lin Piao with that of Confucius as if neither the 2,500-year span separating the two, nor death separating both from the living against whom the current mini-"Cultural Revolution" is directed, has not stopped the China specialists in the pragmatic West from the most far-fetched speculation. After all, it, too, is off on an exorcist binge.

Crises, despair, frustrations, alienations are so rampant, East and West, that the indulgence in wild escapisms is all-pervasive. Thus the European as well as the American press is once again not only busy deciphering the big character wall posters, but is also building these analyses on the untenable presupposition that the aged Mao remains the ever-young, ever-pure, ever-uncompromising world revolutionary who has set out to create a new China Man in his own continuing revolutionary image.

**RUSSIA, MODEL; RUSSIA, ENEMY NO. 1**

The truth, however, is that even before Mao gained state power, when he was a practicing revolutionary, it never was as a world revolutionary but as a Chinese revolutionary nationalist who so distrusted the proletariat that his most original contribution to "Marxist strategy" was to outflank the cities and have the army take over while the proletariat continued to work at their benches and the peasants in the fields. The great achievements of winning over both imperialism and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek, as well as unifying the country, were no sooner accomplished than Mao set out to rule in Stalin's image. The commanding Communist heights in the state regime rested on a state-capitalist base that was openly so acknowledged as they followed the first Five-Year Plan.

When seven years later the opposition to Mao's regime turned out to come from the left, he showed

as little tolerance as Russian rulers do for theirs. Indeed, nowhere was this clearer than in the break with Russia when the Sino-Soviet conflict came to a climax in the so-called "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." Even though the American bombs were raining on North Vietnam, making it the besieged fortress, the Chinese xenophobia disregarded all comradely pleas for a united front of the anti-war forces in support of Vietnam. And finally, and again, Russia and China each practiced the exact same state-capitalist game in rolling out the red carpet for Nixon.

Nothing, however, seems to stop the self-willed delusion of the so-called left in the West that somehow only Brezhnev is the revisionist while Mao remains the untainted revolutionary.

And now, just as the end for Mao's "closest comrade-in-arms", Lin Piao, came as Nixon was declared "less bad" than Enemy No. 1, Russia, the new mini-"Cultural Revolution" has, not accidentally, come wrapped in a special Russian spy story.

**THE ONGOING "REVOLUTION"**

Allegedly the new almost-upsurge began last January with a performance of a new opera, "Three Ascents Up Peach Mountain." The Peoples' Daily has castigated it as "an outrageous attack on Mao"; no more than a re-make of a 1966 opera which spurred on the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." Like it, the present opera, instead of promoting "the class struggle," exuded the "Confucianist notion of the kingdom of gentlemen." The centerpiece of the present opera—or was it the 1966 one—was a crippled horse that couldn't gallop, that is to say, make the Great Leap Forward as Mao had ordered way back in 1958.

Now, whether one starts with the current attack on the TV and radio coverage of the play as not recognizing just how "counter-revolutionary" that opera was, or one looks, "realistically," at the new no. 3 man on the Politburo, Wang Hung-wen, as the "radical" who's

challenging Chou En-lai's foreign policy, the deeper truth is that the Red Flag denunciation and warnings against "settling old scores" and "dividing into this or that faction" are actually attempts at once to make sure that the mass dissatisfaction with what is present policy at home and abroad does not self-develop. Mao-Chou are presently bent on seeing that the opposition does not take on the proportions of the "Great Cultural Revolution," 1966-69, when a section of the youth, like Sheng Wu-lien, took Mao at his word that it was "right to rebel," and both in the factories and in the fields questions are raised as to conditions of labor.

I'm not saying that there are no divisions within the leadership, much less that the leaders aren't already fighting over who's to wear Mao's mantle when

(Continued on Page 6)

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

## Views

the real movement. They have implicated the VVAW, Venceremos, Black Cultural Association at the State prison, and some sources claim we now have 1,000 new taps on phones, and 100 new FBI agents imported into the Bay Area.

Activist  
Bay Area

\* \* \*

The terrorism of the SLA is no less revolting, but the sight of those thousands upon thousands of hungry people in San Francisco who lined up to get the free food was a shock — no matter how much we thought we knew about poverty in this "affluent" USA. Even the radicals who were chosen by the SLA to distribute the food did not expect the needs were that bad. No wonder there has been a shift on the part of the poor from anger to grudging sympathy for the kidnappers.

