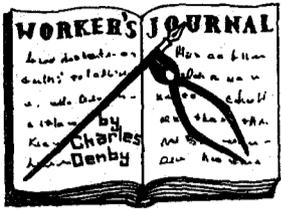


ON THE INSIDE

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Grass roots sold out in Alabama

by Charles Denby, Editor

The Black people in Lowndes County, Alabama, have made tremendous gains since the Civil Rights acts were passed in 1965. Blacks who lived there before then will say it was one of the most oppressed rural areas in the country, totally dominated by the white minority.

Until the famous march from Selma to Montgomery that passed through the county, not one Black person had registered to vote, although they were 75 or 80 per cent of the population of the county. They organized a movement at that time and began registering Blacks. These were mainly what they called grass roots people, because Black teachers and professionals were afraid to be a part of that action.

VOTERS EVICTED

Some were afraid because of their jobs, others because they witnessed what was happening to many of the grass roots people. The white landowners were forcing these people off their land. Some were forced out of the county, and others used a two-acre plot of Black-owned land to put up a tent city on Highway 80 along the route of the Selma march. This brought out TV reporters, and sympathy and support came in from all over the country.

The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee moved part of its staff there to support the movement, although before the end it appeared that its objective was to take control. After getting over half the Blacks registered, SNCC organized its own independent political party, the Black Panther Party. They chose candidates for the next election, but the Black candidates lost. Shortly afterwards all SNCC people left the county.

The movement continued to work and struggle for freedom. The following election, it allied with the National Democratic Party of Alabama, which had challenged the regular Wallace Democratic Party at The Convention in 1968. They ran four Blacks, and three won. The big accomplishment was election of a Black sheriff, John Hulett. He was the first organizer of the Lowndes County Movement, and also had the full support of the grass roots Blacks in the county.

Teachers and professionals came rushing into the movement then. They said they had the brains and know-how to lead the Black masses to a complete victory. They took over most all leading positions on the NDPA, and set up a screening committee to screen those candidates who wanted to run for office.

During the primaries, they met with white leaders of the Democratic Party (the rooster party), and agreed that they would leave some Black candidates off their slate if the whites would do the same. They agreed to support each others' candidates. When this became known, it started a great outcry from the grass roots
(Continued on Page 2)

Detroit Blacks protest police reign of terror

Detroit, Mich.—Since the evening of Dec. 4, 1972, Black citizens of Detroit have been living—and dying—under a reign of terror by the Detroit Police Dept. For nearly two months, night after night, police have broken into homes without warrants, smashed furniture, and held citizens at gunpoint. They have beaten and foully abused men, women and children, and held Blacks in jail for days without charges.

The police say that all this is "justified" and "necessary" in order to find three young men—John Boyd, Mark Bethune and Hayward Brown—who are charged with the murders of police on Dec. 4 and Dec. 27. Police repeatedly told the press that the three are "drug addicts and pushers," but many Blacks say that they are really students trying to run dope out of the community. They have not succeeded in finding two of the three men, but they have aroused a Black citizenry that is determined to defend itself, to end the police terror, and above all to abolish STRESS, the special plainclothes police unit known in the Black community as "the murder squad."

It is the STRESS unit, working disguised as hippies and bums, and showing no identification, which has murdered at least 18 Detroiters in a little over one year, 17 of them Black and most under 20 years old. Directed by Mayor Gribbs and Police Commissioner Nichols, the STRESS unit is said to do no wrong, to root out crime. Their every action is "understandable." Here are some of these "understandable" actions of the last two months:

- Plainclothes police break into the house of a 62-

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FEBRUARY, 1973

Nixon's power grab designed to crush growing forces of revolt

by Andy Phillips

The bitter wind in Washington, D. C. on Jan. 20 matched the bitter outline of the future for America set forth in President Nixon's inaugural address. From the opening sentence, started precisely on time to match the military precision



—News & Letters photo
Massive anti-war crowd in Washington on Jan. 20

which marked the entire inaugural proceedings, Nixon's message rang loud and clear: all important national and international decisions will be made by one person, and only one—Richard Milhous Nixon.

No one could believe Nixon's statements that the role of Washington, in relation to the world and to the people in the U.S., will be decreased. The truth is the exact opposite: Washington, that is, Nixon, will dictate more at home and abroad than ever before.

ATTACKS BLACKS

Rejecting social welfare programs, Nixon declared that the government had been asked to do "more than it can deliver." Federal welfare programs will be scrapped. Nixon pontificated that America was built "not by welfare, but by work—not by shirking responsibility, but by seeking responsibility."

Every Black person in the U.S., and every white racist, immediately recognized this as an administration promise that there will be no let up on efforts to wipe out every gain won by the Black revolts of the '60s.

White racism had begun to crumble under the determined struggles of both Black and white Americans for freedom and equality, but gained new strength and respectability under Nixon's administration. And nothing aided the cause of white racism more than Nixon's appointments and policies designed to crush this Black drive for equality. Blacks, however, are not accepting the chains Nixon is trying to shackle them with. (See articles, pp. 2 and 7).

A nightmarish quality surrounded his call for "a new level of respect for the feelings and rights of one another" and assurances for the "right of every American to full and equal opportunity."

Even more monstrous was Nixon's reference to the Vietnam war. After unleashing the most hideously barbaric bombing of North Vietnam during the Christmas season, (see editorial, page 4), this criminal against humanity dared to say, "let us again learn to debate our differences with civility and decency."

FREEZE WAGES, FREE PROFITS

Actions do, indeed, speak louder than words, and Nixon's politics-of-surprise announcement on Jan. 11, lifting economic Phase 2 wage-price controls, reveals much. The move continues what he began with the wage-price freeze—wages were frozen for the worker, but prices and profits skyrocketed. With the new Phase 3, wages will still remain frozen, but prices and profits will go into orbit.

