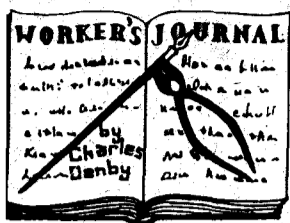


ON THE INSIDE

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TV's 'King' rewrites history

by Charles Denby, Editor

The six-hour television drama about the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was a sensitive "fact-based" drama which might have had a significant impact on viewers everywhere, except there was so much missing. In fact, many things were missing. Many thousands of hunger people who were too young at the time to understand what the Civil Rights Movement really meant, were watching and asking, "Is this all there was of the Civil Rights Movement?"

There are also many who took part in the movement who are saying they do not believe that if Dr. King, Jr. were alive, he would allow such a drama to be shown in the manner it was, just based on himself, his father and mother, and his wife and children.

The first thing that I missed was the movement of the masses of people, especially those who started the Montgomery Bus Boycott in the 1950s, their revolutionary spirit. There was nothing in the six-hour drama that made one feel that you would give your life for it. But in every mass movement throughout the South that we took part in, you took your life in your hands. In fact, most of the mass activity was deleted.

The march from Selma to Montgomery had thousands and thousands taking part, some from as far away as California and Boston.

In the film, Dr. King always emerges as a depressed and indecisive man. Hosea Williams and Ralph Abernathy are just minor figures, and most of those in the cast we never heard of. When young people would ask who someone was, we could not answer. The role that women played during the Civil Rights Movement was hardly shown at all. Mrs. Rosa Parks looked like she was in her early twenties.

STUDENTS PROTEST

I remember when the bus boycott first started in Montgomery, Ala. I went down there from Detroit and met with Dr. King, and he told me how it got started. It was not he who started it, but some students from the state college there, who put out a handwritten leaflet asking all Blacks not to ride the bus on the day of Rosa Parks' trial, but to come to the courthouse to give their support.

But what really got it started was the daily white paper, the *Montgomery Advertiser*. It got hold of one of the leaflets and ran it in the morning news and editorialized by saying, "What the hell do these Negroes think, asking all Negroes to stay off the buses on Wednesday." That's how everyone heard about it.

Dr. King said as far as he knew, that was the only way the students planned a boycott. But the bus drivers, who were all white, passed the Blacks up the second day, and the bus boycott was on. Dr. King was not the leader of it at that time.

I also remember when the Supreme Court handed down the decision outlawing segregated seating on the buses. The following day, I rode a bus in Montgomery, (Continued on Page 8)

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NEWS

LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

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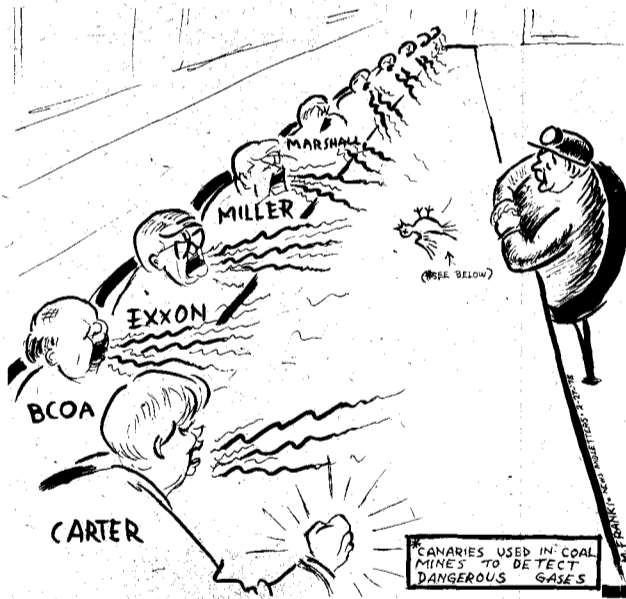
MARCH, 1978

Editorial article

Striking miners demand control of mine safety in coal contract

by Andy Phillips

Stunned disbelief turned into outrage as rank-and-file miners first listened to the contract provisions negotiated by UMWA President Arnold Miller, then acted immediately by the hundreds to travel and mass in protest at the UMWA headquarters in Washington, D.C. on Feb. 10 to guarantee that the 37-man bargaining committee would reject the contract. They also launched a drive to throw Miller out of the presidency.



"This means war!" blazed a rank-and-file miner, and his words proved prophetic as union miners stepped-up their attempts to stop scab mines from operating and to halt all movement of coal as the strike moved into its third month. Although half the coal mined in the U.S. is now non-union, little, if any, moved anywhere.

At the same time, spontaneous national labor support began to mushroom as workers throughout the country realized that their own battles and the strike of the miners were one and the same thing. Miners are known as the shock troops of American labor, and their

As we go to press, President Carter is using the threat of "drastic, legal, federal action" to force miners back to work on company terms. Far from solving a single, fundamental, just miners' grievance, the contract, even if approved, will only assure continuing miner revolt.

solid determination to stand fast against the enormous combined power and wealth of the coal operators and the giant oil monopolies, which control virtually all of the nation's energy resources and now are increasingly cornering the coal reserves, also inspired many students. Support rallies began to spread, involving Pittsburgh steel workers, Detroit steel and auto workers, Chicago meat packers, Akron tire workers, San Francisco and Los Angeles longshoremen.

This outpouring of labor support is beyond even the response the coal miners got during their nine-month strikes of 1949-50 (this really isn't the longest strike at all), when they were fighting against automation which first hit the coal mines then in the form of the continuous miner, and was promptly named the "man-killer."

That was when the miners first raised to the practical-historic stage the philosophic question of "what kind of labor should a human being do."* Today, when automation has swept so disastrously through all basic industries, the question has a life-and-death urgency that every worker can understand.

The magnificent truth of the current miners' strike is that they have moved the answer to that question onto the negotiating table of the coal operators and the UMW. It reveals the class struggle in all its nakedness: the miners demanding human working conditions in diametric opposition to the coal and oil owners demanding complete obedience.

The central issue is: who will control mine production — the miners or the coal operators? It is not the economics, though that's certainly important. The miners and coal operators both know that with the Carter Administration's energy policy centering on development of the coal resources, it means so many billions of dollars in profits that the huge wealth represented by their oil interests pales in comparison.

It is precisely for this reason that both the Carter Administration and the coal operators are determined to shackle the miners and destroy their strength with this contract. That total opposition is seen in every important provision that Miller accepted and the rank-and-file miners so vehemently rejected.

The key demand of the miners was the right to

* Marxism and Freedom, Chapter 16, "Automation and the New Humanism."

Our Life and Times

Hundreds killed in Tunisian general strike

The death toll in the one-day general strike that swept Tunisia on Jan. 26 was estimated by union activists to be in the hundreds, though the government stuck to its "official" count of 46, and tried to put responsibility for the outburst on "foreign agitators" and "extremist and deviationist" leaders of the General Union of Tunisian Workers (UGIT) that had called the one-day strike.

Prime Minister Hedi Nouiri demanded that the Union be "reorganized" and pushed through a vote purging Habib Achour, secretary-general of the union, and ten of his fellow officials from Tunisia's one and only political party, the Neo-Destour Socialist Party. With their parliamentary immunity gone, they were promptly arrested, along with hundreds of other workers.

Achour had been installed in 1965 by Tunisia's "President for Life", Habib Bourguiba, and had been a member of the ruling party's political bureau until two weeks before the general strike.

The strike was an outburst of rank-and-file rage that had been building for a long time. The average

annual income in Tunisia is only \$1,000 and wages have been frozen for five years. In the phosphate mining towns, workers live in shacks with no electricity or water, earning \$4 a day for hard and dangerous work and living on boiled wheat. They had announced a strike for Dec. 30, which was averted only when the government gave the miners a salary bonus and promised electrification and water for their towns. Several months earlier, textile workers had struck in Ksar Ellal, and the army had to be called to suppress them.

Two thirds of the population is under 21 years of age and unemployment among young workers is epidemic. Most of hundreds killed in the general strike were young.

In the weeks since the general strike hundreds more have been arrested, in a widespread witch-hunt against union militants and other dissidents, including readers of the few opposition newspapers in existence. In Tunis, alone, at least 800 have been seized, including 720 industrial workers, 60 unemployed workers and 20 teachers.

(More "Our Life and Times" on p. 8.)

(Continued on Page 6)

WOMAN AS REASON

In a discussion with a Chicago Chicano activist about the article "IWY: Where to Now?" (N&L, December, 1977), the important contribution made by the Latina and minority women at the Houston conference became even clearer to me.

Though there had been little communication before the conference, as soon as Latina and minority women arrived in Houston, they began meeting together and working on their own statement to replace the insulting half-page resolution drawn up by the state conventions. In contrast to this self-organization, the "pro-plan" women were so paralyzed by fear of the right wing that they tried to push the 20-point plan through with no debate and no amendments.

It was the minority and disabled women's threat of



women-worldwide

A hunger strike in Bolivia, begun by 18 women and children, spread to include 1,300 people and sparked a strike by the nation's 77,000 tin miners that resulted on Jan. 18 in the Zanzar government granting amnesty for political prisoners and exiles, and reinstatement with seniority for exiled miners. Domitila Chungara, the founder of the first organization of miners' wives, was one of the leaders of the hunger strike.

Jeanne Baum, the Native American woman who protested racist remarks made by her daughter's teacher, has gone into hiding following the New York State Supreme Court decision ordering her to return her child to the school or lose custody. She is appealing the decision.

The women's movement in Italy has succeeded in getting the Senate to abolish unanimously two ancient laws against women: one, that a man had the right to marry a woman after he had raped her, and another which gave a man the right to murder a woman who had "betrayed" (been unfaithful to) him. The lower house is expected to follow suit soon.