Politico  
Detroit**THE CAMPUSES**

Everyone keeps saying that the campuses are dead now, and that the "biggest" thing happening is streaking. It was important to me that this week 110 students at Trinity College here (almost one-tenth of the student body) took over a faculty meeting to protest the firing of a leftist physics professor.

Correspondent  
Hartford, Conn.

\* \* \*

The idea of "free association" stands out in the Constitution of N&L Committees. I think that many of the students I talk to here don't understand what free association is. They think they do it every day. Some also think that workers are backward. They will never "freely associate" until they are able to communicate across class lines and without class barriers. There are, however, some students who do associate with class

struggle, like those in the UFW support committees.

Student  
Florida

\* \* \*

The situation on campus as far as activity is concerned is bleak. But when I got my copy of *Philosophy and Revolution* in the mail, at last, I felt great. I remembered how important freedom is, no matter how difficult the times are.

Student  
East Lansing**SUPPORT  
THE  
UFW**

The threat by the Teamsters to pull a garbage strike if Mayor Young endorsed the UFW grape boycott here in Detroit, is a new low for the labor movement. It reeks of the goon squad tactics the Teamsters used against the farm workers last summer in California. Where they couldn't beat the UFW then by beatings and killings and sweetheart contracts, they won't win now in Detroit by "holding up for ransom, the million and a half people who pay taxes in Detroit" — as a recent UFW release points out.

I know for sure that the rank and file teamsters don't support this grandstand play by their leaders here in Detroit. It only shows me that the Teamsters are smarting from the recent wildcats of lettuce and asparagus farm workers in California. These workers have voted "with their feet" against the Teamster contracts which maintain the slavery of the contract farm labor system.

UFW Supporter  
Detroit**'EXECUTION OF PVT. SLOVIK'**

It was a powerful TV movie, but I kept wondering. The execution of Pvt. Slovik happened almost 30 years ago. Why have they kept it undercover for all these years? Were they waiting for Eisenhower to die? They really downplayed his role. He was the one who had the decision-making power and was the one who ordered Slovik's death.

Auto Worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

Pvt. Slovik was no coward. To me, he was one of those conscientious objectors like we have today who just didn't want to kill anybody.

Maybe he was the only man who died as a result of a court-martial under Eisenhower — technically. But many old soldiers from all over the country have told me that Eisenhower hung two Black soldiers in Germany for fraternizing with fraulines. I don't know if it was true, but it says something about this country that an awful lot of soldiers sure thought it was true.

Reader  
Detroit**INTERNATIONAL MAIL**

In Montreal, we seem to be facing a government identical to Nixon's following his landslide victory, but when a strange odor is overcoming that of roses.

The Liberal Party holds almost all the seats in the Quebec National Assembly. Yet in the regime of Premier Bourassa, scandals have begun to surface in the government, the police, the crime commission, and the Olympics. The Liberals are like a vast structure supported by hot air which is cooling.

Bourassa is so conservative in his economic and social policies that he has squeezed out the right-wing Union Nationale and the Creditistes, while the independence party (PQ) has failed to provide a real alternative. New problems and old problems left unsolved are

haunting this government which now feels cheated of the fruits of electoral victory.

Correspondent  
Montreal, Quebec

\* \* \*

The political situation is at a standstill now. The workers show less activity, as if they were preparing for a new jump. The rise in the cost of living, the closing down of factories, the corruption at government levels, the incapacity of the official leftist parties, all create a sense of uncertainty.

I think the "lack of credibility" of the U. S. President puts a shadow of mystification over all European governments — hence a lack of capitalistic programs, a lack in the expansion of accumulation, and a colossal increase of national debts not to let the situation run out of control.

In my trade (shipping) the future opening of the Suez Canal harngs like a big menace over the value of the ships, but owners as usual carry on as if nothing will change in the future.

Correspondent  
Naples, Italy

\* \* \*

We fought in '67, went to jail, We fought in '69, lost and went to jail. We have been fighting for freedom since 1499, through 1634, 1795, 1799, 1863, 1941, 1967, 1969. We are continuing to fight until we are FREE from Holland.

*News & Letters* is one of our important eyes and ears. Thanks. All roads lead to victory of the people.