Even the weak pretext of regulation and enforcement of price and profit guidelines is discarded in Phase 3. Both the Pay Board and Price Commission were abolished, and replaced with a Cost of Living Council. This Council will be composed of Cabinet-level officers, labor and industry representatives, and chaired by "Super-secretary" of the Treasury George P. Schultz.

Harvard's John Dunlop, hard-nosed construction industry mediator who cut construction workers' wage increases from 15 percent to 5 percent in the past three years, was appointed by Nixon to be the executive director of the Council. His appointment clearly shows that Nixon aims to place the burden of the economy on the backs of the workers.

LABOR LEADERS NEVER LEARN

Another farce is in the making with the agreement of the five labor leaders appointed by Nixon to serve on

(Continued on Page 8)

ABOLISH STRESS!
STOP POLICE TERROR AGAINST BLACK AMERICA!

Detroit Black citizens testify: first-hand accounts of police terror



—Detroit News photo
Angry crowd jams hearing room to protest police harassment of Black community.

The following are excerpts from the statements of Black victims of police terror, some of whom testified at the three-hour Common Council hearing. No other newspaper has seen fit to print them.

MRS. DOROTHY CLORE

"I am the mother of John Boyd and aunt of Hayward Brown. On the evening of Dec. 4, I heard a loud noise and the front door burst open. A uniformed policeman stepped in with a rifle and hollered 'Freeze' . . . When I went into the hall I saw my son John Clore stretched out face down on the floor with handcuffs on.

"My daughter came downstairs with my baby son. There were about 15 police in the house at this time, and one was standing a few feet away pointing his rifle directly at me. They refused to say who was in charge. They searched the whole house, ripped apart the dressers and beds, and destroyed our furniture.

"I think some of this was done not because of a shooting incident, but because I am Black. I don't think that if Commissioner Nichols' son was a suspect in this case, the police would have broken the door down to his house. My rights have been violated, my home has been invaded . . .

"After all this, if my son wanted to give himself up, who in the world could I trust for him to turn himself

in to? What faith could he have to even get a trial? . . . As a mother, a citizen, a woman—and a Black woman at that—something had better be done . . ."

REV. LEROY CANNON

"It was Dec. 4, I got up to open the door. I thought it was my 17-year-old son. Then the door broke open and a bunch of police came running in. They put a gun to my daughter's head and said they would blow her head off if she didn't stop screaming . . . They went and woke up my 14-year-old son and stood him up with a gun . . .

"I had a guest in my house and they knocked him to the floor and handcuffed him. At that time I still didn't know anything about why they were there.

"They broke my doors, smashed up my house and terrorized my family. And after they found out it was the wrong address, they said 'We don't want to cause you any trouble, and you better not cause us any trouble.'"

SIMON BRANTLEY

"On New Year's Eve, I looked out my window and saw police. I opened my door and saw at least 25 police out there, surrounding the house and all up and down the street. They had gone to the neighbors, who are white, and told them to get in their basements because there might be some shooting.

"When I opened the door they said 'Put your hands up and come on out.' They stuck rifles and shotguns in my face. They dragged my wife and my two children out in the street in their pajamas in the cold. I didn't have on any socks or shoes or a shirt. They put me up against the car and one policeman had a shotgun right up against the back of my head. They said 'Tell us who's in there. If you don't tell us, the man behind you is gonna blow your brains out' . . .

"I say this to the police: As long as you call people 'mad dogs' and terrorize our people, you will never find the men you are looking for."

Farmworkers, Longshoremen oppose Teamster take-over

By Felix Martin

The Teamsters Union is presently involved in trying to gobble up two of the more democratic unions in this country—the Farmworkers and the Longshoremen.

The California Supreme Court recently ruled that the Teamsters Union worked in collusion with a group of growers to block Caesar Chavez's Farmworkers Union. This decision supported charges brought against the growers by the Farmworkers.

When the corporation's court is forced to decide in favor of working people, it only points out how rotten and corrupt this collusion of the Teamsters' president, Frank "company fink" Fitzsimmons, and the corporate farmers has become against the farm workers of the State of California. They produce the food for us all and yet are one of the lowest paid group of workers in the state.

The idea that the ILWU would want to merge with the Teamsters Union is like thinking that a man has gotten tired of being free and would give up his freedom to be ruled by someone else. Fortunately the dockers have spoken out loudly and clearly against such a merger, and it appears their President Harry Bridges will not be able to force this unholy alliance on them.

The union movement was founded so that the workers would not be slaves. But if Fitzsimmons can take over these two smaller unions, then he will have succeeded in stamping out the very democracy that the labor movement was founded on. Already there is too little of this democracy left.

All value is created by the worker at the point of production. The worker has created all the wealth, but is having very little say over what happens to it. The unions were to be a tool for the workers to have some say so. Today the workers have to get control of their organizations and get rid of the bureaucrats.

Detroit and New York area readers:

You are invited to a series of classes-in-progress on the forthcoming work of Raya Dunayevskaya
PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

Sun., Feb. 4: "A New Continent of Thought: Marx's Historical Materialism and its Inseparability from the Hegelian Dialectic"

Sun., Feb. 18: "The Shock of Recognition and the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin"

In Detroit: Downtown YWCA,
Elizabeth and Witherell, 7 P.M.

In New York: Spellman YWCA,
51st St. and 8th Ave.

For class schedules in Los Angeles, Hartford, San Francisco write to addresses listed in box on p. 3.

PATRICIA RAGLIN

"On Dec. 7, I was sitting in my house and police kicked in the front door. Eight hippie-types ran in with their guns drawn. They told me to freeze. They didn't say what they were doing or anything. They shoved me into the bathroom and made me take off my clothes with guns at my head. Then they tore up my house and threw things around. I live in an apartment complex and the apartments in each wing have the same numbers. I found out that the cops did the same thing in three other apartments that had the same number as mine."

X, FORD ROUGE WORKER

"I live on the northwest side of Detroit and I work at Ford Rouge. I left my house at about 10 minutes to five in the morning. I drove down Wyoming and I saw police behind me. They cut me off and jumped out with their guns drawn. They said if I moved I would be dead. I asked what was wrong. They said 'Shut up n—r, you're going downtown with us.' I asked again 'why?' and one of them hit me in the head twice with that heavy flashlight they have and I was bleeding.

