

Nixon 'crunch' hits hard at unemployed

by Charles Denby, Editor

One of the most annoying and tiring things that unemployed workers are faced with is the time spent standing in those never-ending lines waiting to register for unemployment checks. Sometimes it takes three or four hours, and they get longer every week.

All kinds of discussions take place among the unemployed on those lines, but it always comes down to Nixon and his administration. Such as: it is his fault that so many workers are out of a job; it is his doing that caused this energy crunch.

There was an announcement in the press that the President may give the unemployed an additional 13 weeks of compensation, after they have drawn out their 26 weeks. Everyone thought that was standard procedure. One older worker said that for years, as far back as he could remember, when you finished with your 26 weeks of company money, then the Federal and state governments allowed you to file for the additional weeks that they are supposed to pay for.

But two years ago, he was drawing on his last 13 weeks. After receiving three checks, they stopped the payments and told him the Federal government had ended benefits for the extra weeks. And if it were ever reinstated he could come again and apply for the rest of his weeks that were left.

NIXONOMICS

Another unemployed worker said, "Everything working people need to exist is 'inflationary.' Take the minimum wage law—Nixon says \$2.50 an hour is inflationary. That man ran on a platform that he would bring prices down if elected, and prices have been rising three times as fast since he has been in office. Not by a few pennies a month, but everything goes a nickel or a dime higher every week. These large corporations and big business firms jack up prices every time they want to, but Nixon never says that is inflationary. He says that is the free enterprise system at work. Just pass it on to the consumers, that is the working people, because we have nothing to sell but our labor, and we have to buy everything with what we get for our labor.

"What makes me mad as hell is the way those damn news reporters and newspapers write about laid-off auto workers, saying we will be getting 95% of our weekly pay." Then this worker pulled out a union paper where it stated that in one auto plant where 12,000 workers were laid off, only 500 were eligible for that 95% of their basic pay, because the big majority had less than two years.

SUB PAY RUNS OUT

They never tell that to the public, they make it sound like we unemployed are much better off than those who are working and have a job. It's like saying we will be getting 95% of our working pay as long as we do not have a job. How in the hell do they think we can live after those 26 weeks have expired? Even if we get the extra 13 weeks, we sure won't be getting any 95% of our pay then, not even 75% of it. After that, how many of us workers will have to head for the welfare line?

I noticed the headline in a daily paper yesterday that read, "One out of three welfare cases called faulty."

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Repression of Indians shows true U.S. direction

Detroit, Mich.—The trials that grew out of the occupation of Wounded Knee last year have just started. The American people haven't looked too closely up to now at the position of the Native Americans, but if they look at these trials they will be able to see, through the American Indians, what this whole country is about to become.

Our lives are totally controlled by the governments of the U.S. and Canada. Everything that happens to us comes from the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs or the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Since Wounded Knee, a special force is being trained by the CIA as a riot control force to prevent any further uprisings. It will be a special police force made up of Indian people, trained and sent back to the reservations. It is a good example for us of what the capitalist state is like.

Everything that happens on the reservations is concerned with profit, not with the Indian people. Land is being exploited by the big corporations. They will clear out an area of a reservation to build a factory, and try to convince people that this is economic development, and that the Indian people will benefit from it. But all that is really happening is that the people are being forced to move into one corner of the reservation.

The same thing was true in Canada around the James Bay project. They tried to pretend it was for the good of the country, but it was the Indian people who lost out.

NEWS LETTERS

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Global politics of oil exploits all sides; deepens crisis of world state-capitalism

By Peter Mallory

Nixon's conference of 13 oil-consuming nations which was to provide the unity necessary to confront the oil-producing countries has displayed nothing but the utter disarray of worldwide state capitalism. 1973, which Kissinger declared to be "the Year Of Europe", shows Europe as a self-seeking collection of nations, as is the U.S. Their divergent goals are leading their countries into recession and the total collapse of the Atlantic Alliance.

The oil crisis could see the end of the Common Market since they are quite unable to reach agreement on any major issue and stand eight to one against French proposals on the Mid-East.

The effect of increased oil prices in the United States is being felt everywhere: weekly skyrocketing increases of gasoline prices, crippling shortages of fuel oil, vast unemployment in auto plants and many other industries. Prices for transportation are inflating the cost of every item the worker purchases.

The oil monopoly is now permitted to charge up to \$10 a barrel for oil from newly-drilled wells which sold for \$2.50 six months ago, while the government finds itself in the position where it knows more about oil production in Siberia than it does in the United States.

Up until recently all negotiations between the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the oil industry were private affairs, with the U.S. State Dept. urging the oil companies to take it easy and make whatever concessions were necessary. When Kuwait nationalized the holdings of Gulf Oil, or Qaddafi seized British and American holdings in Libya, there was hardly a murmur of dissent.

NATIONALIZATION, INDUSTRIALIZATION

Some of the "new left" and old radicals, are under the illusion that nationalization and new untold billions for "the Arabs" will result in the mass industrialization of the underdeveloped countries, leading to the development of a new native bourgeoisie, from whom will come the impetus to overthrow the Kings, Sheiks, Emirs, Shahs and the military dictators that rule these countries. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Industrialization of the underdeveloped countries, in this age of state capitalism, will take place from the top, as state-owned, state capitalist from the start, serving the needs of the masters, not the masses. It will furthermore embrace from the start the most modern automated types of machinery and processes or be doomed to failure.

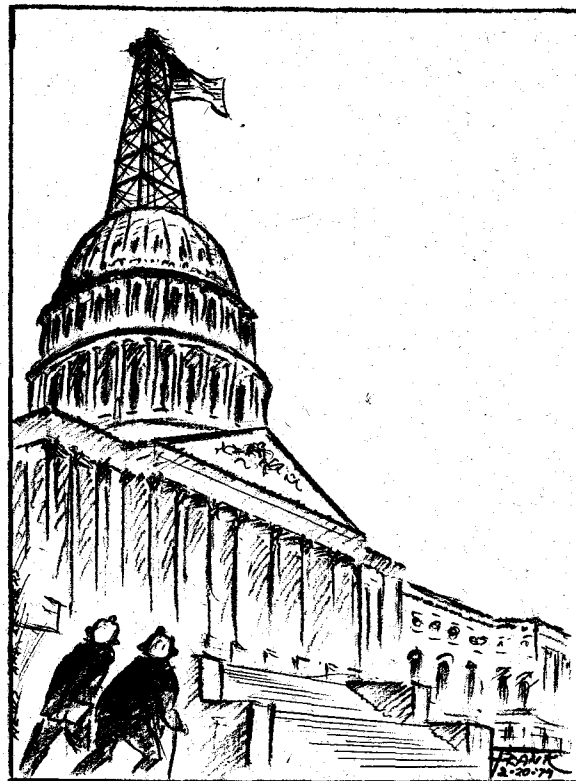
Any thought of an industry being developed that would employ vast numbers of low-paid native laborers on the scale it was done in the 18th century is just not in the cards.

FEUDAL STATE CAPITALISM

The increase in the price of crude oil from \$2 a barrel to \$14 on the world market, which has nothing to do with the Israel-Arab conflict, has thrown the world economy into chaos. No segment of life in any part of the world is unaffected by it.

To talk today of the "World Market" as if it were a freely-functioning organ of traditional capitalist exchange, ignores the OPEC which has emerged full bloom

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In every field, whether it is economics, education or just living, our lives are being controlled. Those who have suffered through "urban renewal" know what we are talking about—you are moved whether you want to go or not.

The aftermath of Wounded Knee was covered up. Since then there have been a dozen killings. There have been confrontations that have never been reported. It has been able to be totally covered up because we are a small number of people.

One of the biggest things we have to contend with is the psychological effect the borders put on Indian people. When the Berlin Wall was put up in Germany, everybody condemned it. But they all seem to accept the U.S.-Canadian border here—everyone, except the Indian people.

And now we have the trials. It is a helluva thing when you do something to defend yourself on your own land and get busted, and then have to ask for justice from the very same people who were just shooting you down. We are looking to the American people for support, but we cannot help wondering if we are really going to get any justice.

We look at Nixon, who is still ruling from the White House, though he has defied the courts time after time. He refuses to appear when summoned. He refuses to give over tapes. We see him get away with it, and wonder what kind of justice we can expect?

—AIM member

(For more on the AIM trial, see Page 7)

International Women's Day: then and now

by Joan Buchheister

The month of March marks the celebration of the 66th anniversary of International Women's Day, March 8, first held by women in New York City to commemorate a series of long and bitter strikes by garment workers for decent working conditions and union recognition. This desire for a better way of life has been evident among working women not just in the contemporary era of women's liberation but throughout history.

One of the largest and most significant strikes in the organization of working women, and in the history of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, took place in the beginning of the 20th century among the shirtwaist makers in New York and Philadelphia. Up to 30,000 walked off their jobs—75% of them women, many between 16 and 25 years old. They stayed out for 13 weeks, picketing with signs saying "We are Striking for Human Treatment" and "We Strike for Justice."