Vito  
Curacao

**OUR THANKS TO ALL THOSE READERS WHO HAVE ANSWERED OUR URGENT APPEAL FOR FINANCIAL HELP TO CONTINUE NEWS & LETTERS. HAVE YOU SENT IN YOUR DONATION?**

## Youth discussion:

## SLA terror threatens youth movement

By Chris Norwell

The American youth movement is witnessing a disgusting new form of terrorism, and its long struggle for freedom is being tarnished. The Symbionese Liberation Army has made its debut by first murder and then kidnapping. And no one is quite sure what these acts of terrorism are going to mean to the growth and survival of the left movement in this country.

When the Weathermen first came on the scene in the late '60s they didn't get any popular support from the majority of the youth and certainly none from the workers. Their actions never got anything changed; if anything, they made things worse, and they didn't foment any mass movements behind them, as they thought they would. I also think that they were one of the reasons the youth movement tapered off in the '70s.

## WORSE THAN WEATHERMEN

So now why, three years after the Weatherman experience, does the SLA pop out of the mud and bring us this terrorist nonsense, worse even than the Weathermen because this involves life, not just property, when nowhere in the world has it ever brought any social changes, except to make life more repressive? I wish I knew the answer to that. I wish I could easily say that this is all a CIA plot, and leave it at that.

But unfortunately I can't believe it's a CIA plot. I have to take the SLA at face value and believe that they came out of the "left" if for no other reason than that is what they are being made out to be and that is how the authorities are going to deal with it.

And what will happen to the youth movement now? The movement started out with young people fighting in the Civil Rights movement, the anti-war movement,

and the many freedom struggles that have since taken place. What will happen to the many leftist youth organizations and freedom-fighting groups in the hands of the authorities when the working population thinks the left has degenerated into kidnapping and murder?

Who will then rally to free political prisoners, as so many did for Huey Newton, Angela Davis, the Gainesville vets, and many others? I see that no one is saying "Free Remiro and Little."

## TERROR OR MASS MOVEMENT

I hope that we never reach that stage. Yet these things have a way of catching on, even if they don't work. Someone else will no doubt try their own little guerrilla stunts. Just like after the first dude hijacked a plane to Cuba, many others followed, and now you can't even get on an airplane without being checked-out thoroughly. The Man will always find a way to combat individual threats to his existence. But the one threat he can't overcome is the power of the oppressed people uniting to fight for freedom. And that's going to have to be done by the people themselves, not by self-styled saviors of the poor.

## War Resisters' Conference

## 'What we mean by amnesty'

The following statement was adopted at a recent Pan-Canadian Conference of the Coalition of American War Resisters in Canada held in Vancouver, British Columbia.—Ed.

As people who have been opposed to the U. S. government's war in Indochina and face prosecution or other loss of rights because of our opposition, we demand universal amnesty. This does not mean forgiveness or forgetfulness for our acts of resistance, of which we are proud. Nor does it mean that we are begging permission to "return to the American fold."

We are calling on the American people to demand with us that the U. S. government stop any efforts to prosecute us or deny our rights because of our just acts of resistance. Specifically, we demand immediate amnesty without conditions (such as alternative service) and without case-by-case review, for:

- All military resisters (including "deserters") and draft resisters, whether in exile or underground in the U. S.

- All persons who, because of their opposition to the war and the military, have been administratively punished, convicted by civilian or military courts, or are subject to prosecution.

- All veterans with less-than-honorable discharges.

The war in Southeast Asia is not over. We demand that the U. S. government fully implement the cease-fire agreements and thereby immediately cease all military operations in Southeast Asia, and support of its client governments in Indochina, and insist upon the release of all political prisoners in South Vietnam . . .

We call on all who support us to help in the case-by-case legal work while continuing the fight for amnesty. But wherever we live, and wherever we see our future, we are one in the conviction that it was right to resist participation in the U. S. government's war in Indochina. This is what we mean by amnesty.

## TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

he dies. Nor am I saying that there isn't an attempt to curb the military power which no doubt gained ascendancy at the Ninth Party Congress, over which Lin Piao presided and was named Mao's closest comrade-in-arms. But the truth is very obvious: the greater role of the army wasn't due to any "conspiracy" by Lin Piao. Mao always set a high priority for the military and specifically called it in to put down the left whom they began calling anarchists.