"They took me downtown and held me in a room. Nobody else was there. I waited for about three hours and they would not let me go to the hospital. Finally a sergeant came in and asked me if I knew John Boyd. I said no. He said I looked like Boyd, but I don't look like him except we are both young, Black and male.

"I believe that there is a war on in America. Nixon and the white police are trying to shoot half the Black people and scare the other half to death. It seems like we are going backwards to the days of the KKK."

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

people. Some said, why make such a deal, when we are 80 per cent of the voting population.

Students at the high school had been raising funds for some athletic program, and a Black teacher was in charge of finances. Just prior to the election, there were some rumors that he had given the money to support white candidates.

Black students demanded that the money be turned over to them that very day, and they began rioting after the teacher bolted himself in his office. But the teacher had to write a check for every dime the student secretary had on his books.

WHITE COMEBACK

Out of eight Blacks running, only one got elected. The Superintendent of Education was the one position the Blacks wanted most and they lost that. There were three spots on the NDPA slate, but none on the white Democratic slate. The one Black that did win credited it to a white Democrat and a white Republican running for the same position.

I was there for the Christmas holidays, and many Blacks are still upset. The basic reasons for losing, I was told, were these two: turning from the grass roots people to professionals; and not continuing to recognize the all-importance of the freedom of every individual.

None of the Black candidates lost by more than 300 votes. There were 1,000 Black youth between 18 and 21 registered who were so fed up with the mess, that they did not vote. Many of the grass roots people stayed home in disgust, and some of those professionals on the screening committee voted for white candidates.

Another Black man said, "We had the ball and we sure were marching downfield, deep into their territory, but we fumbled it away and they (meaning the whites) have recovered it. The only thing left to us is to go back and try to organize all over again. We have to bury ourselves into those grass roots people, and let them and the youth take the lead, because I do not think they will trust us again.

"If these whites ever get us where we were before 1965, there will be nothing but suffering, suffering such as we never before have witnessed. But I have forgotten the Black youth of today will never take from Whitey what we took."

WAY OF THE WORLD

No justice for Black people

By Ethel Dunbar

The crisis in this society is so deep that it is causing some people to go insane. Today society wants us to say that many things we were taught were wrong are right. When you read the papers or watch TV you can see and feel the deep-seated hate and racism in everything they say related to justice and rights for Black people.

I was listening to a talk show between Councilwoman Erma Henderson and Wayne State University Criminal Law professor Kevin Tierney discussing the mass turnout of people in protest of Detroit police actions against Black citizens, in breaking down doors and wrecking houses in search of three young Blacks accused of shooting STRESS policemen.

It shocked me when this white lawyer said the council was wrong to listen to those complaints and that it should have been left to the police commissioner. He said the Council could have sent one member to sit in and represent the citizens. If he had listened, some of those complaints against the police were the same as against what Hitler's Gestapo did to the Jews before and during World War II.

The Michigan Chronicle says the objective of the police force is to disarm the Black community and that over 1,000 firearms were confiscated from Black homes. No one will ever make me believe that such a reign of terror would have been carried out in an all white suburb.

Councilwoman Henderson said that STRESS tactics are wrong—going around dressing like bums and hippies. The white lawyer said there is no law about how a policeman should dress. Councilwoman Henderson asked how a citizen can distinguish between a policeman dressed like that and a criminal.

There are citizens who are being robbed and murdered by criminals who pose as STRESS officers with fake police badges to gain entry into people's homes. To this lawyer, that seemed OK because these are Black homes that are being terrorized.

There is no such thing in this society today as love for your fellow man and respect for others. The only love is for money, and the Nixon administration has put added emphasis on it. Everything is OK that favors the rich and nothing is right for the poor. Some are saying that unless there are drastic changes made in regards to every individual, society is going to blow up in everyone's face.

False history of '34 strike hurts dockers today

HARRY BRIDGES, *The Rise and Fall of Radical Labor in the United States*, by Charles P. Larrowe, Lawrence Hill and Co., 1972. Paper \$3.95.

"I always thought the seamen and longshoremen won the 1934 strike; now Bridges tells us he did it." This ironic and sarcastic remark was made by a young longshoreman after a union meeting during our long and lost strike last year—it was his response to a story about '34 that Bridges had just told us in order to have a position he had taken appear acceptable in terms of tradition.

Inventing false versions of the past as a support for current proposals or practices is so standard here that a book which gave a contrasting clear and true picture of what actually happened would be of great value to us. Unfortunately, although Bridges has criticized (vaguely) Larrowe's book, the work falls far short of being of value in this sense. For example, pages 382 to 388 which deal with our 1971-1972 strike may demonstrate where he's at: the contract "was essentially the same contract the union had turned down in October, 1971, and again in December as the employers' last offer, but it was a good contract nonetheless . . ." (p. 388, my emphasis).

IGNORES CONTRACT OPPOSITION

This ignoring of the significance of the working longshoremen opposing the contract, "a good contract nonetheless," is not accidental in Larrowe. Larrowe's approach for determining that the contract is "good" is very shallow and includes this gem, "And with the new wage rate, if he worked fairly regularly, he would be making almost \$12,000 a year. That's not bad, considering he had qualified for the job without even a high school diploma."

And what of the conditions for the longshore wage slave who would make \$12,000 a year "if" he worked fairly regularly? Larrowe avoids mention of our thinking that the mechanization and containerization of this industry has fragmented us at work, speeded us up, while at the same time severely cutting down on the available jobs.

This flaw in the method of the scholarly Mr. Larrowe has placed him, along with all too many other intellectuals, in the same camp of "thinkers" as the union picards and employers. Their line to workers can be summed up as: Here's some money, now just work as directed.