Garment workers, and women working under similar conditions in other trades, struggled for more than 50 years to humanize their lives. Countless strikes and attempts by women to organize unions in small shops all over the country were beaten down because of lack of support and recognition, not only by employers, but by men within the unions who maintained that women could

Discussion Article

Black women and WL

The following are excerpts from a talk on "Black Women and Women's Liberation" sponsored by the Los Angeles News & Letters Committee.—Ed.

by Audrey William

I was born a woman and I was born Black. They knew I was going to be Black before they knew I was going to be a woman. And we are told that Black is anything that is no good in this society.

Women's Liberation is nothing new to Black women. We have been liberated ever since the world began, first by just being Black, second by being women. Black women have played the role of being the ruler and protector of her family.

We are the women who were kidnapped and brought to this continent as slaves. We were raped and are still being raped. We are the women whose bodies are sacrificed in the white man's hospital for the sake of white medicine. We are the women whose bodies were and still are being used as cheap labor for Miss Mary's kitchen and Master Charlie's bed. We are the women who dwell in the hell-hole ghettos all over the land — lusted after, sneered at, yelled at, grabbed at, tracked down by whites in poverty neighborhoods. And are called jealous and prejudiced if we protest this invasion.

We have watched our fathers, husbands and sons denied, deprived and driven mad. A high proportion of Black women become welfare mothers, usually without a husband, because capitalism found it necessary to create a situation where her man can't find meaningful employment.

Black women are expected to be primarily mothers, domestics and prostitutes. Teaching, social work, typing and other office work are only possibilities if she has finished high school or college.

As the movement toward the liberation of the woman grows, the Black woman will find herself, if she is at all sensitive to the issues of feminism, in a serious dilemma. For the Black movement is primarily concerned with the liberation of Blacks as a group and does not promote women's liberation as a priority. Indeed the movement is for the most part spearheaded by males.

The feminist movement, on the other hand, is concerned with the oppression of women as a group, but is almost totally composed of white women. Thus the Black woman finds herself on the outside of both political entities in spite of the fact that she is the object of both forms of oppression. If we as Black women are to get basic—the first job is to find out what liberation for ourselves means.

We have an obligation as Black women to project ourselves into the revolution to destroy those institutions which not only oppress Blacks, but women as well.

But until you as a white woman accept me as a woman who is Black, and not a Black woman, I want no part of your movement . . . You as a white woman can't consider yourself as my sister and expect me to be in your home, in your kitchen, cooking for your husband and babysitting for your baby.

I am no longer a tool that can be used by the white man . . . Until the Black woman and the white woman stand up together . . . fight for what they believe in, accept that what I want might not be what she wants, and what she wants might not be what I want—until we can come together, the women's liberation movement will go nowhere.

I am not mad at the Black man, but I am mad that he hasn't rejected what the capitalist system is doing to him. My husband would go off to work, get mad at the boss man, but knock my head off. If we as Blacks—not just women, but both men and women—would get together and relate to each other what the capitalist system is doing to us as a whole, there would be no need for separation, because we would understand.

not be organized.

It was women's continuous self-activity that led Raya Dunayevskaya, in her new book *Philosophy and Revolution*, to single out women as one of the "new passions and new forces" striving after freedom and a totally new human society. In the historic women's labor struggles, as in the early stages of the modern-day WL movement, "different kinds of women who had never joined anything before became activists and thinkers" (Chapter 9, *Philosophy and Revolution*). As Ms. Dunayevskaya stresses, women—then and now—are both Reason and revolutionary force.

BREAD AND FREEDOM

To the women working in dehumanizing turn-of-the-century sweatshops, equal rights meant more than just education or getting the right to vote. Equality also meant better pay, as well as security from fire or machine hazards, or the unwanted attentions of a foreman. And as one young mother involved in the garment strike put it, "It is not only bread we give our children . . . We live by freedom, and I will fight till I die to give it to my children."

Unlike the white, middle-class-oriented suffrage movement which concentrated on the one issue of getting the vote, the working women's struggle was a unity of women of all ages and different ethnic backgrounds who shared the idea of freedom from the oppression they endured day after day, and fought together again and again in an attempt to achieve it. It is this self-activity of working women, this unity of both Reason and action, which will give direction to today's WL movement.

WL NOTES

The Farah strikers, almost all Chicana women, on strike since May 10, 1972, won a sweeping decision before the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The judge ordered Farah to rehire six workers fired for union activity and give them back pay. Farah has to rehire 2,000 workers and restore their seniority, and they must allow the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to organize in the plant. A complete settlement was finally announced Feb. 24.

In Rome, Italy, campaigning has begun for repeal of a hard-won three-year-old law permitting divorce. The tensions that will inevitably result could bring down the seven-month-old government of Premier Mariano Rumor. Some of the support for repeal comes from women in Southern Italy whose husbands have gone in search of jobs and who are afraid of being abandoned.

Seventy-five people, mostly women, demonstrated in San Francisco on Feb. 11, to show solidarity with nearly 100 American Indian women on trial in South Dakota for their part in Wounded Knee. The demonstration was an effort to dramatize the actions of women during the occupation of Wounded Knee, and to call for a dismissal of the indictments and for self-determination for Native American people.

The newly formed Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), held planning meetings attended by more than 500 women in the midwest and on the east coast. The thrust of the meetings was to organize a CLUW national conference to be held in Chicago, Mar. 23-24 around the issues of child care, maternity benefits, wages and organizing the huge number of unorganized women in the U. S.



Support for Sears strikers grows in S. F.

San Francisco, Cal.—More than 150 strikers, their families and supporters staged an afternoon-long sit-down in one of the two unionized Sears stores, Feb. 9, to dramatize their determination to win their six-month strike against Sears. The sit-down was the latest action by the 300 strikers, 80 percent of whom are women.

A crowd of more than 3,000 — Black and white, women and men — came to a rally a week before, called to show labor's solidarity. However, when the 20 or so speakers came out, there was an obvious grumble through the crowd because they were all white and all men.

Later in the program, after a lot of maneuvering, a woman from Union W.A.G.E. took a seat on the platform. When she finally spoke, it was about the fact that there were no women speakers when most of the strikers are women. She got the most applause of the day, and a standing ovation from all of the women.

The strikers have also attracted up to 250 union rank-and-file and non-union supporters to their picket lines on weekends. In three hours of picketing, all five parking lots together never had more than 25 cars, and many of those belonged to scabbing employees.

The issues involved are increased health and welfare benefits, a 25 cent per hour raise, and a freeze on sales quotas required to earn commissions. The question is whether or not the corporation will be successful in its efforts to break the union.

One woman striker said, "Sometimes, the non-union people who are crossing the picket lines to go to work, come out and tell us 'Wow, I'll sure be glad when you win the strike. We can really use the raise.' Someone else always benefits from another person's suffering and sweat. Some of those scabs should try going six months without a pay check."

When one shopper yelled to the strikers, "It's you people who are causing the inflation," a woman striker called after her, "Not us. It's Nixon and everyone with him who started the inflation so they'd get more money and power and hurt working people."

Boycott Sears!!

—Strike Supporter

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

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With the celebration of International Women's Day on March 8, it is time to see women as one of the "new passions and new forces" seeking freedom now.

"The uniqueness of today's Women's Liberation movement is that it dares to challenge what is . . . not only under capitalism but within the revolutionary movement itself . . . They wished to release all women — most of all Black, working class, Chicana, Indian . . . freedom meant now . . . not waiting for the day of the revolution." —pp. 279-280

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Workers seek answers to GM South Gate lay-offs

by Felix Martin

South Gate, Cal.—At GM South Gate they have done away with the night shift and all the young guys. This leaves only the older guys on the day shift. Guys that are on the line now haven't been on the assembly line for years. It is really murder!

A few of us who are left were talking at lunch. One worker with 20 years talked about the concept of reverse seniority. With reverse seniority the older workers would have a choice to work or take off during a slow-down. He said he had read about it in the GM South Gate Workers' Committee leaflet. "I can't understand why older workers are here busting our rear ends and we won't be able to stand it, and all these young people who are trying to raise a family and buy a home are laid off drawing unemployment and supplemental unemployment. We need early retirement and semi-retirement."

PALE AS A SHEET

I have been looking at a lot of workers after eight hours on that line. They are pale as a sheet after those hours. And the paleness is not just from working on the line, which they are scared they can't do. They also fear what will happen when they are thrown on the street at age 40 or 50 with no jobs around.

The conversation at lunch reminded me of a discussion a few of us had before, concerning the energy crisis—how it would affect all labor and what could be done about it. Most seemed to agree that the crisis was brought on by the oil companies with the help of Nixon. The enormous profits by oil companies in this self-made energy crisis have become the chopping block for millions of workers' jobs.

One guy brought up the idea of a labor party. He was a young radical with 18 months in the plant. He said, "All the plants would be nationalized and controlled by the government which would be the labor party. Wages would be raised 20 per cent."

CLIQUES IN POWER

Some seemed to agree with this, but another young worker with seven years at Ford almost exploded: "It seems that it would only be giving a new name to the same old party that we already have—the Democratic Party. This nationalization—I don't see any difference if the party owns and controls it, or if it is controlled like it is today by the corporations with the help of the government."