The present shuffling about of military commanders from "their own" provinces to new locations is just that, just a shuffling about, intra-party, intra-elitist, within the ruling bureaucracy. Not a single one has been removed; many old CP hands have been returned back to power. And above all, the detente with American imperialism goes on apace everywhere and anywhere, including the Middle East and West Europe where China prefers American imperialism to Russian expansionism. Russia, of course, does the exact same thing in bidding for the U.S. hand against China.

## WHY MAO'S GROUND?

What is it we're supposed to read into the Chinese poetic flair which now declares that Confucius and Lin Piao are "like two cucumbers on the same root?" Whose side are we supposed to take when it's now alleged that Lin Piao defamed both Mao and the Chin Emperor who had unified China and did so by a mammoth book-burning? Was that supposed to represent "suppressing the reactionary scholars" just as Mao once said, whereas those who followed Confucius were "the reactionary scholars and gentry?" Isn't it more reasonable to think, not of a period B.C. but very much of today, 1974, where the educational system is being questioned, before and after the "Cultural Revolution?"

Why should anyone take seriously the critique of Beethoven as a "revisionist" when in fact what really concerns the masses is conditions in the factory? Wasn't it a fact that during the "Cultural Revolution" the epithet, "economism," suddenly was bestowed with the fantastic meaning that workers who dared ask for higher wages and better conditions of labor were guilty of economism when, in fact and historically, among Marxists it had always stood for reformist leadership who wished to restrict the workers' activities only to trade union matters instead of the political field?

And isn't the present accusation of Russia's desire for nothing short of transforming China into "a Soviet colony" in fact a cover for once again preferring Nixon-Kissinger as not only "less bad" but the preferred ally against any developing revolutionary situation outside China?

It is hardly a secret that the "independent" journalists care not a farthing about revolutionaries, and less still whether China or Russia represents "true" Communism. Consciously or unconsciously, the compulsion to present Mao as the world's greatest revolutionary toes the Pax Americana line of breaking up the Sino-Soviet orbit to its own global designs. That the New Left populist-anarchist interpretation of Mao also helps the myth of Mao, the unsoiled revolutionary theorist, only goes to prove what strange bedfellows politics makes.

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

one is suffering from some type of occupational disease. Many others have died from those diseases.

Government statistics show that the death rate of workers in hazardous occupations is higher than the death rate of any other segment of the country. They show that the average worker in factories, mines or steel mills, retiring at the age of 50 to 55, only lives five years after retirement. As a worker once said, after 15 or 20 years in a factory, the company has taken away the best of your health, your body, and your mind.

It was only about 10 years ago that the UAW began to take up the issue of workers' occupational health. This was because some workers were discharged from a small foundry because of their age, and were hired at another company. The company gave them examinations while hiring them, and discovered that each one had very bad lungs from dust they had inhaled for over 15 years, and only had a short time to live.

The union sued the company they had worked for, and since that time workers have been suing companies through the UAW after retiring because of job-related hazards. I have heard that the UAW is the only big union that has this clause in their contract — and the companies are fighting tooth and nail to get it deleted from the contracts.

The time has long passed for the government to recognize the tragic facts about the destruction of human lives. All these years it has been such a low priority item for both government and medicine, but even now I have to feel it is a long way off before they recognize it and do something about it effectively.

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# BLACK-RED VIEW Black History: mass action ignored

by John Alan

This year's celebration of Black History Week went by like a smooth Madison Avenue operation. Politicians fell all over themselves to dedicate Feb. 9-15 as Black History Week.

This is a far cry from the way we used to celebrate Black History Week (nee Negro History Week) when I was a child. Then the celebrations had an air of almost clandestine protest, held in musty churches and dingy rec-halls in the Black community.

In spite of this new pomp that has come along with the nation's recognition of Black History Week, the most important ingredient was missing. Indeed, a whole decade seems to have been ripped out of Black history.

It has only been six years since the high water mark of the Black Revolution in this country, a Revolution that projected onto the American scene a new and vibrant dimension — a conscious Black struggle for freedom.

And yet, when one listens to the official votaries of Black History Week, this struggle seems to have faded into the remote past. Nothing underscores that remoteness more in the official mind than when Wilson Riles, the Black State Superintendent of Public Education in California, dedicated Black History Week. He did not think it relevant to mention either Selma or Montgomery, Ala. — scenes of some of the most intensive confrontations of the Black masses against entrenched white racism.