Larrowe failed to say anything about the working longshoremen's opposition to 9.43, the "steady-man" clause in the contract that allows the companies to bypass the hiring hall for some dock jobs and impels those who play this employer game to speed themselves up

so they may please the boss in order to work "fairly regularly."

ROOSEVELT'S "FINK BOOK"

Larrowe is equally silent about the Roosevelt government's "Fink Book" for seamen a few years after the 1934 strike. The equivocation and timidity of the Bridges forces on the "Fink Book" definitely cost them the support of the Pacific Coast sailors for all time and thereby, in the immediate sense, more firmly propped up a militant figure in the Sailor's Union, the late Harry Lundeberg, who was to quickly evolve into a reactionary opponent.

The "how he's changed" pitch about Bridges in Larrowe's book is wrong. His present alliance with the employers is consistent with his past. Some of his present-day opponents would like to conceal this fact because they were involved in the Bridges' positions of the past that are consistent with the present.

—San Francisco Dock Worker

Holiday speed-up in P.O.

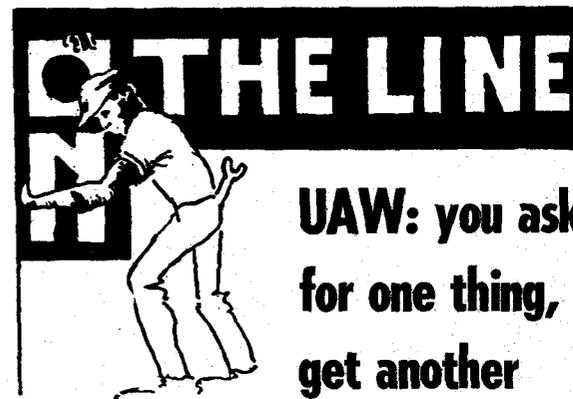
New York, N.Y.—And so the P.O. holiday is over. Most people have read what a wonderful job was done. What they don't tell is that the manpower was shorter than ever—by attrition, people quitting because they can't take the beating, also a quick-tricky retirement program. They hired no holiday help. But they do have those machines they advertise on TV. They now say each does the work of forty men.

Who handles this extra load? The same single man at the bottom, who is supposed to keep up with banks of these machines. We are supposed to bear it, but become so mentally and physically tired, that errors and eventually slow downs occur.

They say there were eight million more pieces of mail this year. Anyone who received mail knows that it was a week to ten days late. This goes for workers' paychecks. Parcel Post at the PP center in New Jersey was found to be a month old. These packages were supposedly misaddressed, had to be rewrapped, etc. I know many people who complained of all this lateness, but the USPS claims only rare instances.

The holiday season was a fiasco, as your own postman can tell you. There should be a revision of the P.O. but making men the slop chutes of machines is not the way. The morale of the postal worker is that of someone who can barely get home with a decent paycheck and must work under the most depressing conditions. A person should have some pride in himself and in work. They let you have none.

—NYC Letter Carrier



By John Allison

The word from Solidarity House is—negotiate! The class struggle is clearly seen in the method the leadership of the UAW uses to get information from the rank-and-file membership.

The Engineers had a conference in Montreal. The Skilled Division had a conference in New Orleans, La. Now, the Engineers and Skilled Division will meet in Cobo Hall in Detroit in March with the Production representatives.

The leadership will tell the entire convention what the Engineers and Skilled workers already know. They will also make known at that meeting who the target company is.

Local union members are now receiving a questionnaire in the mails. It asks UAW workers to rank the following four areas in order of importance: 1. Pay increases, 2. Fringe benefits, 3. Early retirement, 4. Other.

This is not the first time the membership has been asked to fill out a questionnaire. It has always been the same story. The rank-and-file asks for one thing, and in the end get something else.

Back in the '50s, the rank-and-file was asking for the six-hour day. That was the first time the questionnaire was used. The local union was the first to give birth to that idea. Anyway, we asked for the six-hour day, and got instead the GAW (guaranteed annual wage).

Now we are working in the '70s—10 hours a day, six and seven days a week. Never before in the history of auto has there been as much overtime in the month of January.

There is no labor shortage in Detroit. In fact, there are over 100,000 who are unemployed in this area. We need jobs for young workers.

So bring in the six-hour day with early retirement. You will get no support from the UAW for the above mentioned programs. But you will get plenty of support from the rank-and-file.

Meany: the Wallace in the house of labor

San Francisco, Calif. — George Meany, who stands on the right side of Nixon, has attempted to apologize and cover up for the dehumanizing system of U. S. imperialism and racism.

In his Hearst press article, "A Matter of Principle," the Great White Father instructs the Chinese, "Black" Africans and Latin Americans to follow the "liberated" state of Israel as an example for a democratic way of life, completely ignoring the color problems that exist there and what it means to the peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial world.

Meany then attempts to use the role the trade unions played in the Civil Rights struggles of the 1960's as proof that U. S. capitalism is progressive. He writes: "In the last decade, we saw a civil rights revolution. Dozens of Americans, young, old, black and white, literally gave their lives for the right to vote, to participate in governing the nation. The labor movement was in the forefront of that struggle. As a result, millions of black Americans who were disfranchised can now vote, run for office, and increasingly win elections."

It was Black people, from all walks of life, united in this struggle, who led the movement for freedom.

Yes, white people shared in this profound experience—but, where were the Meany's of labor? They were safely sitting on their fat backsides.

Yes, labor participated—in those unions which had large Black membership. And great contributions were made by white students. And the experience of the liberals and radicals gave welcome support. But the trade unions only supported those laws which would not offend big business or the racist "friends of labor" in Congress.

Labor bosses, like Meany and those who agree with him, are not friends of Black people, or any others who are fighting against their daily oppression.

Meany and his cohorts support the annihilation of the Indo-Chinese to guarantee profits for U.S. big business. He is the Wallace in the house of Labor and the sooner organized labor does something, "as a matter of principle" and gets rid of him, the better off it will be for the entire working class.

—Black Worker

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—The chairman of the Retirees chapter of UAW Local 212 some years ago constantly repeated that there would be no union politics played among retired members. This was because he recognized that many retirees were opposed to the old Reuther Green Slate caucus in the shops.