"I had the experience of building a group in my plant. It wasn't a labor party, but it was the same sort

of thing—a clique to take power in the local. It overthrew another clique which was in power, but it became the same as what it had thrown out. If a labor party is this, only on a bigger scale, then we don't need it. We need something different." Several workers who had been for the labor party nodded in agreement.

Both of these discussions related to some reading I have been doing recently. I have been looking at some explanations of Hegelian dialectics and especially the concept of free flowing ideas expressed by everyone. In these conversations it was the free flow by almost everyone that hit home. And even when people make mistakes they learn by expressing themselves and having others react to what they said.

N.J. postal workers wildcat

Jersey City, N.J.—Over 1500 postal workers wildcatted at the bulk and foreign mail center here to stop management from ordering both shifts to come in three hours later. Management at first tried to break the walkout by getting injunctions against us. Then management and the union went before a judge, but management refused to compromise. So the judge ordered the old hours back pending arbitration.

When you live in New York, you have to ride quite a while to come to work here. And if we get out at 3:30 in the morning, at those hours on the subways going home, nobody wants this.

This mail center here is the only one in the whole country where they have tried to put the new shift into effect. If it works out with us, if we give in and take those new hours, and these postal officials say that the three-hour difference would make the mail move easier, they may do it to all the other plants.

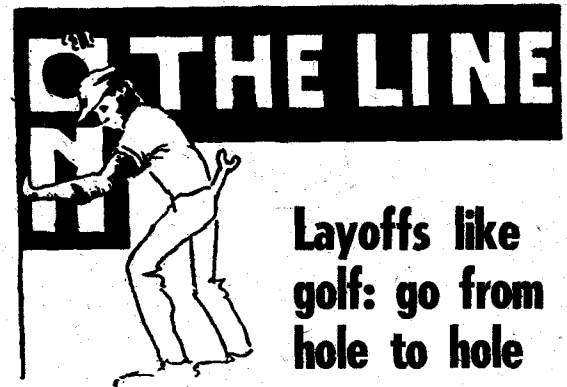
We have to do what we're doing now because if we don't get off it now, management just does whatever they want and pushes us around like pieces on a chess board. When everybody was getting court injunctions to go back to work, one worker said, "If we don't move now it'll be like a concentration camp for the rest of the time. We said we're not going back."

Union President Moe Biller said he would back the workers even if he had to go to jail. If we went to jail, there wouldn't be a postal worker at work in the whole metropolitan area.

Since the strike, working conditions have eased up a little. I think management failed in their efforts to break the union—they played their trump card and lost. They don't even have their own courts behind them. Even the little foremen were in sympathy with us. Management has brought in 300 temps as a "supplementary work force," which is really to move the mail in case of another wildcat.

—Wildcatter

**READERS:
DO YOU HAVE A STORY
TO TELL? SEND IT IN!**



by John Allison

Factory life is like playing a game of golf: you go from one hole to another. Chrysler-Jefferson plant in Detroit started the lay-off game.

The first stop: unemployment office. Get a date . . . then wait.

When you return for your unemployment check, you will stand in line for six and seven hours before you are waited on.

The young workers will return to that line time and time again.

The old timer will more than likely get one check. Then, if he's lucky, he'll receive a telegram to report to another of Chrysler's plants. This is due to the area-wide seniority agreement in Chrysler, which permits high-seniority laid off workers to bump low seniority workers in area plants.

Whatever job the old-timer is given has to be taken—or else. The new job always pays less than the old. Most of the work is in service plants and parts depots, and this is where wages are less than in manufacturing.

Now, the young seniority worker in service and depot has to be laid off to make room for the old-timer.

All of this works out to management's benefit, of course. The young worker will run out of unemployment and wind up on welfare. The old timer will be transferred to a new plant, a new job. He might get a short work-week, but no lay-off because if he doesn't work, Chrysler has to pay for his supplemental unemployment benefits (SUB) and unemployment, for 12 months.

All of this movement of workers will result in the returning to the streets of young people who will create a condition in the city that will make all past and present conditions seem like a Sunday school picnic.

Hunt's Pt. warehouse strike

Bronx, N.Y. — 1500 porters and warehousemen at the Hunt's Point Terminal Market, which supplies fresh produce to greater N.Y., struck for five days after rejecting the contract the union leadership presented and won a better contract.

The president of Teamsters' Local 202 had gone to the owners and told them, I have this contract ratified. When he came back to the union members, there was a vote. Only 48 people voted not to strike out of 1500. So we set up pickets. No union delegate even showed up at the picket-line.

One worker said, "Foremen are in the union. So what kind of union can you have? We get no grievances settled, everyone's paying the same dues. The union arbitrates them and we have nothing to say."

"One day I was in that first house, Craig Anne, and there's this old man standing on the platform, and he was supposed to get three boxes of cabbages delivered, but he had four boxes. Man, they jumped on that old man so bad, he had tears in his eyes. I sat there myself and cried. They don't know how to talk to people, they talk to you like an animal."

Because we struck, we won \$45 over three years, which is more than 5.5%, but it's really nothing the way prices are going up. The only good thing really was the pension plan, for earlier retirement. But how many can last that long at Hunt's Point?

—Hunt's Pt. Warehouseman

Dockers strike S. Africa ship

San Francisco, Cal. — On Friday, Feb. 15, 300 people showed up outside Pier 23 to protest the unloading of cargo off a ship from South Africa. Although the ship had been docked there since Monday, and crews had been working it all week, the longshoremen who came to work that morning agreed to respect the picket line and went home.

The demonstration was organized by the Bay Area Committee on African Liberation in an effort to stop the trading with racist white regimes in Southern Africa. They said this will not be their only action, but they will come back every time a ship from South Africa, or the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique stops in the Bay Area. They pointed to a similar action in Baltimore recently, where the dockers there refused to unload a Rhodesian ship.

The longshoremen's union, ILWU, after consulting for a day, decided to go back to work and unload the ship, to avoid contractual hassles. But the Committee is hopeful that the brothers will respect the picket line again the next time it is set up around a Southern African ship.

—Demonstrator

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FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

(This month a new shop paper appeared at Fleetwood. It is called FLEETWOOD WORKERS SPEAK. We thought this story from it would interest our readers—Ed.

Detroit, Mich.—The lay-off we have had at Fleetwood hurts all the workers. The workers who were laid off have been used to overtime money and now find themselves on compensation, which is about the normal pay. It also hurts the workers who are left in the shop. We are hurting from speed-up and inhuman treatment. Everyone is asking: "Where is the union?"

The union is having a hard time representing workers. When the committeeman goes to the Blue Room (labor relations) to represent a worker, he might get time off as well as the worker. I know that at least four committeemen have gotten disciplinary lay-offs since this trouble started.

The committeemen shouldn't be punished for defending workers. That's what they were elected for. The foreman can cuss out a worker, but if the committeeman cusses out the foreman—he's out. We are supposed to have union representation in bad times as well as good. We can't get representation if GM throws out half the committeemen. You can't get representation if it takes two weeks to hear a grievance and committee calls are never answered.

When you go to the Blue Room, it's like a Kangaroo Court. You can prove you're right and the foreman is

wrong. And still lose because Labor Relations is the judge, the jury and the prosecutor.

I want to know: what is the union doing when their own committeemen get time off? We have not heard a word about a meeting to deal with the emergency. Something is wrong in UAW Local 15. Something must be done now!

Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich. — I was talking to an older guy who works with me in the DAP. He said he's been working there since before WWII and helped to form the union. He told me, "I've seen guys' heads busted and seen them killed to form the UAW. Yet the union lets us work 12 to 14 hours a day and doesn't do anything about it."

"The union has developed into something totally different than what we fought for. It doesn't represent the workers at all any more."

This guy's remark seems to be the thinking of everyone at Rouge. I've even seen this idea written on the toilet stalls: "If we only had a union!"

We had a meeting at Local 600 last Sunday — the first one in over two months — because they are electing more committeemen all over the plant. But I think they only will use these committeemen to talk more guys out of filing grievances or trying to see the head committeeman because nothing ever gets done about these terrible conditions.

—DAP worker

EDITORIAL**State of the Union: recession, repression, and revolt**

No sooner had President Nixon finished his State of the Union address, in which he declared "there will be no recession," than his own Department of Labor announced the new unemployment statistics for January. These grim figures put a quick end to the ridiculous charade engineered by Nixon and his "Mad Hatter," Treasury Secretary Schultz, who cynically told the press that "there will be no recession because whatever happens, we will not call it a recession."

The January unemployment figures revealed the sharp increase in layoffs across America. Workers thrown on the street numbered 4.8 million, or 5.2 percent of the work-force, up fully half a million unemployed in just two months. Nor does this chilling statistic really represent the severity of the crisis. For factory workers, the unemployment rate was put at 6 percent; for minorities, 9.4 percent; and for youth, 15.6 percent. And while the figures for Black youth are no longer released, Arthur Brimmer, of the Federal Reserve Board, estimated that 42 percent of Black workers under 25 years old were out of work.