Instead of a celebration commemorating the heroic struggles of Black people against racism, what we got, in BOTH the Black and white press, was a list of achievements of Black individuals — as if these individuals existed somewhere outside of the Black Mass Movement.

Individual achievements, no matter how great, can only have significance and can only be understood in the context of the mass movement toward freedom — and how they hinder or help that movement.

When the real qualitative achievements of the Black Mass Movement of the last decade are ignored, the "official historians" are trying to bring about a discontinuity of Black History. Especially today are they trying to separate the 1960's from the 1970's. But they can't be historically separated because the "powers that were" before the hurricanes of Detroit and Watts are still the "powers that be" in the U.S. government.

What we see is that part of the agony of Vietnam has been transferred to the Black ghettos of the U.S. by the Nixon Administration, which both implicitly and explicitly, has tried to make sure that the Black Revolution of the 1960's was not only stopped in its tracks, but rolled back forever!

The liberal's dream, that the end of the war in Vietnam would stimulate useful employment and production at home, has come to naught. It has come to naught precisely because of the very nature of the capitalist system of production.

This system of production is not geared to any concept of a high standard of living for those who work, or in the main for the purpose of manufacturing useful things for human existence, or in any way intrinsically democratic. This is a reality that every worker, and every Black person in the U.S. knows.

Presently and historically, Black masses have been, and always will be, in continuous and ceaseless revolt against this racist and class society.



## As Others See Us

### Noted Hegelian reviews Philosophy and Revolution

Review of PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION by Prof. Louis Dupre, JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY OF IDEAS, April 1974.

IS THERE a definitive dialectical *aufhebung* by which the communist society moves beyond the abolition of capitalist structures into a new, permanent state? This is one of the most controversial questions in the 20th century interpretation of Marx's thought. Each different interpretation of this final twist of the dialectic has given rise to a different concept of the future of Marxist society. It depends on the quality of the final negation whether the Marxist revolution must be conceived as an unending one (Mao's China), or as resulting in a stable but negatively defined non-capitalist society (U.S.S.R.), or as giving birth to a new humanism with entirely different norms than those of both capitalist and anticapitalist society (the revolutionary movements against communist state capitalism in East Germany, Hungary, C.S.S.R. and Poland).

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA considers the humanist interpretation the only authentically Marxist one. She does so while fully realizing that Marx no longer uses "humanist" language after the Paris Manuscripts. Yet her case is not based upon a preference of the early "philosophical" writings to the mature "socio-economic" ones (she accepts a full continuity in Marx's development), but on the nature of the revolutionary dialectic. That dialectic, she claims, is essentially Hegel's own, that is, a dialectic in and through which the human subject develops. Rather than being a pre-established objective law, as in Stalinism or Maoism, the revolutionary dialectic is the life of the subject itself. It is essentially human in the sense that man is both its beginning and its teleological end.

TO BE SURE, Hegel's dialectic occurs within the Notion. But as Lenin pointed out in the Notebooks, Hegel himself at one point substituted the term "subject" to that of Notion. I shall not concern myself here with Lenin's (or Miss Dunayevskaya's) reading of Hegel, which appears to me strongly influenced by a strictly Marxist theory of praxis, but I shall instead follow the author's interpretation of Marx's dialectic in its own right, for it well deserves our attention. What is at stake in the dialectical negation is much more than a vision of the society of the future. The nature of the dialectic defines the methods and goals of the revolution even, and particularly, at the present stage. Without the ever new impulse of the living subject, the revolutionary dialectic spends itself and its anticapitalist movement comes to stagnate in a State capitalism, thus replacing the fetishism of the commodities by the fetishism of the State. Such a judgment may seem surprising in the face of Trotsky's "permanent" revolution and Mao's "uninterrupted" struggle. Yet, the author shows in an illuminating and highly critical chapter on Trotsky (whose secretary she was), how the Russian revolutionary leader, even after his exile, was never able to surpass

## Farmers predict new upswing in beef prices

Springfield, O. — I have talked to several farm economists and several feed suppliers and the trend points to a great shortage of beef by late May or June.

What's happening is simply that the price of corn is way up over last year and farmers with corn in storage have found it more profitable to sell their stored corn and get rid of their livestock than to keep the corn for feeding to cattle.