Now the younger workers are rejecting the old Green Slate. I have heard that if it was not for the retirees voting for them, they would be swept out of office, because they do nothing for workers in the shop. The opposition is hoping to change the by-laws so the retirees cannot vote on issues of shop representation. It is impossible for retirees to know what is happening with workers at the point of production.

At our monthly retirees' meeting, for the first time the meeting turned into a plea to come out and vote for the Green Slate. They said the opposition slate in the shop is determined to take the local over, young workers who do not know one thing about the struggle we older workers went through to build this union. So if you want to keep your voting rights, you must come out and vote for our slate.

One retiree said they are running scared. They know there are 300 to 500 of us here every meeting, and those bureaucrats cannot get that many workers to a union meeting to save their lives.

If this retirees' chapter is transformed into a Green Slate caucus I am not attending anymore. We do not know what it is like in the shops today. I hope the opposition wins.

—Mack Retiree

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — Everyone is talking about how general foreman Hatfield was riding one Black worker on the day shift so hard that the man finally jumped him. They fired this worker and put Hatfield on nights for a few weeks.

We all know that Hatfield is the one who should be out on the street and not this worker or the many other workers he has hounded out of the plant or into the hospital for no reason but that they are Black or that he has some personal grudge against them.

We all know that the foreman is there to get more production. But Hatfield is something else. He is trying to speed up jobs that have already been settled in the company's favor. He won't let men sit on the stock racks during break time. He doesn't want you lining up at the time clock when you have finished your work. These things have nothing to do with production at all. Hatfield doesn't want us to forget that he has the authority at Fleetwood, that as far as he is concerned we have no human dignity.

You would think he would have changed his ways after those foremen were killed at Eldon Axle and at Chrysler Jefferson a while back. You would think Hatfield would get the point when this worker on the day shift took after him. But these few weeks he has been on nights he has been pushing as hard as ever.

There will be no peace for anyone here at Fleetwood as long as Hatfield is in the plant.

—Fleetwood Worker

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EDITORIAL

The tragic belatedness and carefully planned inconclusiveness of the Vietnam cease-fire, accompanied as it was by the stock market's immediate downturn, has turned all eyes toward the totality of the crisis at home. That is where the significant action always is—and that is certainly where it was on Jan. 21 when demonstrators poured into Washington, D.C. to protest the war and Nixon's self-coronation.

Besides the over-100 thousand that marched from the Lincoln Memorial to the Washington Monument, hundreds of Vietnam veterans marched symbolically from Arlington Cemetery; and throughout the country, in cities large and small, vigils and rallies drew young and old alike. Thousands more protested throughout the world: traffic was brought to a stop in Paris; 10,000 marched in West Germany, 10,000 more in Finland, others in Stockholm, Tokyo, New Delhi, Amsterdam; and more than 12,000 marched to the U.S. Embassy in London. It was an event unprecedented in America's almost 200 year old history of inaugurations.

STATE-CAPITALIST BARBARISM

Never before has an American president been so openly denounced throughout the world for his totalitarian ambitions. Nixon's barbaric U.S. Christmas terror-bombing of North Vietnam was a blitz unparalleled in modern history; and Sweden's Premier, Olof Palme, rightfully likened it to Nazi atrocities.

This seemingly maniacal bombing was not the act of a "madman," however. It was the act of a barbarian who represents the depravity of our state-capitalist age. Only one week before the inauguration, William P. Clements, Nixon's handpicked nominee for deputy Secretary of Defense, dared say he would not rule out the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam. The haste with which the Administration moved to deny the statement did not calm the fears of the world that it was not so much North Vietnam, but American civilization that was being bombed back to the Stone Age.

Like the skilled totalitarian he is, Nixon made sure

Vietnam and the wars after the war

not to have it appear that he would succumb to the pressure of the masses and sign an agreement before his coronation. Indeed, he has made it clear that he will not succumb even to the pressure of his own Republican Party. Only when the world was made to understand that it is he alone who is The Helmsman were the so-called "peace-negotiations" allowed to continue.

NO ILLUSIONS OF "PEACE"

If anyone doubted that the "peace-agreement" is only a pause while the global powers set about to prepare the battle-lines for the next war, all they need do is look at the facts. Nixon has no intention of getting out of Indochina. The airforce remains in Thailand in the thousands. And the insistence of Dr. Strangelove Kissinger that the genocidal Christmas bombing of Hanoi was what brought about the agreement makes it clear to the world that for Nixon, bombing will remain his "way to peace."

Both Russia and China are perfectly willing for the cease-fire to remain inconclusive. They have bigger deals in store to work out. Indeed, it is the state-capitalist power-politics of Russia and China which have left the Vietnamese people to continue their 25 year long war for self-determination alone—and have proved the necessity for revolutionaries to divorce themselves once and for all from all global state powers, if we are ever to end this capitalist nightmare.

Ending the bombing was, of course, paramount. In seven years, the U.S. has rained 7,100,000 tons of bombs on tiny Vietnam—compared to 2,000,000 tons dropped by all sides on all continents in World War II! But "ending the bombing" will not bring peace, and everybody knows it. It is evident from the total absence anywhere of any "rejoicing" at the news that everyone had been waiting for, for so long.

WARS AFTER THE WAR

The illusory end of the Vietnam War will be but

the prelude to the wars after the war—beginning with the ceaseless war at home against every force that threatens to challenge the capitalist system. This includes the anti-war youth movement, Women's Liberation, rank-and-file labor on wildcat strike, and above all, the most revolutionary force in America, the unending Black mass revolt against white racism. (See Lead, p. 1)

Only social revolution will put an end to Nixon's state-capitalist terrorism at home and abroad. What the urgency of the times demands is a reorganization of the anti-war movement—independent of all state powers and based on a new perspective. It begins with a recognition that ours is the age of state-capitalism that only a unity of philosophy and revolution can overcome.