FLINT — 12 PERCENT JOBLESS

So rapidly are the ranks of the jobless mounting, that even the bourgeois economists are predicting that unemployment will hit eight or even 12 percent by summer. And in auto cities like Flint, Mich., 12 percent are already unemployed and 20 percent unemployment is forecast. No less than 138,000 UAW members have already gotten the "indefinite" layoff axe. (See "Workers' Journal," page 1). The cutbacks are not limited to auto. Steel, rubber, glass, construction and machinery plants have begun their own layoffs. Retail workers are now feeling the effects of the swift drop in sales.

Despite the fact that Nixon, or his "master negotiator," Dr. Kissinger, are daily predicting an end to the Arab oil embargo, the truth remains that the recession was already under way even before the embargo began. As long ago as last spring, the strategists of Nixonomics were declaring that the economy was "overheated" and would have to be "cooled down." The time had obviously come to once again enlarge the "reserve army of the unemployed."

The announcement by John Dunlop, head of the Cost of Living Council, that nearly all wage and price controls would be removed on April 30, will only add to the suffering American workers have already endured under this chaotic on-again, off-again, state-capitalist economy. Last year, with those wonderful wage-price controls "on," the cost of living went up nine percent overall. Food prices shot up 20 percent, and fuel was up 15 percent.

The truth is that real income you can spend actually dropped three percent in the last year. Today, U. S. factory workers are making less than they made in 1967! Nixon's new \$304 billion budget, far from assuring that "we will check the rise in prices in 1974," guarantees even worse inflation in the months ahead. The gigantic outlay proposed for new investment in weapons systems means that the militarization of the American economy will continue, Vietnam or no Vietnam — and with it, sky-high prices.

One thing that Nixonomics did assure in 1973 was a fantastic increase in corporate profits, and not just the profits of the oil companies about which we have heard so much. While it is true that Exxon topped the list with profits of \$2.5 billion, General Motors was not suffering as it counted its \$2.4 billion, up 11 percent.

Nor are these giants satisfied with their spoils, and the energy crisis offers them an opportunity too good to be missed, not only to increase profits, but once again to discipline the workers.

REPRESSION WITH RECESSION

Every worker knows all too well that along with recession comes repression. And while much publicity has been given to the unemployed, the struggle of those left behind in the shop, facing incredible speed-up, is now literally a battle of life or death. With the energy crisis, a new twist has been added. Every corporation is thinking up new ways to use it to roll back any gains workers made in the 1960s.

Take the coal mines, where the furor and wildcat strikes that followed the 1969 Farmington mine disaster forced the passage of the Occupational Health and Safety Act. Now Bethlehem Steel is threatening to cut steel pro-

duction, and blaming it on insufficient supplies of coal. They modestly suggest that the problem could be solved if the OSHA was forgotten. Never mind that 1973 saw 5.6 million workers killed or injured on the job in America.

The determined resistance of the coal miners, in Britain as well as in America, shows that they are not about to sit still for this kind of repression. (See miners' stories, pp. 5 and 8). They know very well that the energy crisis cuts both ways, and that no one is going to get that precious coal out of the ground except them.

To the resistance of the workers is added their complete disbelief in everything the government says, whether it comes from Nixon, or from those gutless wonders of the Democratic Party who bemoan him, while doing nothing. It has never been more evident that the only solution to recession as well as repression is a complete transformation of society, from the state-capitalist rule under which we "live," to a new world where decisions — in production and in life — are made by the whole population, "to a man, woman and child."

News & Letters

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UNEMPLOYMENT

If taken as just a raise in percentage points, unemployment has no human significance. It's when the "fact" of unemployment is placed in its world-historical context — as you did in the Jan.-Feb. issue — that it can be understood and grasped for what it is, the crisis of capitalism.

Student
Los Angeles

Leonard Woodcock's recent proposal to restrict the importation of foreign cars is additional evidence he is not on the side of the workers. His proposal would take more out of the hides of "foreign" workers without lessening the fleecing of American workers. He is more concerned about the brotherhood of capital and labor than the brotherhood of the working class. International solidarity? Humbug!

Reader
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Pepsico's shutting down of their Rheingold Beer brewery in Brooklyn just shows again the complete opposition between human needs and this society. Those 1,500 Rheingold workers, many of whom have worked there for up to 25 years, needed that job, and who knows who will hire them now? Those in control would much rather hire only young people who can be used for 20 or 30 years and maybe not make it to their pension.

Pepsico says they were losing money because of out-dated equipment—much of which is new automatic machinery put in only one year ago! But they'd rather dump 100,000 gallons of beer in the river and take a tax loss.

Angry
New York City

Unemployed again, I went down to the Canada Manpower Centre to look for work the other day. The big difference now is that they have a serve-yourself system instead of counselors, which is okay with me, but I wonder how many counselors were phased out of their jobs.

Reader
Windsor

I feel the important thing to see is that the crisis is not one of corruption and greed by individuals. It's the nature of this system to breed the corruption.

Skilled Worker
California

BRITISH DOCKERS

When I heard that the British dockworkers had refused to unload scab grapes that arrived in London's port, it reminded me of the way British textile workers demonstrated to support the North during the civil war, despite the fact that it meant no cotton for their factories and therefore unemployment for them. It will surely mean additional hardship and unemployment for the dockworkers, at the very moment Britain is in real economic crisis, but all 10,000 dockers in London backed up the 400 workers who refused to unload the scab grapes.

UFW Supporter
Detroit

THE ORGANIZED BLIND

Over 100 blind people — men, women, young people, Black, white, and Indian — met here Feb. 2, called together by the National Federation of the Blind (NFB) to discuss how to stop the threat that the National Accreditation Council (NAC) for agencies serving the blind and visually handicapped posed to all blind people. NAC wants to set standards for all agencies who "educate," "provide job training for," "rehabilitate," "employ," or "serve" the blind. These "standards" are not meant to insure quality, but to control the flow of government and private foundation money to blind agencies.

The vast majority of blind people are denied employment, and are at the mercy of one or another state or private agency, or forced into "sheltered industry" doing work that is usually unwanted and always underpaid.

As NFB speakers said: "We are full human beings. We have special problems which we will have to solve for ourselves. We want the right to develop our individual potentials."

The spirit of this meeting is very new to me and I have been legally blind my whole life. This spirit came right out of the Civil Rights Movement of the '60s. Like the youth revolt and the women's movement, the organized blind have caught the idea of freedom. For more information write: National Federation of the Blind, Suite 218, Randolph Hotel, Fourth and Court Streets, Des Moines, Iowa 50309.

Marxist-Humanist
Detroit

TRUCKERS' PROTEST

I went down to one of the diesel fuel outlets where the truckers were blocking the fuel pumps. I asked one of the drivers what they were trying to do and he said they do not want a 15 percent hike in the price of goods. They know they are consumers too and that in the end they will gain nothing by getting more for the goods they haul. Instead they want a roll-back in prices of diesel fuel.

Some truckers said that Nixon is helping in a squeeze play of the large trucking firms to force out the independents. At the station where I was, the owner said he would stay down with the truckers because they are his customers. He has gotten pressure from Standard and was told he had until the next Monday to open his station or face oil company action.

But the drivers and the station owner had worked out a plan where they can pull in for five gallons at a time, thereby keeping his station open while still blocking any trucks going to or coming from the East.

Reader
Los Angeles

It's just as bad for us workers as it is for the truckers. We should all do what they did — park ourselves on the roads.

Unemployed
California

THE WAR CONTINUES

VVAW has started a health care collective in Bogue Chitto, Ala., a Black rural community about 30 miles west of Selma. The Fuel Hoax and Nixonomics have reached here, too. Men and women are losing jobs, rides to school and town cost more. Patients in the doctors' clinics in Selma show up in acute distress (small children with ruptured appendixes, women needing emergency surgery, old folks with strokes). One old man waited five days for transportation to the hospital after seeing his physician for urinary retention.

We are hoping to be able to open our Martin Luther King Memorial Clinic in Bogue Chitto by April 15, where we hope to provide health screening, emergency care, health education. A major need is an emergency vehicle with radio communication to offer quick delivery of the seriously ill, injured, and prematurely born infants to the nearest hospital in Selma.

If you would like more information, or can send donations or medical supplies, write:

Linda Regnier, R.N.
Route #1 — Box 109
Brown, Alabama, 36724

Despite Nixon's claims that the Vietnam era has ended, the Army continues to severely punish war resisters who return. On Jan. 22 the Fort Dix command lodged additional charges against Lew Simon and Ed McNally, who surrendered to FBI agents in N.Y. at Christmas to dramatize the need for amnesty. Although their public surrender was watched by millions on TV, the Army now charges that they were "captured," thus adding an additional year's imprisonment. They have been constantly harassed while in the stockade.

We are organizing a demonstration at Fort Dix, despite the fact that at a rally there on Jan. 19, 14 leafletters were

Reader

TWO WORLDS ONLY MINERS' CONTROL OF SAFETY WILL REDUCE DEATHS

It is with special pride that I turn over my column, TWO WORLDS, to the following report by Andy Phillips on the latest struggles of the miners in Kentucky, Pennsylvania and West Virginia. The activities of those same miners, in the general strike of 1949-50, initiated a whole new epoch of movement from practice to theory which gave MARXISM AND FREEDOM its theoretical form. I trust that, in turn, PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION will be felt by the miners to have met that challenge from below so that we can, together, forge a unified movement that will uproot this exploitative system.