A young Moroccan political prisoner, Saida Menebhi, died after being on a 32-day hunger strike with other prisoners demanding rights for political prisoners. Her brother, a leader of a banned student resistance organization, said, "My sister died for her ideas, but in a sense she is not dead . . . her struggle continues through others . . . for a society without repression."

Eleven inmates at the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility for Women in upstate New York have filed a class-action suit to have male guards removed from those sections of the prison where women should have the right to privacy. The guards were hired under the guise of a court ruling last year on "equal employment" in the Dept. of Corrections.

Japanese textile and apparel workers, wearing black robes and skull masks, have been holding mass pickets and demonstrations in downtown Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya. They are urging shoppers to boycott J. P. Stevens products in support of union-organizing efforts by U.S. textile workers. They have forced the sole importer for J. P. Stevens in Japan to suspend imports of Stevens' goods.



'Black Woman' by Nandi Jordan

Nandi Jordan, writer and activist, was born in South Africa in 1941. Forced to flee, she wrote many poems on struggle and exile. Nandi Jordan died in 1971.

She is like Nature herself;
Strong, tough and yet regal;
Supple, warm and beautiful;
She is indestructible.

She has been wife, sister, mother;
Seen her husband, brother and son,
Captured and sold into captivity
And yet, she survived it all.

In mid-ocean she was raped and ravaged,
Saw her man writhing in chains in the fold,
Saw him leap over the rails and eaten by sharks
And yet, she survived it all.

Parted from her children at the sound of the gavel,
Branded with hot irons to make her property,
Forced to serve her master with her body;
Worked like a mule cleaning house and picking
cotton;

And yet, she survived it all.

Beaten and lynched on the plantation,
While like an animal her man was castrated;
Scrounged for food to keep family together;

Latina dimension at IWY

non-cooperation that finally broke the rigidity of the convention. While the media played up the passage of the ERA resolution, the high point for those of us there was the presentation and passage of the new minority resolution, written by the minority women themselves.

As the Chicana woman told me, "The good part was that the minority resolution did come out, the reception that it got by the conference as a whole, and the informal discussions afterwards. For many, it was a new experience.

"At the conference, even the old civil righters felt good about the women's movement. There never seemed like such a cross section of people and you never felt that same kind of real wide support in the civil rights movement. I wish the papers had picked it up. It was much more exciting than the ERA."

Latina women brought an international dimension to Houston by raising in their caucus and in the minority resolution the struggle for self-determination for Puerto Rico and freedom of Lolita Lebron; stopping deportation of mothers of American-born children; undocumented women workers' fight for decent pay and working conditions; decent housing and health care; and bilingual-bicultural opportunities and facilities.

The spontaneity of organization and totality of issues raised by Latina women in Houston is a continuity with the United Farm Workers women, who with their children demanded to participate in creating their union by working and fighting alongside their men; or today, housewives in Managua, Nicaragua, who during the national strike, banged on pots and pans every night from 9 to 10 p.m. with a single clanging message: "U.S. puppet Somoza, get out!" (See "Our Life and Times," page 8.)

If women activists reorganize their thinking to recognize the Reason of Latina women, it can become a new beginning for the entire women's liberation movement.

Terry Moon

Workers weigh Blue's contract

Oakland, Cal.—Members of Office and Professional Employees Union Local 29 voted Jan. 7 to end their three-month strike at Blue Cross (see N&L, November, 1977). It is the first contract with Blue Cross, and provides for an immediate wage increase of at least \$80 per month, automatic wage-progressions, seniority rights, and an established grievance procedure.

On the other hand, the contract has some drawbacks. It provides for an agency shop — everyone must pay union dues, but union membership is voluntary. There is little change in existing health coverage and pension provisions, and many workers feel that three years is too long to live with a first contract. Less than 500 workers voted on the contract, when more than 1,100 had gone out on strike.

Several women voiced their belief that the company is trying to make the workers pay for voting in the union last year: "Now that we're back, it's like working in some secret government agency. You are written up if you're on the wrong floor, and you even have to identify yourself to walk across the room! If you're a minute late, you're docked for five minutes. They won't let us get any personal calls, and there's no talking allowed. They think if they make the union look bad, we'll vote them out in three years.

"Blue Cross keeps telling us they're just following the contract to the letter. We'll have a new stewards' election soon, and when we get our own copies of the contract, things will be a lot smoother for us."

Victory for Filipina nurses

Detroit, Mich. — Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez won their battle on Feb. 1, when the U.S. government dropped all charges against them in connection with patient deaths at an Ann Arbor, Mich. VA Hospital. The two nurses had maintained their innocence from the start and let it be known they believed the U.S. government had singled them out for prosecution because they are Philippine citizens, and because they are women.

The nurses were supported by thousands of people including veterans who were patients at the hospital, women's liberation groups, medical associations, and support committees here and abroad, who were outraged by the racism and national chauvinism stirred up by the U.S. government against the two women, both before and during the travesty of a trial.

It was this sustained and massive support that finally turned the one-and-a-half year miscarriage of justice into the Feb. 1 victory, and freedom for Narciso and Perez.

Italian workers' opposition to Communist Party grows

Milan, Italy — The hostility of the U.S. and West German governments towards Eurocommunism is not new. What is, perhaps, new or the Italian scene is that, since the Italian government has fallen for the 36th time since the Second World War, the Christian Democratic party will probably have to accept the Communist Party in the government, if it is to resolve its problems at all. However, by now it is impossible to think that the CP can "contain" the working class, much less the students and unemployed. (See "Students vs. Eurocommunism," page 7.)

Last March it was the students and unemployed youth that protested against the Communist labor leaders at Rome and Bologna in a violent way, and this type of struggle is going on throughout Italy continually. As for the workers, wildcat strikes have been going on for years — but in the past year the protests of the worker have become much more profound.

By now the workers are not only occupying train tracks and factories when there are too many lay-offs and "absenteeing themselves" from work when they wish, but they are also openly voting against the line of their unions — and thus against the CP-controlled CGIL. Many factories are creating "autonomous" groups that vote down the proposals of the union.

This was already true in the south several years ago, but the south is underdeveloped and underemployed, with few production workers, and the CP was not concerned. By now, the workers of the most industrialized cities of the north, like Turin and Milan, are protesting against the policies of the unions, sometimes with votes, and sometimes with violence.

NY union holds King memorial

New York, N.Y. — During the week of Jan. 16 District 65, Distributive Workers of America, held membership meetings to commemorate Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday. The meeting for the Toy, Gift and Wholesale and Direct Mail locals was attended by about 700, mostly Black and Latino.

Cleveland Robinson, the union's secretary-treasurer spoke of having been with M. L. King from the very start, of how he had been one of ten leaders of the March on Washington, of how we would not stop until King's dreams were realized and there was justice for all.

The meeting continued with a Langston Hughes poem, a troupe of young Black South Africans — an even Eugene Debs was praised as a forerunner of the union. But all these fine generalities didn't mean anything when it came down to today's concrete situation. These "leaders" talked like they hadn't experienced the same last ten years that we had—as if all you needed was to elect the right Democrats and the world crisis would go away.

Deputy Mayor Herman Badillo somehow equated the realization of King's vision with the coming to office of Mayor Koch. And sorry to say, Coretta Scott King spoke for 40 minutes, only to tell us that Carter's election and the Humphrey-Hawkins employment bill were milestones of victory for the poor and the Black.

We left that meeting feeling we are miles ahead of all these would-be leaders.

—District 65 member

Detroit area readers come and celebrate
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY, March 8, 1978

"WOMEN'S LIBERATION—
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES"

Speakers:

Tommie Hope—Women's participation in the Paris Commune, 1871, and Black Women's Liberation today

Suzanne Casey—The roots of International Women's Day and the Movement today.

Hilberry A, Student Center Building, W.S.U.
7:00 P.M.

Co-sponsored by WSU News & Letters Youth Committee and Women's Liberation—News & Letters

January, 1971 Los Angeles, CA

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Community supports strikers at Oakland Press

Pontiac, Mich.—A community boycott, as well as a strike, have been organized here against the Oakland Press. Two unions, Pressmen's Local 13 and the Newspaper Guild Local 22, have been on strike against the newspaper since Dec. 29, 1977.

The Pressmen's contract expired in March, 1976 and the Guild's in June, 1976, and there have been no contracts since because of the refusal of the Oakland Press to bargain in good faith.

More than 200 people attended a strike meeting at the Masonic Temple, Saturday, Feb. 18, and then marched down Saginaw and Huron Streets to the Oakland Press building for mass picketing. The UAW, NAACP and religious groups helped swell the ranks. This action, as well as support signs in the windows of downtown merchants, show wide-based community support for the strike and boycott.

The Oakland Press has insisted that cost of living, health insurance, and pension benefits provided in the old contract be eliminated or cut back. The Press wants to eliminate job security entirely by giving management full power to judge competency.

The immediate cause of the strike was the Press ordering union pressmen to train non-union pressmen that were being hired. Since the strike began, the Press has brought about 100 scabs from its "sister" newspapers in Fort Worth and Kansas City.

The parent company of the Press is trying to evade the Michigan law prohibiting the importing of strike-breakers from other states, by laying off employees at non-union newspapers owned by the same parent company and offering them transfers to Pontiac. They have also brought in about 30 Wackenhut guards, from out of state, equipped with weapons and surveillance equipment.

The Oakland Press and its parent company appear to

be making this strike a "test" case to show that unions can be broken in a union state. The spirit and breadth of last Saturday's activity shows that they have bitten off more than they can chew.

—Strike Supporter

Uniroyal union vote in doubt

Detroit, Mich. — Since the recent election at Uniroyal for Committee Chairman in Division III between Swider and Theobald, a lot of people have been wondering "out loud" about the election procedures again.