Just as the social revolution is the only way to peace, so it is the only way out of the totality of the crises at home.

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
O. Demanski Managing Editor

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WAR AND PEACE

Nixon keeps digging his grave of genocide and corruption deeper as people come together to oppose him and his partners in crime. In Hartford a new anti-war coalition has drawn members of the Puerto Rican Socialist League and many working men and women, as opposed to simply student radicals. There still exist factional splits which alienate many people, but the feelings against Nixon's capitalist adventures have even brought women in my office who openly supported Nixon during the campaign to speak out against him.

Office Worker
Hartford

* * *

Look at the contrasting actions of the Australian dock workers and the Gleason-run International Longshoreman's Association. The Seamen's Union in Sydney, Australia, joined with the Longshore Workers Union there to boycott all U. S. shipping until the bombing of Vietnam ceased. Their action was not anti-American. It was anti what the Nixon administration is doing to Vietnam.

The role of the Gleason ILA, in their retaliatory boycott of Australian goods, was not just anti-Australian workers, it was pro-Nixon's decimation policy in Vietnam, and anti the working people right here at home. The past four years have proved that Nixon's policies abroad are not separated from his anti-labor stands here.

In Los Angeles a stop-work meeting was called for Harry Bridges to explain his proposed alliance with the Teamsters. We do not need any of Fitzsimon's reactionary, pro-Nixon, anti-labor policies. Gleason, Fitzsimmons and Richard Nixon do not speak for us—either on the war or on the working conditions we endure on the docks.

Waterfront Workers
Bay Area, Cal.

* * *

Hooray for the 16 members of our Philadelphia orchestra who refused to play at Nixon's coronation! The player who circulated the protest petition among the orchestra said: "We're being asked to play the 1812 Overture with booming sounds like simulated bombs, while B52's are dropping bombs with our taxpayers' money. We feel we're being asked to be 'good Germans,' and we remember the pictures of Wilhelm Furtwangler conducting the Berlin Phil-

harmonic while Adolf Hitler sat in the front row."

Supporter
Philadelphia

* * *

FORA (Families of Resisters for Amnesty) is an independent committee seeking to obtain amnesty for their relatives. The number of young Americans who would benefit from a just amnesty is astronomical. Few are aware that nearly one million people have participated in one form of resistance or another. Tens of thousands are in exile or underground in the U. S. Over 550,000 have been less-than-honorably discharged. Thousands more are in prisons and stockades or released with criminal records and impaired civil liberties.

The establishment of FORA has become increasingly necessary as the government has continued to try to place blame for America's 300,000 Vietnam casualties on those who refused participation in this tragedy.

Those interested can contact: FORA
69 First Ave.
New York, N. Y. 10003

* * *

Nixon's re-election wasn't a surprise except for the size of his victory. What is surprising is the number of people, normally "straight" middle America types, who feel it was all rigged. People are certainly turned off to electoral politics. Now to give them a real alternative.

Anarchist
Seattle

CHINA, RUSSIA, USA

The January issue, with that article on how "Russia and China bring pressure on Hanoi to accept Pax Americana" by Raya Dunayevskaya was stupendous. You cannot understand what such an analysis means to us.

Reader
East Europe

* * *

The enclosed donation is the only Christmas gift I have given anyone this year. You have predicted so many things over the years. And your current article on the role of China and Russia as well as the U. S. in Vietnam is what prompted my gift. If only I could believe your conclusion that "the self-activity of the masses will see to it that the state-capitalist age will not win."

Supporter
New York

Readers

The December issue of N&L, on the elections, was one of the best ever, in the way everything reflected the central concept of Nixon's racism . . .

On the other hand, I was disappointed by January's lead. It is Nixon who actually dropped the bombs on Dec. 18 to 29, and it was the U. S. public, including 57 per cent of the workers, who voted for him . . . I realize the bombing had not been resumed when the lead was printed, but it seemed to accept the illusion of a peace or at least a cease-fire.

Naturally I agree with the analysis of Russia and China, but I do feel that it was not put into the correct context, which is that U. S. imperialism is still the biggest, most bloody and the one calling the tune to which the others all dance.

Herman Bear
Connecticut

* * *

The anti-war march that was held here right after Nixon's savage bombing of Hanoi may not have been as massive as some during the '60's — but there were at least 5,000, and what is more important, they wanted to do more than just "march." We have never sold 500 papers more easily, and it was pretty clear that it was the headline on how Russia and China were pressuring Hanoi to accept Nixon's "Pax Americana" that made people want to read our analysis.

Committee Member
Los Angeles

BLACK REVOLT

Since Martin Luther King's death, Black, Latin and some concerned White workers have tried to honor his memory by staying home from work . . . The Ford Management has refused to consider our request to have Jan. 15 as a day off. They have responded every year since 1969 with harsh penalties. In 1972 workers received a disciplinary lay off of from three days to one month. We are told workers who received one month DLO in 1972 will be fired if they stay home again in 1973.

Local and International UAW officials

have paid lip service but whenever it's time to force the issue, we are sold out. Since 1969 we have gathered petitions, signed grievances, and even gone to the State Civil Rights Commission, to no avail.

We would like help from anyone concerned about what is going on at Mahwah, in the form of letters, telegrams, phone calls, or any other way influence can be exerted on Ford management and our UAW officials. Our position is: Together we can overcome. We have come too far to turn back now. Please, we need your support.

United Black Workers
Mahwah, New Jersey

* * *

Ultimately, three Black students were expelled after the events at Wisconsin State I described last issue. None of the white racist mob that had put the Black dormitories under siege were expelled. Because of the multitude of protest both from the community and from white students on campus, the Chancellor deigned to allow the three Black students an "independent and impartial" hearing by some lawyer hired by the University to function as an "impartial" judge in such matters. The hearing was conducted behind closed doors, and even then was interrupted by the university bureaucrats after an hour for an indefinite postponement. Whatever the Blacks said behind those doors it really must have frightened the bureaucrats. So much for impartial procedures.