Because of Nixon's economic policy of lowering the price of beef and opening present corn surpluses to export trade, the price for corn is up and beef is down. This makes feeding cattle cost more than the farmer can get for his corn on the market. So they're dumping a lot of cattle on the market and selling their stored corn at huge profits.

Out of necessity, the farmers have been forced by the government to sell their cattle now at no profit and to sell the stored corn at a large profit just to save themselves from major financial difficulty.

Thus, the price of beef will be down for a couple of months and then really go up. This will surely hurt the smaller farmers who are forced to sell beef now at cost and will make a nice tidy profit for the big cattle corporations such as Westinghouse, etc. who can afford to feed the cattle on feed lots until the market price goes up.

the idea of a Russian State socialism. As for Mao, his continuous attempts to rekindle the revolutionary spirit, far from being romantic, are hard-nosed attempts to initiate a true State capitalism by driving up the production.

LENIN, TO WHOM Miss Dunayevskaya devotes her most inspiring pages, was alone to understand the subjective and therefore ever original character of the revolutionary dialectic. Even he did so only after the inability of traditional Marxism to cope with the world war compelled him to rethink his entire theory. By re-reading the first chapter of Capital in the light of Hegel's Logic he finally understood that dialectic is not an objective scheme "applied" to a variety of situations and worked out before hand. The human subject invents its revolutionary dialectic forever anew. For Trotsky this dialectic always remained an objective abstraction to be adjusted to the circumstances but never to deviate from preconceived definitions. Even Mao envisions the revolution entirely in terms of an objective necessity: the class struggle is an inevitable, permanent law which the revolution itself cannot abolish.

For Lenin, on the contrary, the revolution is a subjective event, or rather an integration of the object by the human subject. To Lenin, the creation of the Worker's state is not a permanent acquisition of the revolution, for such a State may develop into a genuine socialist society or it may degenerate into State capitalism. One of the ironies revealed by Miss Dunayevskaya's study is that those who preached the permanent revolution were precisely the ones who never completed the dialectical movement.

NOR IS HER critique limited to the Marxists of the Communist world. Sartre himself in his Critique of Dialectical Reason never accepted the living man, that is, the real masses, as subject of the revolution. He remains a French intellectual who despite all his talk about practice has never overcome the elitist concept of theory. In contrast to his theory and that of the Russian and Chinese orthodoxy Miss Dunayevskaya sees the truly innovative dialectic at work in the masses that staged the revolts against the communist regimes of East Germany, Hungary and Poland. Their spontaneous movement shows a better insight into the nature of revolution than the theories of their Marxist leaders. They felt that State capitalism had failed to liberate man and they knew that the revolution was about man. Thus the last part of Miss Dunayevskaya's study entirely consists of a critical reflection upon contemporary history.

AFTER READING her provocative work one cannot but wonder whether this is "scientific" or "Utopian" socialism. Today's communist leaders will certainly dismiss her interpretation as "utopian." So would perhaps Engels have done. Nor am I entirely sure that the author would have received Marx's own support. Yet in the long range that may not be too important. For at least this intuitive study brings into the open the difficulties which traditional interpretations of Marx's dialectic, "the algebra of revolution," had to escape to attempts to cope with them.

From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao

# Philosophy & Revolution

By Raya Dunayevskaya

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## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory

### BRITAIN

The following letter has just arrived from Harry McShane in Scotland:

The political situation is very disturbing. Wilson is Prime Minister, but he can be toppled by the Liberals and Tories. Labour received a setback. Seven Scottish Nationalists won seats in the north of Scotland. The west of Scotland voted Labour, but in a number of constituencies, the Labour candidate had a narrow squeak. The Liberal gains were in England.

It is obvious that the bourgeois propaganda against the miners had some effect. The call for "national unity to defeat the crisis" was listened to by many.

The strike of the miners demonstrated the power the workers possess, but the campaign was devoid of political content. The political offensive of the Tories was not replied to.

Wilson spent most of his time on the reforms Labour would pass. He intends to repeal the Industrial Relations Act, the Housing Finance Act, raise old age pensions and nationalize building land. That was all included in the Queen's speech yesterday.

The trade union leaders are more than ready to collaborate with the employers. The crisis is still here and will remain, but capitalist ideology has scored for the time-being.