The results were a big surprise, since most people expected it to be very close, yet Swider won easily. This result may really have been valid, but we have no way of knowing, and it has left a bad smell and raised a lot of doubts.

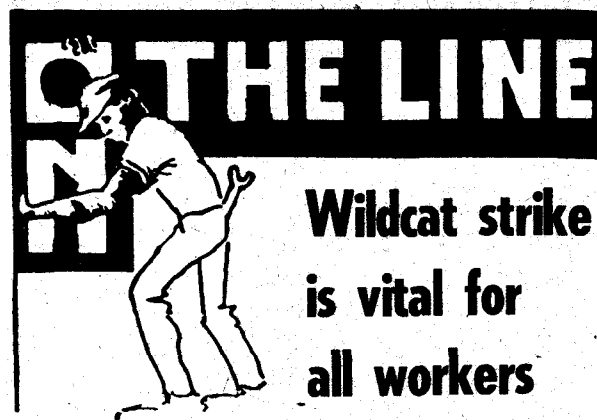
While elections for the major offices were carefully managed by an outside agency, elections for smaller offices have always been unbelievably sloppy. What happens is that they don't check on you at all.

Nobody asks you to show your badge or even your union card — they don't even require you to sign your name. You just write your name and badge number down on a little slip of paper and go vote.

It is wide open for tampering. All someone needs to know is who didn't vote from third and first shifts, and anyone can go in with their name and number, fill out a slip, and go vote in their place. The people behind the desk wouldn't know if voters are valid or not.

We don't have any way of knowing about this election, and this is not the first time it has happened either. But as long as this sort of sloppiness exists in the voting procedures, there will be a lack of confidence by the members.

—Uniroyal worker



Wildcat strike is vital for all workers

by John Allison

The coal strike reveals one fact very clearly: that evil lurks in the hearts of the coal owners.

Shocked is the word to express the reaction of the mine workers to the contract United Mine Worker President Arnold Miller was ready to settle for. Not only did he go along with a contract with a no wildcat strike clause in it, management wanted a pledge that if the miners went out on strike that they would pay for it.

With all deliberate speed, the miners turned the contract down.

Chrysler raised the no wildcat strike issue with the UAW over the Trenton Engine wildcat, and Chrysler workers were shocked when Marc Stepp, head of the Chrysler Department, explained that they got back all of the fired workers but one—the leader of the strike.

Management has once again gotten to the labor leaders over the issue of the wildcat strikes. The union fears workers they can't control, and management fears workers even more because they know that all power rests with the workers without the union's iron control.

In Canada the workers have contracts with no-strike pledges under government demands.

However, on this side of the Detroit River we get for them what they can't get for themselves. Labor working together is the answer to management's drive to take the last right away from the workers—the right to strike.

The suffering of dead workers lays heavy on the minds of the living. It's way past time for workers to begin to take power into their own hands and use it for the betterment of people.

UAW helps GM cheat auto workers out of pay

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

The recent severe weather has disrupted the production of auto parts in many Eastern plants and has meant short work weeks for the GM South Gate assembly plant. This in turn has brought out how the union and corporate bureaucrats work together to serve the capitalist masters.

Some members of our shop committee I wouldn't exactly call traitors, but if they were traitors, they would have acted exactly as they did in the past few days. When we work a short week we are supposed to get Supplemental Unemployment Benefits for the time not worked. On Monday, Feb. 6, the zone committeeman on the second shift was at the plant entrance telling workers that they would work only two days that week, and not be paid for a short work week.

UNION DOES GM'S WORK

Inside the plant, the district committeemen and foremen were telling the workers the same thing. Later the foremen stopped talking, as they saw the committeemen were doing a better job. On Tuesday, the committeemen continued to spread GM's message. A strong negative reaction arose among the workers.

All were reading and discussing the contract and seeing, many for the first time, how completely the company and union officials work together.

All agreed that if we didn't get paid our 95 percent of pay for the week, we would have to act. Some suggested that a sitdown might be the answer. Others suggested that workers take over the corporations and run them themselves. Most agreed that a wildcat strike wasn't the answer.

For the past year, Uniroyal workers in Los Angeles, uneasy at the persistent rumors of the plant closing, were constantly assured by their local union leaders that they had nothing to worry about. Then the headlines read, "The Uniroyal Plant to Close."

Thousands will be out of work because the plant is moving to Oklahoma, a reactionary right-to-work state, where GM is building a new more automated assembly plant. How can workers have confidence in any union leadership which would lead them on like this?

MINERS' STRENGTH

In the coal fields, the workers not only don't have any confidence in their leadership, but have decided to take matters in their own hands. While United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller is seeking to discipline his workers with a \$20-per-day penalty for each miner who participates in a wildcat strike, so strong has been the activity of the miners that even their local leadership — local presidents — have aligned themselves with the rank-and-file, overruling Miller.

We at the South Gate plant have a great deal to learn from what has been happening among the rubber workers and miners.

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Lynch Road

Detroit, Mich. — There is a young woman on the final line who has just been reinstated after a layoff. The foreman put her on the horn pad job, a job that's so fast she can barely make it out of the plant at the end of the day. She told me she blacked out on the freeway going home a couple of days ago.

Many people on the line with years of experience can't do the job, including the foreman. The regular man who does the job is out on medical. But the foreman keeps harassing her, saying that she's getting paid what the men are, so either she should be able to do the work, or she should quit. He was telling her that every job in the plant was just as fast and overloaded, but it just isn't true.

When this woman got a medical pass, we all saw that the guy who relieved her had as much trouble with the job as she did. I think that this is a clear-cut example, not just of the harassment of probationaries, but also of the discrimination against women at Lynch Road Assembly.

—Day shift worker

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — I heard a worker talking about the coal miners' strike. Most people here have heard about the very, very hazardous conditions in the mines. Many think of times they were faced with unsafe and poor working conditions, either without a union to help them or else without being able to strike.

One worker recalled a job he had in a magnet factory where metallic dust was compressed into larger units. The dust got everywhere — under clothes, hair, and into his nostrils and mouth. This gave him some idea of the conditions causing black lung disease.

The strongest solidarity that UAW workers at Chrysler can show the miners is letting Chrysler know

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- DETROIT:** 1900 E. Jefferson
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Flint, Mich. 48502
- LONDON:** Rising Free Bookshop (Box 35)
182 Upper Street,
London, N1, England

— as we did last summer when we walked out several times because of the heat—that auto workers, too, will not work under unhealthy and lethal conditions. Unfortunately, the UAW International uses its authority to prevent locals like ours from going on strike.

—Main building worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — Many workers on the afternoon shift called up Fleetwood the day of the first hard snow and were told to come in for work. When we got there, there was no production, and we were told to go home. We did not receive the four hours of show-up time, and still have not got a good answer from the union on why they shorted us what we have always received.

We have now had the "new" union leadership for two months. There has been no further action on 78's, and I hear the International will still not give strike authorization after 18 months without a local agreement. The company knows that, so at the moment we have no pressure to put on the company to settle these jobs.

Everyone has been talking about the miners' strike, and not only because GM has threatened to shut down soon if the strike is not settled. There is generally admiration for the miners, who on their own are keeping the strike going until they get the right to walk out over safety and speed-up, no matter what the leadership says.

—Afternoon shift worker

GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — A group of 15 body shop workers accosted the committeeman and demanded to know what he was trying to pull when he said the company had a right to deprive us of short week pay. The next week, the company posted the official announcement that we would not get paid. Several committee calls were made and workers were telling their committeemen, "My short week pay better be on my check!"

Last week the company and union rumored that we would, for the second week, work only two days — but this time not be paid SUB for the following three days because of a contractual "acts of God" paragraph. Some workers then began digging into the National Agreement.

They found that "acts of God" pertained only to such conditions occurring in the area of the plant affected. It could not apply to severe weather conditions back East, supposedly hindering transportation of parts to the plant here. In other words, GM could not legally deprive us of short week pay because the conditions causing plant shutdown are not here, but 2,700 miles away!

Workers here know that the reason for the shut-downs is not lack of parts but a surplus of autos and a slowdown in sales. If there were no parts, why would we be working at all, or working overtime on some days?

—South Gate worker

Readers' Views

MIDDLE-EAST ALLIANCES

I could not help but think of how important was Raya Dunayevskaya's article on the Middle East in the last issue of N&L when I read about the horrible public execution in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, last November of Princess Misha. Princess Misha was murdered by the Saudi state because she wanted to marry for love. Her "crime" was "adultery." Both she and her lover were killed.

The independence of Marxist-Humanists who take no sides in this state capitalist world; Ms. Dunayevskaya's criticism of the Left siding with so-called "radical" Arabs whoever they may be; and the realization that there are two worlds in every country—the rulers and those who wish to uproot and create anew — is the only thing that makes sense in a world that is so degenerate that to love whom you please is cause for the state to demand your death.

Feminist
Chicago

Long before Sadat's visit, opinion here has been building up for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel, which were broken after the 1967 war. In the early '60s, Nigeria reacted to the Middle East on purely religious grounds. Because Moslems constitute the largest organized group of Nigerians, Nigerian rulers have been inclined to see the Middle East from Moslem eyes.

Things began to change during the oil crisis. Though Nigeria is a member of OPEC, they could not help feeling the insensitivity of the Arab countries to the plight of many developing countries as a result of the quadrupling of oil prices. They did not fail to note that the Arabs were not particularly concerned about Southern Africa. Sadat's visit provided pro-Israeli forces here with a formidable weapon and has given Israel a chance to prove good faith. It will augur badly for the Israelis if they do not seize the opportunity.

Sadat would not have ventured out of Egypt without the blessing of the Army and the bureaucrats in Egypt, who have in turn been prodded by the restlessness of the masses over the poor state of the Egyptian economy. But I think that it will require more than peace with Israel to assuage the masses. More interesting things are still ahead.