—Raya Dunayevskaya

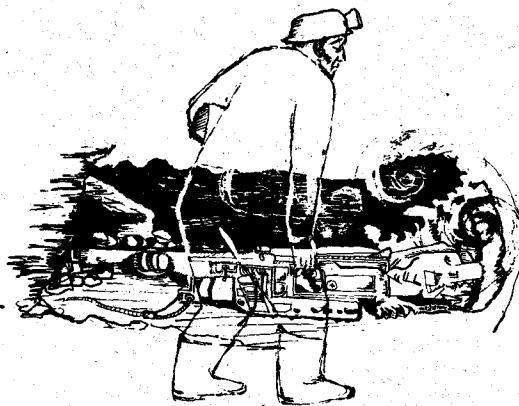
"Every single day that you go into that mine, you never know if you're gonna come out alive or dead. Only you can't think about it. You'd go crazy if you did. You'd never be able to even go down there, let alone do any work."

As expressed by a West Virginia miner, and known by every coal miner in the nation, the overriding daily fact of life for them all is . . . death. It is this reality which, more than any other, shapes their values, philosophy and character.

It is a reality which they reject and have always fought against, as seen in their bitter battles during the '30s and '40s when they were deservedly called the "shock troops of American labor"; in their nine-month long strike in '49-50 against automation which first hit and devastated the coal mine industry and to which the miners responded by raising the still-to-be-resolved historic question of "what kind of labor should man do as a human being."

THROW OUT BOYLE

Their opposition to those who failed to respond seriously to their literal life and death needs was more recently shown in their decisive defeat of do-nothing United Mine Workers President Tony Boyle, replacing him with the relatively unknown Arnold Miller who had campaigned on a platform of returning the union back to the miners.



—Angela Terrano

First and foremost in the minds of the miners, this means ridding the mining industry of the unsafe conditions of work by insisting that violations of safety provisions will not be tolerated, and if they are that the violators be punished.

It has now been a year since UMWA President Miller was elected. To date, the miners appear to have given him pretty good marks, but they are not taking anything at face value.

"Miller's done some pretty good things about safety," said one Pennsylvania miner. "The union went to court here in this state to back up the right of the miners who walked out because they felt their mine was unsafe. And we won the case in the lower court. But the operators took it to the Supreme Court, and they said that the men couldn't walk out, that they had to go through the contract grievance procedure. Maybe those guys know something about law, but they sure don't know anything about the mines. You could be dead before you could file a grievance. I can tell you right now that if I don't think

a mine is safe, I'm walking out . . . Supreme Court or no Supreme Court."

TAKE "WAIT AND SEE" ATTITUDE

But then he added, "Only there's lots more than this. We'll just have to wait and see what Miller does at contract time. Then we'll be able to tell more."

This same sentiment was expressed by other miners in West Virginia and Kentucky, with all eyes focusing on the coming December, when the UMW contract with the coal operators expires. This was also high in the minds of the delegates to the UMW convention held the first part of last December in Pittsburgh.

The fact that the convention was held in Pittsburgh indicated a change in itself. For the past 15-20 years, UMW conventions have been held outside of the coal region — in places like Miami, Atlantic City and even further away — to avoid the pressure of the rank-and-file miners. Miller obviously selected Pittsburgh to keep it in the heart of the coal region, open to the pressure of the rank-and-file.

While increased wages, a reduced work week, sick pay, vacation benefits and other fringe improvements were voted for, the Health and Welfare Fund was pointed to as the most important. It is this fund, into which coal operators now pay 80c per ton of union coal mined, that provides the money for hospital and medical care and retired miners' pensions.

HEALTH AND WELFARE FUND IS KEY

The reasons are long-standing. When the Health and Welfare Fund was established in 1947, first financed by 10c a ton royalty, then 40c a ton, it provided not only full medical care for miners and their families plus a \$100 a month retirement benefit, it also paid sick benefits, widows' and survivors' benefits and medical care, plus the money to build and staff 11 hospitals in coal regions where there had never been anything approaching adequate medical care for workers in the most hazardous industry in the nation.

Following automation of the mines in the early '50s, the fortunes of coal went down. From a work force of

(Continued on Page 8)

Views

arrested by MPs with attack dogs, even though a recent federal court order declared Fort Dix "open" to all peaceful visitors.

Safe Return
156 Fifth Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10010

AN APPEAL TO WOMEN

Anyone who thinks that state-capitalist Russia has anything to do with "socialism" or "freedom" should talk to Mrs. Galina Panov. She and her husband have both been fired from their professional ballet jobs since he asked permission to go to Israel. Now her Jewish husband has been told he must leave Russia—but without his non-Jewish wife. She wants to go with him and has appealed for help: "I need the help of all the women's organizations in the world to preserve my family. They are trying to split us up, but we love each other. I do not know what to do."

It shows not only how totalitarian Russia is, but how blatant is their anti-Semitism. As a feminist activist I hope that women's groups do try to help Ms. Panov. The fact that she has asked women's groups for help is a new development for the movement. I hope we can help.

Feminist
Detroit

WORKERS' STRUGGLES

At the supermarket where I work, I was wondering whether there was a shop steward. No one had ever mentioned who it was before. One day, I overheard the boss and a union bureaucrat approach a new man who had been there two days. The boss put his arm on the worker's shoulder and said "Congratulations, Frank, you're my new shop steward."

Member, Retail Clerks Union
New York

The Dare boycott is over. It was lost. The Kraft boycott is going strong. New things should start happening within the next month or so.

The strike at Artistic is also over. Although it has been called a victory for the workers it appears to be a serious setback. They managed to get the management rights clause removed, but the scabs already hired stay, and some militants who were arrested on the line will not be allowed to return to work until they are cleared, which appears unlikely. In all, over 117 people were arrested. The courts are handing out stiff fines as a future deterrent.

Student Activist
Ontario

The war in Israel has caused skyrocketing inflation for essential commodities, and the major load, as usual, falls on the wage-earners. In addition, there are propositions to lengthen the working day without suitable compensation, and to cut into hard-won social benefits. The "captains of private initiative" are naturally accompanying this with high talk about the "emergency hour."

Correspondent
Israel

FROM A BLACK PRISONER

American Civilization on Trial is one of the few pamphlets that I've read that really brings out the historical role of the workers, and at the same time shows the development of the vanguard role of Black people. We send our love. Till the beginning of the end. . . .

Prisoner
Soledad, Cal.

RACISM

Here in San Francisco we have witnessed the shock of having the Nazis come to school board meetings dressed in full uniform and passing out the most vile racist material. They caused a full scale riot, but the police arrested those who were trying to remove them from the school board meeting.

A number of leftist groups are having meetings on the question, but no one is really paying any attention to the Black community who are the real targets of the Nazis. What I find most frightening

is the climate in this country which has allowed the Nazis to come forward in such a blatant manner.

Teacher
Bay Area

I am very alarmed at the new rise in racism which in this part of the country includes anti-Japanese "Buy American" advertising campaigns, and reports about the protests in Indonesia that make it sound as though the demonstrations were all against the Japanese people, rather than against the corrupt practices of their own government.

Even more frightening was what happened when Union W.A.G.E. women recently held a meeting to hear three women discuss their experiences in the concentration camps set up by the government in World War II for Japanese Americans. For years the local papers have carried announcements of their various meetings, and this was the first time they ever received hate-calls—from people saying Japanese all belong in concentration camps!

Frightened
Bay Area

WHAT NOW?

When I heard Nixon's so-called State of the Union speech, I couldn't help thinking that he is really easy to understand. He always means the exact opposite of what he says. What was therefore really frightening was his talk about "ending the surveillance" of American citizens. Now what do we have in store!

Office Worker
Detroit

ELITISM

Do you think elitists like the SLA will ever learn anything from the overwhelming spontaneous reaction of the ordinary people who were revolted by their terrorism, angered by their insane idea that a "food giveaway" would solve the crisis of capitalism, and insulted that those arrogant idiots thought they knew what was "best" for the poor people, without ever once thinking to ask them?

Disgusted
California

The so-called radicals that think workers have to be "led" burn me up. If anything turns a worker off it's having somebody tell him what to do outside as well as inside the plant.

Auto Worker
California

I find News & Letters rather boring. I would like to find those who would tell me about real life in America. The conception of a marriage of workers and intellectuals is rather artificial. If they wanted to come together, they would. Other than Raya Dunayevskaya writing for your paper, there is no real union of consequence. How can there be? A newspaper will always be the prerogative of the intellectual or the propagandist, and the worker, a practical creature, is in an alien environment. Making a worker a socialist does not seem to do anything to improve that division, nor alter the fact an intellectual is not a worker.

R. S.
London

I recently read your pamphlet Black, Brown and Red. It is really refreshing to find a group that doesn't regard itself as the infallible saviour of the working class. Please send me more information on "Marxist-Humanism."

Interested
Ohio

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Chavez to growers: 'Tragedies must end'

(Editor's Note: Below are excerpts from an article by Cesar Chavez, and from his eulogy for the 19 migrant workers killed on Jan. 14.)