### PORTUGAL

Over 200 Portuguese soldiers and their junior officers rebelled in Caldas da Rainha, and marched on Lisbon, 50 miles south, before being stopped and returned to their barracks. The rebellion is bringing to a head the growing discontent over the 13-year war waged against the African people in the Portuguese colonies in Africa.

General Antonio de Spínola has written a book in which he urged that war against the African guerrillas be given up as a war that cannot be won, and that the African territories of Portuguese Guinea,

Angola and Mozambique be granted equal status in a federation with Portugal. The General was dismissed along with General Costa Gomes who supported his views.

The dismissal of the popular generals highlighted the general discontent in the Portuguese army over pay rates, lack of promotions and the prospect of being killed in a futile, never-ending war. Reports of numerous meetings in army barracks all over the country persist and several bombings have taken place.

### SOLZHENITSYN

So long as Solzhenitsyn was in the Soviet Union and subject to prosecution, there was good reason not to criticize his views. Today he is free in Switzerland and his wife and children will join him shortly. He has an alleged \$6 million in Swiss banks and is free to speak his mind.

In a 15,000-word statement directed to the Soviet leaders, he reveals himself as an anti-Marxist, reactionary believer in authoritarianism and orthodox Christianity with no faith in democracy. He lumps Lenin with Stalin and sees the revolution of 1917 as a disaster.

His fatalism is expressed in his own words: "Over the past half-century Russia's readiness for democracy can only have diminished. I am inclined to think that its sudden reintroduction today would be merely a melancholy repetition of 1917 . . . So should we not perhaps acknowledge that for Russia this path was either false or premature, and that, for the foreseeable future, Russia is destined to have an authoritarian order? Perhaps that is all she is ripe for today. Everything depends on what kind of authoritarianism lies in store for us."

If this is the message that Solzhenitsyn has to offer, he will find few takers inside or outside of Russia.

### KURDISTAN

Kurdistan as a country is non-existent today, but still exists in the aspirations of three million Kurds battling Iraq, Iran and Turkey, who occupy their traditional homeland. The governments of Iraq, Iran and Turkey, while loud in their declarations for the Palestine refugees, are brutal in the suppression of the Kurdish minority within their own countries.

Last week, Iraqi President Ahmed al-Bakr announced he was granting the Kurds "legitimate national rights within the framework of a single homeland." They will get the Kurdish language recognized and a special legislature under the control of Baghdad.

The presence of large quantities of oil in the Kurdish area make it imperative that they be pacified. The Kurds think differently. They want their own country and the control of their own destiny.

### EUROPE

Both Kissinger and Nixon have shown increased displeasure over the activities of the Common Market countries, led by France, in making independent oil arrangements with the Arab countries. All countries are appalled by the scandals involving numerous government and industry officials who have taken bribes and made huge profits in the fluctuating currency market.

The Common Market countries find it impossible to arrive at any common policies. The national interest of each overwhelms any possible goals that all might find in common and lack of agreement breeds today's chaos.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was drawn up 30 years ago to provide troops while the devastated European economies got back on their feet. Millions of Americans today are finding it difficult to understand why 300,000 U.S. troops are still being maintained in Europe at a cost of \$30 billion a year, money that could be better used to re-build the cities of the United States.

## Nixon-Kissinger tell Latin America: U.S. will continue to rule hemisphere

(Continued from Page 1)

has begun forcing the resignation of left-wing Peronists from government posts, including a number of provincial governors. Police, dressed as civilians, have made raids on left-wing newspapers and magazines.

A new bill supposedly aimed at terrorism contains provisions against "illicit associations" and can be used to stifle any opposition. It is being imposed only eight months after the repeal of similar measures of the previous military regime.

### BRAZIL: MILITARY CENTERPOST

But the centerpost not only for the militarism that has been seeping steadily throughout Latin America, but for what has been termed the economic resurgence of Latin America, has been Brazil. The military has been entrenched for several years and has used terror and torture as a way of life.

At the same time, Brazil's rise economically has been great. With 102 million people, Brazil is the most populated country of Latin America, and over the last few years has emerged as the most powerful economy. The gross national product rose 11 percent in 1973, the biggest gain of any major nation.

For capitalism it has those twin virtues of ample raw materials and cheap labor. In addition, it has now begun to enter the world's market place with industrial goods, becoming one of the world's leading shoe manufacturers, building auto parts such as engines for export, and making computers. Auto workers earn \$100 a month; shoe workers 50c an hour.