Correspondent
West Africa

I recently heard a panel composed of an Egyptian, Israeli, Palestinian, and two American students discuss the Middle East. Brzezinski, had he been there, would have been able to do some recruiting. Instead of looking for a solution with actual hope for humanity, this erudite panel of supposed liberals and socialists was examining what governments were doing to save capitalism.

News & Letters

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One panel member said that nothing will be decided in these "Peace Talks" until Saudi Arabia decides which side its weight will be on. The truth is there will be no peace in the Middle East until young people such as these, who say they want change, look for an alternative within the activities of the Palestinian, Egyptian, and Israeli masses struggling against their at-home oppressors.

Old Politico
California

WL AND ROSA LUXEMBURG

The theme of "what is theory?" seemed to run throughout the whole Jan.-Feb. issue, not only in the lead on the Middle East and the Two Worlds on Rosdolsky but even the WL column on Rosa Luxemburg. That article, in fact, was the main one a Fleetwood worker, who is certainly no women's liberationist, wanted to discuss with me. It made him understand the WL movement in a very new way.

Michael Connolly
Detroit

I was struck with the article on Rosa Luxemburg in Jan.-Feb. N&L, which takes up the question of the compartmentalization of woman by women. Concentrations on women's culture, "feminism" without any broader scope, doesn't work, yet there is a fine line to where that begins.

Women's Liberationist
Cleveland

FIGHTING NEO-NAZISM

Some young Jewish activists in New York want to start acting against Nazis and the KKK before they actually get a chance to come out in the open here. At the moment we are trying to put out an information packet on what's happening nationwide. It was good to hear of the Jewish youth who joined in the picketing at the Nazi headquarters in Detroit. Whatever information you have on events around the country would be very helpful. If other readers send you news and material, would you please pass it along to us, too?

Student Activist
New York

Your article "Detroit wants the Nazis out!", last issue, didn't mention the steady participation of gay men and women from Metropolitan Community Church (MCC). Nazi Germany imprisoned and killed large numbers of gays, but instead of liberation after World War II, the survivors were put into mental hospitals by the Allies. Besides the Nazis, MCC is fighting for the right to minister to gay Michigan prisoners. It is the only Church not granted entry into Michigan prisons. The anti-gay wave led by Anita Bryant has meant a cut-off of resources, so that they are also fighting to retain their building. Even on an anti-Nazi picket line, one woman was told not to carry a gay sign! Sacrificing the freedom struggle of gays or anyone else is not the way to defeat facism.

Member, Michigan Organization
for Human Rights
Detroit

I was looking in the newspaper the other day and saw that the Illinois state supreme court had sanctioned a Nazi demonstration in Skokie, Ill. In the same paper it was reported that several miners picketing a scab mine in Indiana were arrested on false charges of being drunk and disorderly. That the Nazi Party, a racist organization which stands for an authoritarian state and the persecution of ethnic minorities, has the right to demonstrate, but workers fighting for the quality of their livelihood do not, shows plainly the lie of American "democracy."

Auto Worker
Los Angeles

'KING'

The program on Martin Luther King refreshed my memories of the movement very emotionally. It brought back the bitterness, even though they deleted a lot—the dogs biting the children, the children almost drowning in the water . . . it continues to amaze me how they allowed Hoover to have so much power. There are supposed to be checks and balances built into the system, but he was outside of them. Everyone was afraid to speak against him because he had information files on everyone.

Black Woman
Chicago

I was watching the TV show on Dr. King with my children. Every few minutes they would ask to have it explained, because what they saw didn't make much sense to them. You can't learn the true history of the civil rights movement from a TV show. You have to learn about it from the people who really lived it.

Concerned Parent
Detroit

To me, the program really told the story—especially the part on Chicago. It was real because it happens now.

Black Viewer
Chicago

UNION REPRESENTATION

The recent decision by the United Farm Workers Union to officially end their already disregarded boycotts of Gallo wines, non-union lettuce and grapes comes at the same time as a generally rightward shift in state politics and even liberal former allies. Governor Brown, while fully supporting the Agricultural Labor Relations Act in 1975 that was supposed to guarantee farmworkers the right to union elections, has done absolutely nothing to force the Agricultural Labor Relations Board to act on the hundreds of unfair labor practices charges that are before the board, some of which have been there two years.

In addition, the Berkeley Co-op, which has always been the retail chain most supportive of the UFW, asked for and received from the union in December the go-ahead to sell Gallo wines. In January, all the conservative candidates won places on the Co-op board. I'd be interested in knowing exactly who Chavez is playing ball with now.

Union Brother
Oakland

I've been a motorman for ten years and I still have to work Saturdays and Sundays. If your lawyer doesn't represent you, you can fire him but what do you do with a union you're paying for that doesn't represent you? That's taxation without representation. Nobody talks about the conditions down here. We're breathing in steel dust all the time. That gives you something like Black Lung.

We haven't had a raise since 1974. Now Mayor Koch says no raises for city workers again, but he turns around and gives his top execs fat raises. We're striking when our contract comes up.

Subway Motorman
New York

LATIN AMERICA

The Brazilian government has recently found mineral wealth in the Amazon jungles of the Northwest. While "developing" this region with industry and settlements, the government is committing genocide of the native peoples, the Yanomamo. These people are forced into the cities and, because their skills are not suited to modern urban life, are unable to get jobs. As a result, numer-

ous Yanomamo families can be seen starving in the streets. The government glorifies this as "civilizing" the area and its response to starving people is to give them cans of poisoned food. Those that are not murdered this way, commit suicide.

Is this one of the "friends", along with Pinochet of Chile, et. al. that Jimmy "human rights" Carter spoke about in his Panama Canal speech?

Latin
Los Angeles

Four persons were arrested by agents of the CNI (National Center for Information, the ex-DINA) on Dec. 7 in Chile. Rafael Marotta, Ines Naranjo, Isidoro Liendo, and Diana Duhalde are now awaiting a military trial in Valparaiso. Please ask readers to send air mail letters or telegrams expressing fears for their safety and demanding that they be given a fair and open trial.

Write to: General Odlanier Mena Salinas, Director de la Central Nacional de Informacion, Calle Rafael Canas 21-Providencia, Santiago, CHILE. Send copies to: Chilean Embassy, 1732 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Black Activist
Los Angeles

PRISON HORRORS

It was frightening to read a recent report by a Toronto Globe and Mail reporter about the trip Frank Drea, Ontario Correctional Services Minister, took to Georgia—to get ideas for how to handle prisoners in Ontario. Drea concluded, after his tour, that the Georgia penal system—which has an infamous reputation—is actually too soft on prisoners. He intends to toughen things up for Ontario, including using a device, developed by the Germans in WWII and used widely by U.S. troops in Vietnam, as a much more effective substitute for barbed wire. It consists of a series of deadly sharp razors and is banned in Georgia, but Drea is already using it at two Ontario prisons. The most frightening thing was that Drea felt safe to come right out and talk vengeance without even the usual pretense toward "rehabilitation."

Alarm
Toronto

A court order recently came down in Seattle that in 60 days this prison must clean up the inhuman conditions, where ten men are forced to live in a cell built for four; the ten-man cell will be broken down to a six-man cell. If it were up to me I would just tear down the whole hell-hole, for it serves no purpose other than to break one's spirit and burn one's soul.

Prisoner
Washington

APPEAL TO BLACK TEACHERS

Please tell your readers that Black teachers and administrators are needed in southeast Missouri. A coalition of four Black parent and student organizations from three school districts are soliciting Black educators to apply for positions at all levels and in all subject areas in the three districts. Those interested should write to the Coalition of Black Teachers, Box 524, Hayti, Missouri 63851. We will send a description of the schools and the area; a list of openings available at the present time; application forms for each school and list of requirements for a Missouri teaching certificate.

We are looking for teachers who have understanding, concern and respect for the problems and potential of rural low-income students.

Coalition Member
Hayti, Missouri

TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

Negative Dialectics by Theodor Adorno (NY: Seabury Press; 1973)

Dialectics of the Concrete by Karel Kosik (Dordrecht, Holland and Boston: D. Reidel Publishing Company; 1976)

The above two works are not only the most serious contributions to the study of dialectics in the past half-century, but path-breaking originals. Adorno's **Negative Dialectics** is the most comprehensive, and is not only one man's life's legacy, but a veritable philosophic testament of the celebrated Frankfurt School's total existence from its founding. That only a few have chosen to review it is only in part due to the difficulty of the text and originality of the concept of negative dialectics, which is so radical a departure from the dialectics of negativity that Adorno opens his work with an attack on "the negation of the negation," that is to say, the positive that flows from a double negation, and declares: "This book seeks to free dialectics from such affirmative traits without reducing its determinacy" (p.xix).

Rather, despite the comprehensiveness of the 416 page volume, the total view of philosophy is written in so aphoristic a style that it looks, if not chaotic, surely not the type of continuity that characterizes a serious work, but more like essay-type analyses of individual topics, with each just a very few pages. At the same time, the relationship of concrete to abstract always comes as a shocker rather than as something emerging out of what Hegel calls "the self-determination of the Idea," or as an illumination of an original and abstract idea that is specifically Adorno.

* * *

WHEN I FIRST started grappling with the book, keeping in mind the period of its formation — the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s — I was forced to conclude that Adorno was deaf to the objective situation, the movement from practice, especially the revolts in Eastern Europe. The two magnificent decades since the very

Adorno, Kosik, and the movement from practice

first revolt from under totalitarianism — East Germany, June 17, 1953 — had, indeed, undermined regimes as well as opened vast new theoretical vistas. They were historic challenges to all that was both in practice and in theory. Yet, **Negative Dialectics** has little to do with that dialectic of negativity, least of all with the concept of Subject, with which Hegel distinguished his from all other philosophers who left the search for truth at Substance only. As "concretized" by Marx for the proletarian class, Subject is supposed to have been accepted also by Adorno, but, again, he keeps his distance and originality locked into his work.