In Florida, Gulf & Western Products Co., a major sugar-cane grower, hauls Jamaica cane workers in eight-by-thirty-five-foot vans with no windows, no seats and no inside lighting. On Monday, Jan. 7, upwards of 130 farm workers were jammed into a van headed for Gulf & Western's Okeelanta mill. The truck's steering failed and the vehicle overturned in a ditch. One cane cutter died and 86 were injured.

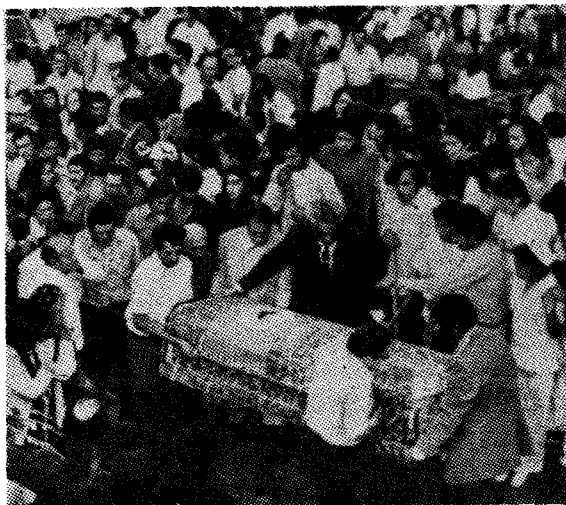
Florida is not alone in allowing such inhuman treatment of farm workers, treatment summed up by a quote from one Florida grower in the Miami News: "We used to own our slaves; now we rent them." Many California and Arizona growers have their own system for "renting" farmworkers. So when on Tuesday, Jan. 14, a farm bus from High and Mighty (lettuce) Farms missed a turn and careened off the road into a drainage ditch, we of the UFWA were bitter because we've been through this kind of tragedy too many times before.

FROM THE EULOGY

Brothers and Sisters: We are united here to pay final tribute to our brothers and sisters who lost their lives in a tragic bus accident. We are united in our sorrow but also in our anger. This tragedy happened because of the greed of the big growers who do not care about the safety of the workers and who expose them to grave dangers when they transport them in wheeled coffins to the fields . . .

There have been so many accidents—in the fields, on trucks, under machines, in buses . . . People ask if they are deliberate. They are deliberate in the sense that they are the direct result of a farm labor system that treats workers like agricultural implements and not as human beings.

But the men and women we honor here today are important human beings . . . They are important because of the work they do. They are not implements to be



—La Voz de la Frontera

Funeral of farm workers killed in Blythe, Cal. tragedy.

used and discarded. They are human beings who sweat and sacrifice to bring food to the tables of millions and millions of people throughout the world.

These terrible accidents must be stopped! It is our obligation—our duty to the memory of those who have died . . . The burden of protecting the lives of farm workers is squarely on our shoulders.

Let the whole world know that the pain that today fills our hearts . . . strengthens our determination to defend the rights of every worker. Let the labor contractors and the growers know that we will never stop working and struggling until there is an end to the inhuman treatment of all farm workers.

UFW calls for Gallo boycott

by Chris Norwell

Oakland, Cal.—On Tuesday, Jan. 29 about 70 members and supporters of the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) picketed an Oakland, Cal. pier where 143,000 gallons of Spanish wine concentrate were being loaded onto Gallo trucks for shipment out to Gallo refineries.

While the picketing was taking place, the members of the longshoremen's union (ILWU) refused to load the Teamsters' trucks that were going to haul away the steel barrels. The UFW achieved what it was after, support from the longshoremen, even if only for a day, and publicity for the Gallo wine boycott.

The farm workers went on strike against Gallo wines last summer when Gallo refused to renew their contract with the UFW, and instead invited Teamster

BULLETIN !

Feb. 18, 7,000 lettuce and asparagus workers under Teamster contract walked off their jobs in Imperial Valley, Cal. They were protesting that signatures on the dues check-off list had been forged, and that no rank and file meetings have been held since the Teamster contracts were signed. Inter-Harvest workers, who are under the UFW, were not involved.

goons into the fields to intimidate the union members into either signing with the Teamsters, or losing their jobs.

When the strikers tried picketing the fields, they were beaten up and two were murdered by the grower-Teamster-sheriff alliance. Rather than have more people injured, Cesar Chavez, the union president, decided to send the farm workers around the country to set up the boycott of scab products.

In California several liquor store chains have teamed up with Gallo to try to get an injunction against the UFW to limit picketing at liquor stores.

Community support is steady around here, with people helping to walk picket lines and do informational work. There is a community meeting every Wednesday night in Oakland where the previous week's activities are discussed and next week's are planned.

You can help with money, food, support on picket lines, and by spreading the word about not buying Gallo wines, which are any labels from Modesto, California.

Young students ask: 'Is capitalism just?'

Los Angeles, Cal. — Nixon tells the truckers to pass on the added expense to the consumers. It seems in this capitalist society everyone can pass on the expenses to the consumer except the working people. They are the ones who produce the wealth in the first place.

My teacher tells me that "capitalism is the only economic system based on justice. Under it working people earn what they receive and they don't give or receive the unearned." If this is true, has there ever been capitalism in this country? How could 4 percent of the American people possibly have earned most of the nation's wealth?

People who call themselves successful insist they have worked hard and deserve everything they have. Yet, who works harder than the poor farm workers who raise the food that keeps us all alive? Yet they barely eke out a living.

Is this the justice that the school teachers refer to?
—Junior high student, LA

Why is it allowed for oil companies to write off the dry holes when they are searching for oil, and working people cannot write off the expenses of searching for a job on their taxes?

When the oil companies hit oil, they make a high profit selling it to the public, plus a 22 percent depletion allowance off the top. When a worker finds a job, he is taxed on the gross amount of his wages.

As a young high school student getting ready to enter the job market, I want to be at least as important to the government as oil is. I'd like to enjoy a depletion allowance over the life span of my working years. The way it stands now I am not equal to the dry hole as far as the government is concerned.

—LA high school student

More on 'Billy Jack'

Reading the movie review of "Billy Jack" by Chris Norwell (News & Letters, Jan.-Feb. 1974) was a great shock; that someone writing in a radical paper could think this movie "shows how the ideas raised by the Freedom movement of the '60s have permeated our society so much that they have even affected Hollywood" shows a lack of understanding of this society.

Hollywood survives by picking up on "what's happening," transforming it into a saleable commodity, and feeding it back to people in the form of a stale plastic pacifier.

I saw the movie when it first came out in 1970. The things I noticed and particularly objected to were these: (1) gross amounts of stereotyping of characters and situations, (2) the emphasis on Billy Jack, the hero, as the savior of all situations, and (3) the totally disgusting use of the clenched fists by the students in the final scene.

Any "revolution" this movie has to "sell" had best be avoided. The revolution will not be televised — the revolution will be live.

—Seattle Reader

I saw the movie, "Billy Jack," for the first time about three years ago. That was before Wounded Knee and before Watergate. I had just gotten back from Vietnam.

I liked Billy Jack a lot even though he wasn't "active" in any politics. He was on the reservation to get away from this sick society. He had gotten out of the service (Vietnam) and was against the war. But he was so fed up with society that he just wanted to be left alone.

A lot of those who were "activists" in the '60s would criticize the movie for not showing enough—not "exposing" enough. But a lot of those "leaders" of the '60s also dropped out and went to communes. On the other hand, a lot of people who saw the movie approved of the clenched fist for the first time in their lives.

It had to be a good movie because no movie has gotten so much discussion about it or brought so many people together. It was three years ahead of its time.

—Detroit reader

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

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Dr. Marcus Foster, the Black superintendent of Oakland's public schools, was gunned down outside of the district administration building with bullets laced with cyanide. Death was instantaneous. The assistant superintendent, who was with Dr. Foster at that board meeting late last fall, was severely wounded.

Shortly after the assault, the Bay Area media received a communique from an organization calling itself the Symbionese Liberation Army, claiming they had "executed" Dr. Foster with cyanide bullets because he was planning to institute student identification cards and approved police patrols in the schools. Subsequent communiques indicated that they were acting in the defense of the Black community against fascist terror.

POPULAR SUPERINTENDENT

Dr. Foster was enormously popular with Oakland's Black community. He was innovative, efficient and had achieved a great deal of rapport with Black students. He held his office by virtue of the fact that there was a Black revolution in the 1960's and because the Black people of Oakland, conscious of their new power, demanded and got a Black superintendent of public schools to replace the indifferent school system which was failing miserably in the instruction of Black students who are a majority in that area.

Of course, Dr. Foster was working within the system. But, to indicate that Dr. Foster was a tool of the Police Department, as some of the S.L.A. letters did, and then to murder him in retaliation for what police do, is a form of bloodthirsty cretinism that passes beyond the pale of human understanding.

And yet, there is a "political" rationale for this type of violence which says: a tiny group of people by performing deeds of violence will awaken the masses from "apathy" causing them to become conscious of their power to resist oppression. This is not only a mechanistic interpretation of the class struggle, but it seeks to replace mass movement—masses as reason and as force—with a comic-strip superman savior flying out of the clouds, shooting cyanide bullets at designated individuals.