A few days after, the Superior police went to the Black dormitories on the WSU campus to arrest on criminal charges the three Blacks who had been expelled. The arrests could not be made. The Black students as a group refused to relinquish the students.

J. C.
Wisconsin

* * *

The Southern Poverty Law Center is about to clash with the federal government itself in one of the most daring and significant civil rights lawsuits in many years. Our lawyers have filed a complaint charging the federal government with racial discrimination in hiring

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

Part I

1973 marks the 50th anniversary of the publication of *History and Class Consciousness*, and is sure to increase the deluge of articles, pamphlets and even whole books about its late famous author, George Lukacs. These have been pouring forth the past few years from both the New Left (1) and the official Communist press.

1956 STANDS BETWEEN 1923 AND 1973

In 1956, on the other hand, when Lukacs briefly participated in the Hungarian Revolution despite a full quarter century of capitulation to Stalinism, the Hungarian Communists who helped the Russian counter-revolution destroy the revolution and execute its leader, Imre Nagy, expelled Lukacs from the Party and unloosed still another vitriolic attack on his 1923 seminal study on Hegelian-Marxian dialectics.

The tragedy lies not in any change in the stance of the Communist Party between 1973 and 1956; it hasn't changed its counter-revolutionary nature ever since the first workers' state, Russia, was transformed into its absolute opposite, a state-capitalist society. The tragedy lies in two altogether different spheres. One is Lukacs' new, monumental work, *Social Ontology*, which he considered the greatest of his life, which he was completing when he died on June 4, 1971. Whether only because this philosophic work was abstract enough to be incompre-

(1) As one example, see *TELOS*, which not only devoted two special issues (Winter 1971 and Spring 1972) plus a "memorial statement" (Spring 1971), but this was preceded by a detailed study by Paul Piccone, "Lukacs' *History and Class-Consciousness*, Half a Century Later" in the Fall 1969 issue. See also a book of essays, *The Unknown Dimension*, edited by Dick Howard and Karl E. Klare (Basic Books, N.Y., for a hefty \$12.50).

hensible, or because in reality it was not all inimical to the ruling Communist Party, the fact is that we suddenly began seeing the belated publication of Lukacs' 1923 work, *History and Class Consciousness*, with a most ambient new Preface included. (2)

The only reference the 1967 Preface makes to the 1956 Revolution is that there is no "inconsistency" between "the fact that in 1956 I had once again to take on a ministerial (!) post" (p.xxxi) and the fact that he had given up political activity in the mid-1920's. As if taking on political activities — "making revolutions" — hadn't related to revolutionary dialectics, and "giving up politics" hadn't "coincided" (in Stalin's day and now!) with renunciation of, and retreat from *History and Class-Consciousness*, Lukacs concludes that he is glad to be out of politics since even when he was correct "there must be grave defects in my practical political abilities." (p.xxxi) Well, it isn't his "political abilities" we are concerned with. The reason for detouring to the Preface is not "politics" but the disjointedness of revolutionary philosophy from revolutionary activity.

THE 1967 PREFACE

It isn't the political double-tonguedness that manifests Lukacs' philosophic retreat from working out today's revolutionary dialectics in the forthcoming *Social Ontology* (to which we'll return later). In the Preface this manifests itself in places where he is full of praise of Lenin, but in fact doesn't stand on Lenin's philosophic ground. And I don't mean Lenin's pre-1914 mechanistic Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, but his ground-breaking 1914-15 *Philosophic Notebooks* (3), which laid

(2) *History and Class Consciousness*, *Studies in Marxist Dialectics*, by Georg Lukacs, Merlin Press, London, 1971 (includes 1967 Preface).

(3) See my article, "The Shock of Recognition and the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin" in *TELOS*, Spring, 1970.

the philosophic foundation both for the Great Divide in Marxism, and for the Russian Revolution as well as for new world revolutionary perspectives.

Lukacs rightly shows how his work had caught the revolutionary spirit of the period, 1917-21: "A momentous world-historical change was struggling to find a theoretical expression." (p.xxv) He also points to the truth that "undoubtedly one of the great achievements of *History and Class Consciousness* (was) to have reinstated the category of totality in the central position it had always occupied throughout Marx's work . . ." This, however, is followed up with a declaration about not knowing that Lenin was "moving in a similar direction." (p.xx) Suddenly there comes the arrogant and supercilious untitled reference to Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* as "philosophic fragments (that) were only published nine years after the appearance of *History and* (Continued on Page 6)

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA is the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board of *NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES*, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, which practices the unity of theory and action, and the unity of worker and intellectual. *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 working conditions, racism, sexism, and war, from the activity of thinking and working out theory for our age. Participation in the freedom struggles and publication of the paper, pamphlets and books are both forms of activities we invite you to join in working out with us.

Views

federal employees in Alabama. In a state whose population is more than 25 per cent Black, less than 3 per cent of the 27,000 white-collar employees of federal agencies are Black. In fact, our investigations show that federal employment in Alabama reflects worse racial bias than state employment! (Blacks in state office jobs constitute 7.2 per cent of employees).

Our suit will cost at least \$12,000 and we need help. In return for their donations, contributors will receive regular reports on this and other cases in progress. Contributions can be sent to:

Southern Poverty Law Center
Washington Building
Montgomery, Ala. 36101

YUGOSLAVIA

Tito has repeatedly demanded since 1968 that a number of professors should be fired from various universities. During the purge in October more were fired and two new laws were urged—one on education allowing the assembly of each republic to fire university professors if they do not fulfill certain political requirements (that is, if their views are not compatible with official ideology and policy of the League of Communists). Another bill increases the rights of political police to search persons on the street, to search apartments without the court's permit, to arrest and keep three days in prison before the beginning of the court's procedure, to investigate without the presence of the defendant's lawyer, etc.

Three students are in jail since January 1972 sentenced to two years for "intending to form a Trotskyist organization" in such a way as "to overthrow the existing social order." After more than six months of investigation the police were unable to produce any evidence. Tito felt so threatened by these two boys and one brilliant, physically very fragile girl of pure proletarian origin that he had to send them to jail for two years.