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

By "nearly out of nowhere" I naturally do not mean Auschwitz wasn't the reality of fascism, nor do I mean only the suddenness and shock of introducing the subject-matter in the climax to the book, "Meditations on Metaphysics." Rather I mean it is "wrong," that is to say, totally illogical, non-dialectical, from his own point of view of an adult lifetime devoted to fighting fascist "ideology" as the very opposite of Hegelian dialectics, its very death in Nazi Germany.

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

Why, then, the vulgar reduction of absolute negativity? Therein is the real tragedy of Adorno (and the Frankfurt School): one-dimensionality of thought once you "give up" Subject, once you do not listen to the voices from below — and they certainly were loud and clear and demanding in that decade of mid-1950 to mid-1960 — once you yourself return to the ivory tower and reduce your purpose: "the purpose of discussing key concepts of philosophic disciplines and centrally intervening in those disciplines . . ." (p.xx). Irresistibly came the next step, the substitution of a permanent critique not alone for absolute negativity, but also for "permanent revolution."

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

Bernal debates canal treaty

Los Angeles, Cal. — Miguel Antonio Bernal, a Panamanian in enforced exile from his own country, participated in a debate on the Panama Canal Treaty with Sen. Alan Cranston (pro-treaty), and a representative of the right-wing anti-canal treaty faction. But Bernal refused to accept "for" or "against" the treaty as the only position to take.

Bernal said, "When Panama is mentioned, the majority think of the canal, but forget that Panama is a nation which has been struggling for 74 years against U.S. imperialism.

"No one defends the interests of the Panamanian people. For us, the Carter-Torrijos treaties are illegal. They are being imposed upon us by a military regime which has been in power illegally since 1964. They are illegal because you cannot have a treaty which allows troops 'in perpetuity' over people. It is impossible to be a free people with military troops from the outside.

"Our problem is not ratification or non-ratification. We want to negotiate a treaty, but not this one. This one was signed with all the leaders of the military dictatorships of Latin America present in Washington.

"In Panama, the treaties were not published until after they were signed — and they were published in several versions. There are 200 forced exiles from Panama. We were not permitted to speak against the treaty. And yet even with all this, 250,000 voted against the treaty. We don't think this treaty is going to be a step toward freeing us."

After the debate, the audience voted and the majority sided with Bernal.

IT IS THIS WHICH not only distinguishes Karel Kosik's "optimism" from Adorno's pessimism, but accounts for the fact that his **Dialectics of the Concrete**, though written in as abstract a philosophic form as Adorno's and thus as difficult for the "common reader," sees what historic concrete the dialectic concrete "has in mind." Karel Kosik's work, instead of being shunted aside, is intensely discussed, and not only in Czechoslovakia but internationally. It is the type of philosophic work, it is felt, which has something very important to say. In a very significant way, Karel Kosik's work both anticipated the Prague Spring, 1968, and, at the same time, was a theoretical departure which said, if defeated, this can become a new jumping off point for the next revolution.

Thus, though abstractly and indirectly articulated, no one doubted that it was an attack on the ruling bureaucracy, even if that were expressed, not in political terms, but a philosophic critique of fetishized existence. In his sharp first chapter's critique on the pseudo-concrete—an important new contribution of Karel Kosik's—he reminds the readers that "man's fetishized praxis . . . is not identical with the revolutionary-critical praxis of mankind" (p. 2).

To try to draw from his use of the generic Man (with a capital "M"), instead of specific worker, the conclusion that Karel Kosik was shunting aside the revolutionary proletariat, in the manner of the so-called "New Left,"* is to fly in the face not only of Kosik's view of the role of the proletariat, but also his praise of

(Continued on Page 7)

*See "Czech Marxism: Karel Kosik" by Paul Piccone, in *Critique*, #8, 1977.

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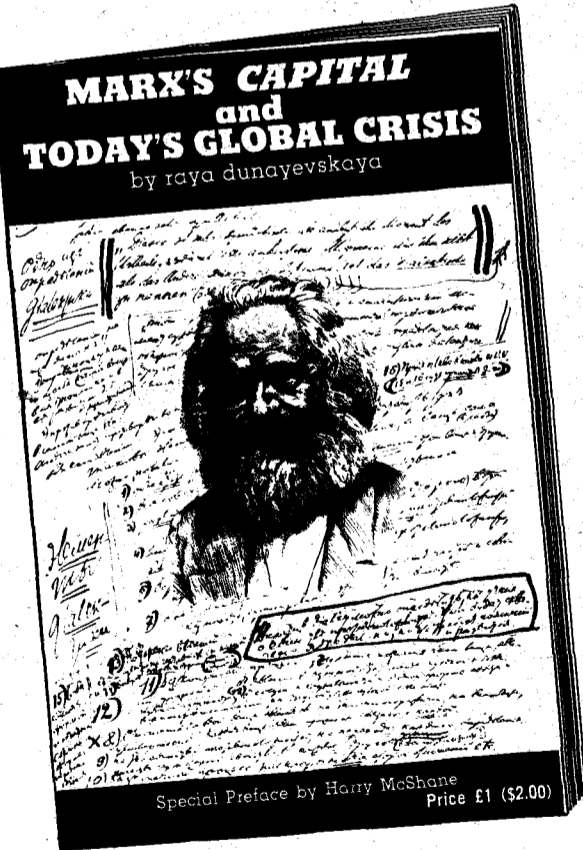
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Striking miners demand control of mine safety in contract

(Continued from Page 1)

strike over local grievances. If they could win this one, the other problems would be eliminated. It meant control by the miners. Nobody knew this more certainly than the coal operators, who were determined to not only keep their control, but to make it harsher and tighter than it has been since the brutal pick-and-shovel days of the 1930s.

A review of the positions of the miners and operators will show how total is the difference between them.

(See demands at right.)

These are major provisions, but it must be noted that the purely economic wage package would result in the miners losing at least \$1,000 over the life of the contract. The wage increase over the three years is \$4,230, but of this, up to \$2,100 will come out of the miners' pockets for health care costs, and without the cost of living protection against the present seven percent inflation rate expected to continue, the inflation loss over the three years will be over \$3,500. The loss on these two items alone is over \$5,600 — considerably more than the \$4,230 wage raise.

AIM TO CRUSH MINERS

Other management demands designed to crush the miners and increase coal production include an "absenteeism control program," an incentive, or piece-work, system to create production competition between mine sections, plus the institution of a 30-day probationary period for new employees during which they could be fired without union protection.

These are all vicious measures, which go against historic rights gained by miners in bitter past battles with mine management. When asked about the terms of the absentee control provision, Miller said he didn't know and that they would be spelled out in the agreement. Miners, knowing that every single word in a contract is critical, couldn't believe what they were hearing, because they knew this provision gave the companies a very big club to beat them with.

As for the incentive and probationary terms, they are so insulting to the miners that they said accepting them would throw them back to the slavery of the pay-by-the-ton days before there was a union. Miners take a great pride in the fact that a miner is a union member with full protection from the first day of work. They also know that one of their greatest strengths is the small difference between the highest and lowest paid underground miner. The important principle here is based on one overriding fact: that all miners underground share the same life-and-death dangers every day.

GRIM STATISTICS

How great are those dangers? The grim statistics are: over 2,000 miners killed on the job and more than 140,000 disabled by injuries during the past 10 years. These deaths and injuries would skyrocket under the contract the operators are trying to force down the throats of the miners.

In this same period, from 1969 through 1975, before the energy crisis, available data show coal company profits after taxes averaged 39c per ton. On the 1974-76 period, the average profit figure leaped to \$3.25 per ton — an 800 percent increase! In another comparison, miners' wages from 1957-77 increased 160 percent, while the value of the coal produced by each miner zoomed from \$10,974 in 1957 to \$61,460 in 1976, an increase of 560 percent. This reflects the huge increases in the price of coal demanded by the coal operators, which skyrocketed from \$4.99 a ton in 1969 to an estimated \$21.50 in 1977, an increase of 431 percent.

These huge profits come from the labor of the miners, and they know it. There's a new young breed in the mines now, many of them ex-Vietnam war veterans who have been in the forefront of the wildcat strikes rocking the coal industry.

WHO WE ARE

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery, Ala. Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled new movements from practice, which were themselves a form of theory. News & Letters was created so that the voices from below could be heard, and the unity of worker and intellectual, philosophy and revolution, could be worked out for our age. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, is the editor.

The paper is the monthly publication of News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists that stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private form as in the U.S., or in its state form calling itself Communist, as in Russia and China. The National Chairwoman, Raya Dunayevskaya, is the author of *Philosophy and Revolution and Marxism and Freedom* which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism for our age internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene. In opposing this capitalistic, exploitative, racist, sexist society, we participate in all freedom struggles and do not separate the mass activities of workers, Blacks, women and youth from the activity of thinking. We invite you to join with us both in the freedom struggles and in working out a theory of liberation for our age.

MINERS' DEMANDS

Right to strike over local grievances.

Remove binding arbitration clause from grievance procedure interpreted by Supreme Court to be no-strike clause; revise procedures that kept grievances bottled up as much as 44 weeks; strict time limit on grievances.

Stricter safety enforcement; full-time, company-paid union safety officer at each mine; stronger penalties for violations; increase training of new miners; right to close mine when dangerous.

Full restoration of fully-paid health and welfare benefits; increase pensions, plus cost of living clause; fully-paid eye and dental care and prescription costs; establish health care clinics in coal fields with help of UMW Fund subsidies; payment for long-term nursing care and birth control.

Strict enforcement against bosses' working.