Long ago, Frederick Engels in his Introduction to Marx's essay "The Class Struggle in France," saw that revolutions were too precious to be left in the hands of a small minority allegedly acting in the interest of the masses. "Where it is a question of complete transformation of the social organization, the masses themselves

The S.L.A., the Panthers and the mass movement

must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what it is they are going in for, with body and soul."

In this statement Engels was not only setting himself in opposition to that element of his day who thought all that was necessary to effect social change was to grab a musket and mount a barricade, but was echoing the main point of Marx's brilliant essay which carefully delineated how each stage of French history, from 1830-1850, came into being, not only because of objective conditions, but equally because of the continual rise in the consciousness of the French proletariat in its ability and independence to make social changes.

BLACK PANTHERS

Some pundits of the bourgeois press have tried to equate the Black Panthers and the Symbionese Liberation Army. At best this is a superficial observation. The thing to understand about the Panthers is not their gun rhetoric or their sensational shoot out with the cops, but their undeniable umbilical connection with the Black mass movement of the 1960's.

The Panthers were a development within the Black Revolution that became frustrated by the mere struggle for Black civil rights and sought to push the struggle to its furthest fringes by criticizing defensively the very nature of capitalism, and its most apparent appendage, which in the Black community is police brutality.

When Huey Newton was on trial, the Panthers turned naturally to the Black masses for support and got it.

I am fully aware of the elitist mania that infects the Panther leadership—a mania that was fed regularly by the bourgeois press—but at no time has the subjectivity of that leadership been able to substitute itself for the Black movement. And, it certainly must be added that at no time have the Panthers assassinated a Black leader.

As we go to press there is a massive man hunt on for members of the Symbionese Liberation Army, who have kidnaped Patricia Hearst, a student in Berkeley, daughter of newspaper publisher, Randolph Hearst. Current speculation is that she is being held hostage for the release of the two arrested men, allegedly members of the S.L.A., accused of the murder of Dr. Foster.

AIM leaders' trial: U.S. harasses defendants

St. Paul, Minn.—The trial of Russell Means and Dennis Banks for their part in last year's Wounded Knee Occupation is progressing amid heated courtroom arguments, defense charges of harassment by federal police, and growing general awareness of the realities of American Indian life. Even during the long period of jury selection, central questions in the trial were raised by the defense.

One of AIM's greatest worries is how to insure getting the fairest trial possible, and the composition of the jury certainly has an effect on this. Ten of the twelve are from the Twin Cities metropolitan area, and eight are women. Only one is a minority member, a Chicano man. All were closely questioned on the issue of presumption of innocence at the request of the defense after some prospective jurors said they would require the defendants to give proof of their innocence.

Questions of jury composition were also raised by the decision on a location for the trial. The defense requested the Twin Cities area, hoping to find less prejudice towards the Occupation and greater issue-awareness among city folk. But one AIM member estimates that out of 30,000 Indians in southern Minnesota, under 100

would be eligible for jury duty in St. Paul, and in fact none were chosen.

If AIM also chose St. Paul hoping to avoid the federal harassment of Pine Ridge, they have been disappointed. When a St. Paul AIM member was asked about harassment, he pointed out the office window to two nearby houses standing amid vacant lots. The area was undergoing urban renewal, he said, and the houses had been rented to FBI agents by the St. Paul Housing and Redevelopment Authority. He added, however, that the agency had refused to rent to Pine Ridge residents who were here for the trial. Some local police harassment of fund-raisers in the Minneapolis suburb of Crystal was instigated by a federal marshal who is regularly stationed in the courtroom.

This kind of surveillance has been the rule rather than the exception for AIM. There seem to be deeper feelings about the violence and bureaucratic harassment on reservations such as Pine Ridge, which have existed as long as the reservations themselves. Means and Banks have made it clear that the issue of treaty rights is central in the trial, and a St. Paul AIM member emphasized how much depends on legal recognition that the government has violated those rights so many times.

Politics of oil exploits all sides, deepens crisis of world state-capitalism

(Continued from Page 1)

as feudal state capitalist entities which bargain their oil on a government-to-government arrangement, ignoring all "laws" of supply and demand.

Nationalization of the oil fields, refineries and shipping facilities in the Arab world are a foregone conclusion and have already been discounted by the American and British firms that built them. It was expected, accepted and appropriate tax writeoffs were granted the oil industry.

NATIONALIZATION—BY WHOM? FOR WHAT?

In South America the U.S. State Dept. is conducting mass negotiations for the interests of dozens of companies whose assets, have been nationalized. When sums have been finalized on a government-to-government basis, the loot will be divided with U.S. industry. The same process will prevail as the OPEC further nationalizes oil in the Mid-East.

The OPEC could not exist without the consuming countries as customers nor can they exist without the machinery to drill new wells, the pipe to transport it, the pumps to move it and the ships to carry it in. These all come from the consuming countries—along with the technology. Withdrawal of any or all of these items, or a new price structure for them, creates a powerful weapon to bring oil prices back in line.

But for such a counter-cartel to exist, the unity of the consumer nations would be required, and it is certainly not likely in the face of the Washington conference of consuming nations.

REVOLT IN THE ARAB WORLD

When Mossadegh, representing a popular mass movement, tried to reform the feudal structure of Iran a few years ago, he nationalized the oil fields. He was quickly overthrown by U.S. imperialism and the Shah of Iran came in power. Counter-revolution was the uniting force between feudalism and capitalism. Today, because the dispute is intra-capitalist, there is little or no opposition to nationalization of the oil fields and refineries.

Today the Shah of Iran heads the OPEC, bargains the oil of a half dozen countries, maintains the most expensive military establishment in the Middle East (\$2.5 billion in 1973) and is supplied the latest in armaments by the United States, France and England. The joke about two tanks in every tent is no joke. The country is governed by SAVAK, the secret police.

Saudi Arabia is owned and operated by the royal family, 500 princes, 5,000 retainers. 15,000 are employed in the oil industry while five million Arabs have nothing. How will the new billions help the common man in a country where the King's word is the law?

The vast wealth that will be poured into the OPEC will be spent for armaments, projects to enhance the image of the rulers or used to make changes in world money markets. Little if any will be spent to improve the lot of the masses. There is not a single Arab country in which it can be said that the masses of the people have any voice in their government.

Their problems may have started when they were colonies of the imperialist nations, but today, the enemy is in their own country, their leaders, not Israel.

To achieve a more abundant life and to manage their own resources, it is their own feudal regimes that hold the power of life or death over them that they have to overthrow.

WINNERS AND LOSERS

Before attending the oil-consumers' meeting, France secured agreement with the Common Market countries that no agreements would be binding on the whole, and buttoned up a \$287 million oil-for-arms deal and a \$5 billion deal with the Shah of Iran. Italian foreign minister Moro toured the Arab countries and secured his supply of oil. The British and the Germans collared the Shah at his ski resort in Switzerland and received commitments for their oil. Japan received Saudi Oil Minister Yamani like visiting royalty (which he is not) and gave him \$1.5 billion credits in exchange for oil.

Only the Dutch are left out in the cold for their heroic defense of the Jews during World War II.

Under the circumstances, what does Nixon have to offer this band of cut-throats? He appears to be more principled only because he so desperately needs more oil.

The "Seven Sisters", the major oil giants, exploit both sides of the game. They have exploited the Arab nations for years, charged off all foreign taxes on the U.S. taxpayers, exploited the American worker in increased gasoline and fuel bills while paying only 5.6 percent of their gross revenue in U.S. taxes—compared to the 40 percent paid by the average U.S. business and the 20 percent or more paid by the average workingman.

The real losers are the countries which have neither oil nor goods they can sell to buy oil: India, the African nations and other underdeveloped countries who must now sacrifice their development plans to pay Arab blackmail.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

The next line read, "10% on U.S. rolls ineligible for aid." That was a report that Governor Reagan of California had made on the welfare system there, and he said it was the same all over the country. He said he had saved the taxpayer over a billion dollars a year by reducing the welfare rolls, and Michigan Governor Milliken had asked him to send some of the California investigators here.

NIXON GETS WELFARE

I believe there are some cheaters on welfare, but the biggest cheaters and crooks are those in high public office. Those are the people who are taking and wasting taxpayers' money. Nixon has been proven to be the biggest swindler of them all. He did not pay as much taxes in 1972 and 1973 as I did, and he has bought two or three mansions in different states since he became President.

What I am thinking is that when all of our compensation is out and we apply for welfare, they will screen workers by asking, "Are you buying your home? Do you own a car? What kind of furniture is in your house? How many suits of clothing do you have? And any of this will rule a worker ineligible for welfare, especially if you refuse some domestic work that pays \$2 an hour.

What I think is, the unemployed are going to have to organize together to get anything. We are going to fight for what we get from here on because the government is not going to give us a damn thing—especially the Nixon Administration.

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Addresses on page 3.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory

British miners' strike exposes class conflict

(I turn over my column this issue to Harry McShane for this special report from Glasgow, Scotland —Peter Mallory.)