Two-thirds of Brazil's population is urbanized. A decade ago the reverse was true. Huge trading companies have been created to stimulate overseas sales—each has a bank or finance concern, a manufacturing organization and an international marketing system.

### THREE DIVISIONS

Development such as Brazil's, together with isolated development in other underdeveloped countries, has been termed the "Second Industrial Revolution," of Latin America. All the countries are no longer lumped together as have-not nations.

Rather the division is into three: the haves, the have-nots, and the industrialized nations short of oil. Brazil fits into the latter category of countries that previously supplied raw materials and is now emerging in the industrial area.

The have nations are those which possess a needed raw material. Oil is again the magic commodity. Brazil needs it; Venezuela and Ecuador, and soon Peru, are

producing it. Venezuela is the world's third largest exporter of oil at 3.3 million barrels a day.

Some theorists on the left have sought to make an economic unity of this division into three. These countries acting together would become independent of the developed world. They feel there is a shifting balance of power from the countries that control capital to those that possess natural resources and can finance the development of the Third World together with the few nations having limited technological development.

### IDENTITY WITH THIRD WORLD

It is true that some of the Latin American leaders at the conference identified themselves as part of the Third World. Luis Echeverria, President of Mexico, noted that, "Latin America forms part of the Third World. Its struggles are coincident with and parallel to those being made by other nations against colonialism, modern attempts at subjugation, injustice in international transactions."

But without a thorough-going social revolution at home, there is no use talking about third world solidarity. The vortex of the world market is too powerful to escape solely by economic solutions.

There can be no illusions about nations with natural resources dominating over those which control capital. To do so leads one precisely to narrow economic solutions, rather than to social revolution.

### CUBA: HOPE THAT SOURED

Social revolution which could have provided a genuine alternative for the present period was most viable in the Cuban Revolution, which has just celebrated its 15th anniversary. But that revolution has become entangled in the big power politics of the U.S., Russia and China.

The visit of Russia's Brezhnev to Cuba, which occurred just prior to the Kissinger meeting with the Latin American foreign ministers, had two interconnected points of reference—the continuation of Russia's detent with the U.S. and the Sino-Soviet conflict. Both are diversions from the concept of social revolution as a continent-wide question for Latin America.

Brezhnev, with Castro by his side, declared that Cuba was not "a strategic base" for influence and condemned the past Communist policy of trying to export revolution. Castro responded by supporting the policy of peaceful co-existence and came down strongly on the side of Russia in the Sino-Soviet conflict.

### CHINESE OPPORTUNISM

Nor does China provide an alternative. The revolu-

tionary rhetoric of the principal contradiction on the international scene being between the oppressed people of the Third World of Asia, Africa and Latin America, against the imperialist forces headed by the U.S., remains precisely that, rhetoric. The policy was forged when China challenged Russia for leadership of the world Communist movement.

China's emergence on the world scene in the late 1960s meant a new tactic—establishment of relations with governments in Latin America, including repressive ones, in the hopes of trade and political influence. No matter the revolutionary rhetoric. The new U.S.-China relationship forged a new Sino-Latin American relationship.

What emerges is that independence from the economic, political and social dominance of the U.S. must be faced in a total manner. That domination can be fought, but not by seeking solutions among the other big powers who so easily change tactics when it suits their political purpose. There is also no solution in partial social revolution in which one has the government, but not the power, as in Chile.

Nor can there be any way forward in a meeting of the native bourgeoisie and military of the Third World countries, as if the Third World did not itself have the two worlds of oppressed and oppressor within each country. Only social revolution, as a mass activity, can provide a way out of domination by either private or state capitalism, and by either foreign or native oppressors.

## San Francisco city strike

(Continued from Page 1)

orders nullifying the wage gains due to "illegal work stoppage."

Public sentiment was against the strikers on three actions: the closing of the public sewage plants, which poured 100 million gallons of raw sewage into the water and on the beaches; walking out and abandoning over 200 aged and disabled at the Laguna Honda Home (hundreds of volunteers took over later); and the closing down of the S. F. General Hospital Facilities, the only place for needy patients. This was intensely played up by the press. But labor held together, and the public generally expressed solidarity with the aims of the strikers.