Six-hour, five-day work week.

Open posting and open bidding on job openings; upgrading according to seniority.

No union mine facilities to process scab coal.

Substantial wage increases and keep cost of living clause.

OPERATORS' DEMANDS ACCEPTED BY MILLER

Automatic firing of strike leaders; \$20 a day fine for strikers up to 10 days, then suspend health coverage; 30-day layoff for refusing to cross picket line.

Retain grievance procedure; arbitration hearings standard procedure, no quick settlement between miners and management; restrict appeals of arbitrator's rulings.

No full-time safety officer; cut training time of new miners in half — from 90 to 45 days; no safety committee right to close mine — only after contact with state or federal safety inspectors.

Miners pay up to \$700/yr. for health costs; turned over to private insurance co., no longer through UMW Health and Welfare fund; pension formula lowered, no cost-of living protection; at end of contract, all health coverage stops if there is strike over 30 days.

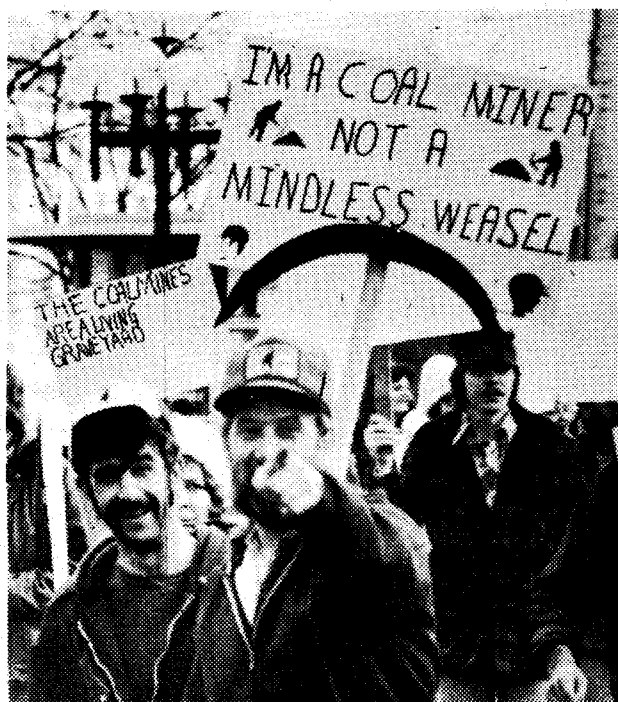
Bosses have right to work.

Eight-hour day, seven-day work week.

Management right to fill jobs without regard to seniority.

Coal operators have right to process scab coal.

Increase of 95c an hour first year (includes 28c due under old contract), 75c 2nd year, 65c 3rd year. No cost of living clause.



Miners' picket signs tell the story.

Their influx in the last ten years has cut the average miner's age from 45 to 33, and far from discarding the great fighting traditions of the miners who have fought so magnificently before them, they have absorbed the best of the principles and are moving to see them realized in their own lives and lifetime.

All of these factors explain why both the young and old miners acted so quickly and decisively to oppose the settlement Miller had made with the coal operators.

Reports of the disunity in the coal miner ranks were proven to be completely false. To the contrary, far from being disunited, the rank-and-file miners were together as they seldom had been before. Many thousands of retired miners donated part of their pension and social security checks to striking miners and their families. Although they are in a great minority in the mines, Black miners were prominent as spokesmen at rallies and demonstrations.

The "women of coal" were, as they have consistently been in the past, in the forefront again. And the Stearns, Ky., miners — who have been on strike since July, 1976, to get UMWA representation — went on tour to ask support for all miners. (See story, col. 3.)

The disunity is between the miners and Miller, who understood neither the miners' great strength nor their determination to win a just contract.

This is probably the most frustrating part of the entire strike, because the miners themselves cleared the way for Miller to fulfill their demands made at the 1976 UMWA Convention. There, the delegates decisively rejected the bid of Mike Trbovich, vice president of the UMW, to gain the leadership of the union through a vicious red-baiting attack against Miller and his administrative staff.

At the same time delegates, many of them young Vietnam veterans, voted qualified support for Miller and moved to eliminate the binding arbitration clause in the contract's grievance procedure which, interpreted as a no-strike clause by the Supreme Court, opened the doors for the coal operators to get federal judges to issue injunctions against the strike actions of miners.

Consciously and deliberately, the miners were setting forth their own demands for the upcoming strike of Dec. 6, 1977, when the contract expired.

Following the UMWA Convention, the miners further strengthened Miller's hand by voting for Executive Board

district candidates who supported him. As a result, for the first time since he took office in 1972, Miller had a majority of the Executive Board supporting instead of opposing him.

After all this, the miners could feel nothing but betrayal of all they had done to carry through with what they wanted to make the mines better and safer places to work.

Through their actions, the miners have shown they are ready to take on anybody to win their demands — the coal operators, state police, national guard, or the Taft-Hartley slave labor law President Carter has threatened to use to get the miners back to work.

They prove Marx's insistence that the labor power of workers is not restricted to the fact that they have the ability to labor, but that their cooperative action as workers endows them with the power to transform society into a place fit for human beings to live and grow. As for the pseudo-intellectuals who have been so vocal and articulate in their efforts to prove that the workers are in a diminishing minority and therefore cannot exercise the critical influence that Marx ascribed to them, the effect of 160,000 coal miners withdrawing their labor from the industrial productive process exposes their theoretic and intellectual bankruptcy with undeniable finality.

The coal miners are showing the highest expression of reason in action, and in so doing are bringing America to an historic crossroads. What they say and do about their present situation can determine in which direction the U.S. will be moving in the future.

Detroit readers who want to help the miners can send contributions (food and money are needed most) to: **UMW MINERS' RELIEF FUND**, c/o Cadillac Local 22, 4300 Michigan Ave., Detroit, Mi. 48210. Help will be needed long after the strike is settled.

19-month Stearns miner strike

Detroit, Mich.—Miners striking for UMWA representation at the Stearns, Ky., Blue Diamond Mine Co. for 19 months—since July 1976—are speaking at many support rallies.

In Detroit, a crowd of 400 heard reports of the strike on Feb. 4 at McLouth steelworkers' union hall. Stearns' strikers William King and Leonard Gibson did not speak from the platform, but in side discussions Gibson told of his wife's organizing of the women who have stood fast on picket lines, been beaten by state troopers and thrown in jail. King stressed the strike was for safety, not wages, and that Stearns' miners were paid more wages than UMW miners to try to keep them from joining the union. King also reported that the company disconnected wires to methane gas detectors on machines so they couldn't shut down machines working in too much gas; that a miner was killed by a roof fall because the company refused to act on reports of the bad roof; and that a mine safety inspector asking to go to a mine section, I West, full of safety violations, was told by a foreman that there was no such section—and the inspector believed it!

In Los Angeles, at South Gate UAW Local 216 hall, a Stearns' picket captain told of his father, a miner of 35 years, having three ribs broken and a skull fracture from state police beatings; and of catching two men with gasoline cans around his house and asking them why they wanted to burn down a house with a woman and two children. "We don't aim to stand by and see this done to our people," he said. "And I'm talking about us as a whole. If they do this to the miners today, they'll do it to the rest of us tomorrow."



By Peter Wermuth

The two-week boycott of classes by 500,000 West German students in late December made it clear that the momentum of the youth movement, born in the massive protests in Italy last winter, is very much alive, despite a growing political repression that includes laws forbidding student membership in Left groups, the branding of all political students as "terrorists," and severe cutbacks in financial aid and allocations to universities.

The plan to redo the university system in West Germany is an echo of the Malfatti program of reduced university enrollment, restricted course offerings and cutbacks in financial aid, which sparked the massive protests in Italy last March.

While the protests in West Germany are not as intense as in Italy, dozens of conferences, meetings and demonstrations are being called to force these policies to a halt. Over 5,000 rallied in Berlin in early February and other protests have been mounted in Cologne, Hannover and Frankfurt.

Repression against the left in Germany is not new. What is new is that this time the repression is aimed not only against the veterans of the '60s but directly at unemployed youth whose anger represents a revolutionary force that the ruling class clearly recognizes. The near-hysteria against terrorism and the attack on the universities both stem from fear of a new revolutionary generation of German youth arising out of the failure of West Germany's "economic miracle."

At the same time, the bourgeois press has gone to

'We won't stop picketing'

(This poem was written by a second-grade student who is a resident of Southwest Detroit. —Ed.)
Get the Nazis out of our neighborhood

I want the Nazis out I hate Nazis
The Nazis hate us
The Nazis will not leave
The Nazis are not going
They said that from the beginning
That they are not going to leave
Why did the Nazis come to America
Why did the Nazis come to this city
In other cities like Chicago and Boston
Hitler and his Nazis in 1933 had power
They killed hundreds and hundreds
Hundreds and hundreds and hundreds
Hundreds and hundreds and hundreds
We will not stop picketing until the Nazis leave

—Nanny

Detroiters vow Nazis must go while court delays eviction

Detroit, Mich. — On Feb. 15, we sat in Judge Szymanski's courtroom and watched in growing anger as the trial of the case to evict Detroit's Nazis from their "hate-quarters" was postponed a second time, for the convenience of the lawyers and the Nazis, until March 15. Four days later, as more than 100 people were arriving for an anti-Nazi meeting in the neighborhood, and several Nazis were being escorted from the hall, they stabbed a young woman attending the meeting in the leg. She was taken to a hospital for treatment and is now prosecuting them.

While the courts have delayed, Detroit residents have responded to the Nazi presence with demonstration after demonstration since the office was first opened on Dec. 19. We have asked for help from the unions, Jewish organizations, the NAACP — anyone we could think of.