The miners of Britain are making history. Every move by our vicious and unbalanced Prime Minister and his Tory colleagues to turn the British people against the miners has had the very opposite effect. Having failed in his efforts he has, in his frustration, called for a general election. This provides the whole working class with unprecedented opportunity, by votes combined with industrial action, to deal a final blow to the Tory Party.

The Executive Committee (E.C.) of the National Union of Mineworkers made a unanimous decision that the miners would strike on Sunday, Feb. 10. The miners themselves had, by a ballot vote, decided by a majority of 81 percent in favor of strike action. This decision was made after they had been banning overtime for some weeks. Industry was put on a three-day week and lighting in shops and streets seriously curtailed.

HEATH BLAMES MINERS

Heath has refused to allow a rise in wages outside of Phase Three, which was brought in as part of the operation of the anti-trade union legislation passed by the Tories. Heath has used the press and television in his attempt to blame the miners for the hardships imposed on the population. He expected an uproar, but he misjudged the situation. He is now asking the electors to endorse all the crimes he has committed against the people.

As soon as he announced that the general election would be held on Feb. 28, he wrote the Chairman of the N.U.M. asking that the strike be called off during the election campaign. The chairman favored the suggestion but the E.C. decided to go ahead with their plans for action. Heath has proposed to set up a special body to consider the claim of the miners. He has even hinted that they might get an increase. In view of what has been going on over a long period this looks silly.

This will be a dirty election. Already the Tories have insulted the miners and other trade unionists and flattered the Communists by saying, in effect, that those on strike are the tools of the Communist Party. There are only a few members of the Communist Party on the E.C. of the miners' union. Mick McGahey, one of the leaders and a member of the C.P., played into the hands of the Tory Party by some demagogic remarks he made at a large meeting of miners in Edinburgh. He has now toned it all down.



Contrary to the wishes of Heath the whole record of the Tories will be brought out during the election campaign. The leaders of the Labour Party are far from enthusiastic about the strike, but, as they must if they mean to win the election, they are concentrating their attack on Heath. He is an easy target because of the many somersaults he has turned and, more particularly, because of the stupid and stubborn stand he has taken on miners' demands.

Heath, no matter how he may try to hide it, has come out on a class issue. He will continue to use the word "fair" and play up the fact that he met the leaders of the T.U.C. in order to find a solution. He will, however, have difficulty in concealing his class position. The Labour Party leaders will not be keen on class issues. The position is such that the class question will be there all the time.

We can see the fight of the miners as being something more than a fight on wages. They have been fighting against the legislation on industrial relations. Many see the struggle in terms of money but in actual fact Heath has been defending what to him is "holy writ." Wilson has promised to repeal the Industrial Relations Act. What else he will do is

not very clear. What stands out clearly is that a defeat for the Tories will be a clear indication of how the workers feel about legislation directed against the working class.

BOTH STRIKE AND BALLOT

Some in the Labour movement prefer the ballot box to strike action. Others prefer the strike. As things look now we are about to get both — we must make use of both. All the other trade unions have declared their support for the strike. The transport of coal will be stopped by the railway workers and other transport workers. This should stop the coal that has been coming from Poland since the miners put a ban on overtime.

Things can never be the same again in Britain. To defeat the Tories a Labour Government may be voted in, but that will not solve the problems confronting society. Bigger battles lie ahead. The aim of political and social emancipation must never be dropped from our minds. We cannot separate the immediate struggle from what we see as the final solution. Meantime we must be with the miners and not just behind them.

Other British strikes

As the miners prepare to strike, the British capitalist state is preparing for war — not against an external enemy but against the British working class.

Last month, police from the Special Patrol attacked squatters who had occupied London Electricity Showrooms. They were demanding electricity. One was injured; 31 were arrested; but LEB officials say they did not call police.

But the oppressed are fighting back: Women in the Southend who were being forced off Social Security into low paying work occupied a particularly bad factory. The local Labour Exchange had to remove the factory from the list of job vacancies.

Despite a court ruling severely limiting the size of picket lines, hundreds turned out in support of mainly Asian workers at Coventry Castings who are on strike against victimization (unemployment) and for union recognition.

Centrepoint, a London skyscraper owned by a millionaire speculator, was occupied as a protest against increasing homelessness. Streets were blocked when police attacked a solidarity demonstration.

The struggle continues.

Terry Liddle, London

(For British dockers' actions, see Readers' Views, p.4)

Miners' control of safety is only way to reduce death toll

(Continued from Page 5)

450,000 union coal miners in 1943, by the end of the '50s there were perhaps 120,000 union miners. Non-union strip mining shot upward, going from about three percent of the coal mined to 20 percent. Coal also lost much of its market to other fuels.

Cuts were made in the Health and Welfare Fund benefits. Widows' and survivors' benefits were cut out completely, as were sick payments. Miners off work for a year lost their medical protection—and these numbered in the tens of thousands. The eleven hospitals, built at a cost of many millions of dollars, were sold or transferred to other organizations with staggering losses. Pensions were cut to \$75 a month.

WANT BENEFITS RESTORED

The miners want these benefits restored and improved, and make their feelings immediately known in any conversation on this point.

"Take my case," said a Black miner in West Virginia, stopping every couple of sentences to spit up blood and mucus into a tin can. "Here I am, 52 years old and I'm already finished after putting in over 25 years in the mines. I've got Black Lung, have had two heart attacks and have got to watch every thing I do just to stay alive. I haven't worked for a year and a half, but the bills keep on coming in. Lately, I've started to get some Black Lung payments from the state, and that's what has been keeping me and my family going, plus my wife's working. But you've got to have more than that to live decent. Nobody should be allowed to be thrown on the scrap heap just because they can't work anymore because they're sick."

On the inside of the mines, there have been some changes — but many things remain the same, like the drive of the coal companies for coal regardless of what it costs in human lives.

"All the company and their bosses are interested in is that ton of coal," another West Virginia miner declared. "We just had a mechanic electrocuted on the midnight shift. He was an afternoon shift mechanic, but had stayed in overtime to splice a cable to have the machine ready for the midnight shift when it got in, and had disconnected the electrical power from the

machine. Now when a crew gets to the section, the boss is supposed to make a run of the section to make sure that everything is o.k., then get back to the men and tell them that everything's all right before they put power on to the machines.

"But there's a big difference between what you're supposed to do and what is done. Power was put on that machine while the mechanic was splicing the cable and killed him."

DANGERS PERSIST

He went on to detail serious safety violations, like methane gas sensors on continuous mining machines that didn't work and exposed workers to the deadly danger of explosion; like defective water sprays on machines which increase the dangers of Black Lung as well as dust explosions that rip through mines with chain reaction force that twists steel railroad rails into pretzels and shreds human bodies.

When asked if he could see any change since Miller had been elected President of the UMWA, he said, "I sure can't see any difference. Consolidation Coal Company and bosses are still getting away with the same things they have always gotten away with — and that's killing miners because they want that ton of coal, that production."

Another West Virginia miner told of another young miner's grisly death. The guys on the section had just finished having lunch around the continuous miner. (This shouldn't be done. They should go to a designated dinner place to eat . . . but if you eat around the continuous miner, you might be able to save a few minutes and produce a few more tons of coal.) When they were through eating, the continuous miner operator turned on the power to the machine, which is not supposed to start any moving parts. Instead, the machine was defective, and the rotating steel bits, like the rotating bits of a chain saw, suddenly began to turn. The operator's helper, unseen by the operator, had been leaning against the bits — and was ground to pieces.

WILDCAT STRIKES ERUPT

This is the stuff of wildcat strikes in the mines. And there were two of them in action in northern West Virginia in January — at Blacksville No. 1 and No. 2 mines. The strikes were set off because Consolidation Coal Com-

pany, which owns both mines, decided to violate the contract provisions on job postings. Both mines have a large number of young miners, many of them returned Vietnam war veterans. Both have a history of wildcat strikes in the past couple of years unmatched in the coal fields.

"The job posting is a clear cut case. The company just violated, like they do a lot of things," a striking miner said. "But it's like everything else. The company has gotten away with so many things that we know are wrong, but we can't always make a case out of them. It all builds up. Every day. This is such a cut-and-dried violation that everybody just went out to show Consol that they can't get away with it."

In Kentucky, where the UMWA union had been broken in the late '50s, striking miners at the Brookside mine near Harlan were determined to win the union back. On strike since Sept. 28, these miners and their wives and families have fought injunctions, police harassment and physical threats and jailings to gain UMWA representation.

"We lost more than a lot of us knew when the UMW was busted in the late 1950s," said one striking Brookside miner. "That Health and Welfare card is worth more than \$10,000 to us. And we mean to have it. That's in addition to the kind of safety enforcement we have. Too many men around here and their families have to suffer because of the lack of safety enforcement. This is what the UMW means to us right now. And we're fighting to get it. If we win, we'll help to get this whole region organized again. If we lose, it will be a step back and it will take a long, long time for the UMWA to make it up again."

MINERS ALONE HOLD SOLUTIONS

The one thread that holds true for all of these miner reactions to the present and expected developments is the conviction that the miners, and they alone, must have the power to enforce safety in the mines. This is a position the rank-and-file has always both understood and insisted upon, because they know very well that until they have the authority to enforce the safety provisions, there will never be any effective enforcement of safety in the mines.