At a meeting held on Jan. 8, UAW Local 600 at Ford Rouge called for a massive, community-based, anti-Nazi effort. They formed the Labor and Community Council Against the Nazis, and 350 people crowded in to the first meeting, at a hall down the street from the Nazi headquarters.

I feel as though something more must be done now. In the beginning, our picketing kept people away from their storefront. But now more and more young boys are attracted to them — one 12-year-old was interviewed on TV news, sounding like a storm-trooper. Neighborhood anti-Nazi activists have been threatened and told to stay off the streets.

Just two weeks earlier, ten Nazis went to a movie shown in a neighborhood Catholic church by the Detroit Jewish Workshop, and argued with an Auschwitz survivor that the only deaths in the camps were from typhus! All that parents concerned about these kinds of barbaric lies could force the local school to do was to promise to "teach democratic values."

An Arab high-school student who works near the Nazi office asked me, "If so many people want the Nazis out, why are they still there?" Blacks, Jews, Latinos, gays, women and veterans have all joined in the cry, "Detroit wants the Nazis out now."

We who have been active in this fight will keep on moving against the Nazis in every possible way. Right now many people are looking to the Local 600 organization for action. It is needed right now.

—Susan Van Gelder

Students vs. Eurocommunism

great lengths to present a picture of Italy as in chaos. All the attention goes to the terrorists — despite the fact that a demonstration of 50,000 last September in Bologna soundly rejected the proposals of the wing of the students that espoused "armed insurrection." Yet the left in the U.S. seems to have swallowed hook, line and sinker the image that these "crazy Italians" think shooting legs off businessmen is revolution, or that everything is wild in the streets and nobody knows why they're doing what.

A CHALLENGE TO VANGUARDISM

The Trotskyists, for example, have as much as stated that without the vanguard party to lead, the "chaos" in Italy could allow all the students to become fascists. They seem to consider a situation as "chaos" if the party is not leading it. The truth is that the rejection of vanguardism by the youth does not mean they do not have a sense of direction. Just the opposite is true.

Italy is a point of attention for West German youth precisely because they identify with the challenge the Italian youth are hurling at the class-collaborationist Communist Party. As against a year or two ago, when many West German youth were running to CP fairs in northern Italy to experience "a living movement," this time the focus is in direct opposition to Eurocommunism.

At the same time, expulsions of youth from JUSOS, the Social Democratic youth group, have been very heavy over the last year, and many meetings have been called to protest that and the whole political climate.

A BROAD AND DIVERSE MOVEMENT

The movement is proving to be as diverse as it is large, ranging in Germany from the boycott of classes to the massive rallies to prevent construction of nuclear power plants, and in Italy from street rallies to counter-culture groups, decentralized student collectives and the strong and growing feminist movement. Yet a growing division between the student and women's movements in Italy, because of rampant male chauvinism in the Left, threatens and must be faced.

The severe political move to the right, both in Italy and in West Germany, raises an urgency that every struggle in West Europe has to confront. The direction to be taken as the crisis deepens will be decided by the ideas developed from the ongoing struggles of students, feminists and workers, both unemployed and at the point of production.

The crisis demands, at the very least, recognition of the worldwide capitalist reaction. A mere repeat of last spring, great as it was, will not stop neo-fascism in West Germany or the Communist Party in Italy. It is not old deeds that must be repeated, but looking for that new point of departure that will provide a direction totally opposed to any elitism.

Youth in Revolt

Public outrage over the death of Joe Campos Torres last year in Houston, while in police custody, has forced the killers to be tried and convicted after they had been initially freed with a mere \$1 fine. Now another Chicano youth, Danny Vasquez, a 17-year-old high-school student, has been murdered in Texas. The unprovoked shooting by an El Paso Sheriff's Deputy, Sergio Guzman, on Jan. 23, came as the community was seeking to put an end to police running young Chicanos out of their park and physically molesting young women during drug searches. Support can be sent to: Danny Vasquez Justice Committee, PO Box 17111, El Paso, Texas 79917.

University of Indonesia students are organizing opposition against president Suharto who is running for a third term. Suharto, who came to power in 1965 through the slaughter of thousands of Leftists, sent troops onto the Jakarta campus Feb. 15, where they arrested and beat students. The government had arrested 500 and closed several publications earlier in January.

Student demonstrators at the University of Ghana at Legon and in Cape Coast and Kumasi conducted a mock burial on Jan. 20 of dictator General Acheampong, the ruling Supreme Military Council, and the proposal for an apolitical "union" government. The university of Ghana at Legon had been closed after violent police repression of student demonstrations.

Israeli youth protest Begin

New York, N.Y. — The week of Feb. 6, 18 high-school students in Israel wrote a letter to Prime Minister Begin, requesting that Israel withdraw from all occupied territories and establish a Palestinian state or "homeland."

The Israeli government severely criticized the students for "betraying the Jewish state." This forced a couple of students to retract their signatures, and others were encouraged to write letters to Begin to counteract this "radicalism."

The students' activity was sparked by the recent banning of a film which was to be aired on public television. The film was based on a book written by a soldier who fought in the war for Israel's independence and which makes clear that not all Palestinians voluntarily left the area known as Palestine, but were physically driven out.

Though progressive school teachers frequently use the book, the Minister of Education cancelled the airing of the film, not on the grounds that the information was false, but rather that the population must unite in an effort against its Arab enemies at this time. In response to this censorship, the workers at the television station took control of the station for about an hour.

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

philosophy as the "indispensible activity of mankind" (p. 4). Rather than playing up generic Man as opposed to the "classic" revolutionary proletariat, what Kosik is doing is rejecting the reductionist Communist concept of subjectivity, as if it meant nothing but petty bourgeois egoism, and re-establishing subjectivity as, at one and the same time, the ground of Hegelian dialectics and distinctively Marxian dialectics of Subject who shapes his own history.

KOSIK IS MOST explicit in his description of exploitation as resulting from "dead labor ruling over live labor, object ruling over man, product over its producers, the mystified subject over the real subject, the object ruling over the subject. Capitalism is a dynamic system of total reification and alienation, cyclically expanding and reproducing itself through catastrophes in which 'people' act behind masks of officers and agents of this mechanism, i.e. as its own components and elements" (p. 110).

Kosik's greatest contribution is the reintroduction of the dialectic as the revolutionary pivot of Marxism. We see this especially clearly in the crucial third chapter of the work which deals with Marx's Capital. Here, too, though Kosik sticks strictly to Capital as the concrete greatest work of Marx, with rigorous analysis of both its construction and its development of categories, he manages, though indirectly, to make it an attack on mechanical materialism, i.e., the ruling bureaucratized teaching of Capital, as if, once you counterpose social to individual, you have come to Marx's concept of the class struggle, not to mention the philosophy. As Kosik puts it, "Man is walled in in his socialness. Praxis which in Marx's philosophy had made possible both objectivation and objective cognition, and man's openness toward being, turns into social subjectivity and closedness: man is a prisoner of socialness" (p. 106).

And a few pages later he contrasts to this "socialness" Marx's revolutionary way out: "Capital turns out to be the 'odyssey' of concrete historical praxis which proceeds from the elementary labor product through a series of real formations in which the practical-spiritual activity of people in production is objectified and fixed, to conclude its journey not in the cognition of what it is in itself, but rather in a revolutionary practical action based on this cognition" (p. 111).

NO ONE NEED THINK that, because "Philosophy and Economy" is the most important chapter, Karel Kosik limits himself to either economics or philosophy. Rather, his work is a far-ranging and far-reaching critique on the glorification of science and culture, which he calls the metaphysics of science and culture. The East Europeans will feel a great affinity for Kosik's profound critique of Plekhanov, and they will easily guess that it's not only a critique of Plekhanov but of "socialist realism." Lukacs included. He considers that Plekhanov's work on art "lacks the 'human sensory activity' which cannot be reduced to 'psyche' or to the 'spirit of the times'" (p. 77), and holds that Plekhanov's method is a "one-sided approach smacking of Enlightenment" (p. 61). In the land of Kafka, the readers will know that reality is as irradiated by a great work of philosophy as by great works of literature and film.

The movement from practice over the past two decades that produced new theoretical departures, was by no means limited to East Europe but covered the world. This was most brilliantly articulated by Frantz Fanon, when he wrote that the Africans' struggles for freedom were "not a treatise on the universal, but the untidy affirmation of an original idea propounded as an absolute."* There is no doubt, of course, that once action supersedes the subjectivity of purpose, the unity of theory and practice is the form of life out of which emerge totally new dimensions; in the 1960s, these heralded women's liberation as well as Black, youth as well as labor.

It is these live forces that made the near-revolutions of the late 1960s. What is needed now is the singling out of the dialectic of Reason in so inseparable a manner from the movement from practice that freedom can be made a reality. It's this type of role for new, revolutionary subjectivity that Marx disclosed: "Not only do the objective conditions change in the act of reproduction, e.g., the village becomes a town, the wilderness a cleared field, etc., but the producers change, too, in that they bring out new qualities in themselves, develop themselves in production, transform themselves, develop new powers and ideas; new modes of intercourse, new needs and new language" (Grundrisse).

*Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (NY: Grove Press; 1966), p. 33.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

40,000 Nicaraguans demonstrate against Somoza's one-man rule

Nicaraguans took to the streets in Managua on Jan. 12 following the murder two days earlier of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, a newspaper editor who was a focal point for the opposition to the Anastasio Somoza dictatorship. Before 40,000 gathered at the funeral procession for Chamorro, banks and gouging businesses were burned down, including a branch of Citibank of New York.

The richest man in the country is its dictator, Somoza, the last in line of a dynasty of Somozas that has been in power, with U.S. help, since 1933—the year the 21-year occupation of Nicaragua by U.S. Marines ended. The Marines were then satisfied that the first dictator Somoza had enough of a monopoly of economic and military power to insure the U.S. a perpetual right to intervene and build an alternative to the Panama Canal, if they so wished.

Since then, the Nicaraguan National Guard, the only military and police force in the country, has been underwritten by the U.S. government and has been part of Somoza's one-man empire.

Plasmaferesis — one of the companies which the Somoza family has interest in and which was gutted by demonstrators — buys blood from poor Nicaraguans to sell in the U.S. and Western Europe. Chamorro had exposed this in his newspaper just before he was gunned down in the streets.

By the last week in January, a general strike erupted, closing more than 80 percent of the businesses and factories for two weeks. The strike involved all segments of this society, from banks and business managers (many of whom "went on strike because workers refused to work," according to one

manager of a milk pasteurization plant), to the popular nationalist Sandinista guerrillas, who renewed their attacks on the National Guard.

Women were attacked by the National Guard when they demonstrated at the UN offices against the "disappearance" of more than 350 relatives. There was an almost total boycott of the Feb. 5 municipal elections.

Though the general strike has ended, what has also ended is any notion that Somoza is invincible. New demonstrations broke out throughout Managua after a memorial march one month after Chamorro's murder. The strike lasted so long and involved so much of the population that Somoza cannot now destroy the movement by assassinating or locking up a few leaders.

Neo-fascism

We have received the following report from London:

Terror against socialists and ethnic and sexual minorities in Britain and France continues to escalate . . .

In Paris, members of the Jeune Nation fascist group, throwing smoke bombs and paint, broke up a gay film festival. Recently, French fascists have been participating in para-military training with the German Nazi Viking Jugend.

During the summer of 1977, there were 19 attacks on the offices of the Movement Against Racism and Anti-Semitism for Peace. Monuments to the French Resistance and victims of the Nazi Gestapo have been bombed. Francois Duprat, publisher of the Nazi journal, Anne Zero, has been visited by John Tyndall, leader of the National Front.

In Wolverhampton, Black youths have been attacked by men wearing Ku Klux Klan hoods, and the KKK has attacked offices of the Community Relations Council.

Tory leader Ms. (Margaret) Thatcher has jumped on the racist bandwagon by calling for an end to immigration.

Happily, the victims of reaction are fighting back. On the eve of the appeal by *Gay News* and its editor against conviction for blasphemous libel, 5,000 people marched through London to protest the conviction and attacks on gays.

In East London, 200 Blacks and white students chased away fascists who tried to distribute leaflets outside their school, while students at a school in Kent revolted against a teacher who is to stand as

an NF candidate.

An encouraging sign is the growth of the Anti-Nazi League which has the support of personalities in the world of entertainment and sport. A youth group, called School Students Against the Nazis, has been formed. The A.N.L., together with the Red-bridge Campaign Against Racism and Fascism, is campaigning against the racists' candidates in the upcoming Ilford North by-election.

—Terry Liddle

Western Europe

Immigrant workers, whose numbers have been reduced from 2.6 million in 1973 to 2 million today, are being made scapegoats of politicians all over Western Europe. Since 1973, the Social Democratic government in West Germany has set severe restrictions to prevent the employment of immigrants.

Workers from Africa, the Middle East, and Southern Europe were encouraged to immigrate during the boom years of the '50s and '60s to fill the service and industry jobs West Europeans rejected. Now they are being blamed for high unemployment and the economic crisis.

In France, where the Socialists and Communists are hoping to come to power, there is little said about this issue as the foreigners cannot vote. In Britain, Margaret Thatcher, the leader of the opposition Tories, practically echoed Enoch Powell, who has been conducting a ten-year racist campaign against dark-skinned people, when she warned of "being swamped by people with a different culture." Like in the U.S., racism everywhere is the refuge of capitalists in crisis.

Horn of Africa

The despotic military regime in Ethiopia has, for several months, been suffering defeats from Somalia in the south and from Eritrean liberation forces in the north. Russia has been pouring massive military assistance into Ethiopia, amounting to over one billion dollars. In addition, 4,000 Cuban troops and 1,500 Russian "advisors" are in Ethiopia participating in the war.

The United States had, until recently, been supplying Ethiopia with planes, tanks, guns and bombs. The most recent act of barbarism in this war saw Cuban pilots, using American-built F-5 fighters and Soviet MIG planes, bombing innocent Somali villagers in the Ogaden Region. Cuban pilots have also bombed and strafed areas of Eritrea killing hundreds, if not thousands.

The military regime in Ethiopia—which has the effrontery to call itself "Marxist" — has, besides Eritrea and Somalia, no less than five resistance movements fighting against it. U.S. imperialism, which was happy last year to sit back and gloat over what it considered Russia's fatal error in choosing to tilt toward Ethiopia, now finds itself the target for criticism from all sides in the conflict. Somali President Siad Barre said of his discussions with U.S. diplomats, "They told me that if I threw the Russians out, I could count on help. I threw them out and I have received nothing."

While the two superpowers fight their global politics out in the Horn of Africa, it is the Africans whose blood is being shed with increasing intensity.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

The national television audience was recently given the opportunity to view two separate performances the same night that appeared to have no relationship and yet were very much connected.

One was North Carolina's Governor J. B. Hunt Jr., explaining why he refused to pardon the Wilmington Ten. The other was "Roots, One Year After," a documentary film purporting to tell the effect that the ABC mini-series, "Roots," based on the book by Alex Haley, had on the nation. Both of these programs were designed to sidestep the issue of American racism by treating it as something that does not exist, or existed only in the past. And both professed a passionate faith in American institutions.

MYSTIFICATION OF "FAMILY"

This "faith in America" theme was more subtly handled in "Roots, One Year After." Here the image of the family was sacred, and closely woven with the mysterious sacred image of the Church. In Haley's book, "Roots," the family was more human, more real, but the hucksters at ABC had to sell a product, and it is easier to sell, so they must believe, when you can mystify it. Their mystification of family was such that very little human came through.

Kunta Kinte is seen as a dead ancestor, whose memory compels the living to fight for their freedom. This idea is underscored in two scenes: first, a documentary search for Kunta Kinte's grave by Alex Haley and LeVar Burton (the young Kunta Kinte). The grave is not found. Then the film cuts to the scene from "Roots," of Kizzy weeping sorrowfully and bitterly over the grave of her father, Kunta Kinte. She dedicates herself to the fight for freedom by violently etching "Kunta Kinte" on the headstone over the slave name of "Toby."

This was the only gesture dedicated to Black freedom. Everything else in the documentary gave an aura of harmonious Black and white relationships. The pervasiveness of this aura even extended to the institution of slavery.

In an interview with an aged descendant of Kunta Kinte's owner, he fondly remembers a tale that had come down in his family, about how Kunta Kinte was

'Roots' and Wilmington 10

such a hard worker (after his foot was chopped off for trying to escape) that he was promoted from field hand to house servant and finally to "carriageman" because of his diligency.

WHITE AND BLACK IS NOT BENIGN

The conscious theme of the Haley family saga is upward mobility, whether in slavery or in "freedom." Within this mobility is the sense of compromise, the predominant trait of most of the characters, especially revealed in Kinte's wife, The Fiddler, and Chicken George. In such a scheme, Kunta Kinte's passion for his freedom is reduced to the fact of his Africanness, and not to the conditions of slavery.

"Roots, One Year After," ends with a picnic and a church sermon, during which the white and Black Murrays have a "re-union." The white Murrays are the descendants of the masters of the maternal side of Haley's family. We are never allowed to hear what they said to each other at this gathering. All we hear is the sermon of platitudes on how religion heals.

The millions of people who read *Roots* and saw it dramatized on television were not attracted to this benign white and Black relationship, but by the impact upon their consciousness of their own humanity which the vast myriad of institutions and destructive social relationships attempt to crush. And the proof that this is not "past history" was the sight, that same night, of Governor Hunt, defending the sanctity of the state courts, and presenting his so-called "strong evidence" against the Wilmington Ten.

There was no mention of the methods by which the State had gathered this "evidence" or the witnesses who recanted their testimony — the issues which drew the attention of Amnesty International and CBS's 60 Minutes Special. Nor did the Governor find it necessary to mention that nine of the Wilmington Ten were Blacks, who had been opposing racism in North Carolina and that they were convicted during a reign of white terror.

The real relationships between people in the U.S. today are not benign nor are they all this easily mystified, either by the government or by the media, because the passion for freedom is more powerful than any professed passionate faith in American institutions.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

and I felt with those who had won the fight that it was a part of the revolution.

There was something new for TV that not everyone did know—that was the role of the Kennedys, and that of Hoover and the FBI. That was somewhat surprising to see, but it is after they are all dead that they show on TV what they really were.

I did not realize that, at the end of the struggle in Birmingham, Bull Connor's police refused to carry out his orders to turn the hoses and dogs loose on the marchers, although I know they had done it before.

You watch the frustration on Bull Connor's face, but again they did not show the courage and stamina of the marchers. When mad dogs were tearing at the young people and they were not moving or flinching, and when the fire hoses were coming against their bodies with such tremendous force and they still stood there taking whatever Bull Connor threw at them, one would have to feel this was revolution.

AGAINST VIETNAM WAR

But it was when King said he was coming out against the Vietnam War, which split his following, that the lies that Hoover had put out against him were given greater circulation again all over the country. One worker said that President Johnson was giving Rev. King FBI protection until he came out against the war, and that Johnson then pulled the protection away from him. Many people still believe it was a conspiracy that led to his murder.

The drama presented some facts that were new to much of the audience, but it dangerously rewrote history. It showed some around King and ignored others, and so kept hidden much of the content of the Freedom Movement. It failed to show masses in motion at every step of the way, or the whole transformation it made in the participants in Selma, in Birmingham, or across the country. It made it harder to see the Civil Rights Movement not just as history, but as part of the preparation for making the revolution we need today.