The campaign and the firings have stopped for the moment, because there were so many letters coming from

various universities in the U. S., Germany, France, Scandinavia, etc. expressing concern over the repression of the intellectuals. While reverting to some of the old Stalinist practices, Tito would also like to preserve the image of Yugoslavia as the most liberal Socialist country, which is clearly impossible.

Observer
East Europe

ITALY

Your issue on the U. S. elections was very interesting, and you are undoubtedly right that racism was the most important issue in the campaign. We here know almost nothing about what is going on in the U. S. Since the Mao-Nixon pact newspapers on all sides have stopped writing about the U. S. I almost had the idea that due to busing only the Afro-Americans were going to school. Racism is like cancer — as if there were not enough problems.

I don't think one can draw any conclusions from the recent local elections here. It was a very small part of the population that voted.

Correspondent
Milan

ISRAEL

A lot of publicity has been given to freeing the Jews of Russia and allowing them to emigrate to Israel. Once in Israel in this so-called classless society, however, only the professionals are allowed to go into Tel Aviv or the other large cities where their skills are used in teaching, medicine, or the arts. Workers are sent to the new settlements. They have no choice.

In early August, a group of newly arrived Russian and French workers were refused settlement in Tel Aviv. The government insisted on sending them south to the new city of Dimona. They refused to leave Lod Airport and had a sit-down there. Persecuting, whether it is of the Russian variety or of the Israeli variety, is alien to a human being's quest for freedom.

Visitor
Israel

MIDWEST CONFERENCE

The Midwest Conference for Relevant Social Science will be held from Friday to Sunday, Feb. 23 to 25, at the Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams, Chicago, Illinois. Among the many panels and discussions your readers may be interested in will be those of racism, Black workers, women, a new Marxism, prison revolts, Latin America, community organizing, and many others. For more information, write:

William Pelz
1237 W. North Shore Ave.
Chicago, Ill. 60626

Editor's Note: Readers in the Chicago area will be interested to know that Charles Denby has been invited to address the conference on Fri., Feb. 23, at 8 p.m.

REAL GRIEVANCES

What is all this talk about legislation banning transportation strikes? Our grievances are just as real as anyone else's, our right to strike when wronged is as important to us as it is to any other worker. If the politicians in this country can force such a repressive law on transportation workers, they can force such laws on other workers. It's very important that this be blocked.

PATH Tubes Trainman
New York City

When the middle of January came and went, and none of our subscribers in the San Francisco, Bay Area or Sacramento had received the issue of *N&L* mailed from Detroit on Dec. 21, I checked with the local Post Office and was told: "we still have 2nd class mail piled up since Thanksgiving."

One mailcarrier told me: "In Berkeley alone we are 40 carriers short. They refuse to replace anyone off sick or on vacation. I have not had a day off since before Christmas and we are all forced to work 7 days a week and 10-11 hours a day. There are plenty of experienced postal workers around here, especially unemployed students and teachers—but they won't even accept their applications. They could take home for a normal 40 hour week what I am getting in two days overtime, so it can't be the money.

"Since the Post Office was turned over to USPS by the Government, to be run as a business, it gets crazier each week.

I need the rest, and they need the work, but what can you expect from a man like Nixon who spends \$25 million to get elected to kill more people in Asia? He couldn't be expected to care if workers here die from overwork or from no work at all!"

Committee Member
San Francisco

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

If you ask the foremen why the women's place in the factory is always at the most repetitive, monotonous, lowest paying, lousy jobs, they'll invariably tell you it's because women are so patient and can handle such work. Why then are no women allowed to take jobs in the skilled shops where patience is the watchword? Sex-discrimination in the factories is as monstrous a problem as race-discrimination. Young Worker

New Jersey

Even Nixon, after hand-picking Supreme Court Justices, could not stop history. Women everywhere are overjoyed at the Supreme Court's recognition of the human right to abortion. At last we alone are free to make a decision which affects us so seriously. It is precisely because having a child is so important that the right not to have one is so vital. Mother

Detroit

The welfare mothers' fight for heat seems to be won now that the gas company has agreed to wait a sufficient length of time for payment, the welfare department has special staff to work only on preventing gas shut-offs, and the legislature has appropriated additional money for heating bills. The fight for reasonable and humane treatment for poor people must now continue with other public utilities. Welfare Rights Supporter

Detroit

MESSAGE FROM CLEVELAND

Dear Cleveland Electrical Worker: I am the electrical worker who wore the "He's not MY President" button the day after election. Will you please let me know who you are. I imagine we have a lot to talk about. I usually have lunch in the cafeteria upstairs or at Mom's on the corner. Another Electrical Worker

Cleveland

— YOUTH —

Thousands protest war, inaugural Washington, D.C. San Francisco

At least 100,000 people protested Nixon's self-coronation here Saturday, Jan. 20th. Marching demonstrators filled Constitution Ave. from the Lincoln Memorial to the Washington Monument for 2½ hours on this cold and muddy day. About half of the marchers attended a four hour rally where they heard music and speeches by congressmen, labor leaders, a Vietnamese woman, clergy, and representatives of various left groups. As in the past, most of the demonstrators were white, middle-class people, many of whom were in the streets protesting the Viet Nam war for the first time in their lives.

While the demonstration was peaceful and out of view of Nixon's parade, the police maintained a gestapo-like presence throughout the city. Large areas surrounding the Capitol and the Inaugural Parade route were blocked off to all traffic. At least two policemen were present on each corner requesting to see "Inaugural Passes" from anyone they apparently identified as "suspicious."

In spite of these restrictions, a group of protestors was able to occupy two corners on Pennsylvania Ave., the Inaugural Parade route, by arriving before the Mounted Police and the motorcycle squad formed a living barricade along the anti-war parade route.

Signs carried by demonstrators protested Nixon's wars abroad and at home. Slogans ranged from "Sign the Treaty" to "Workers Need Housing" to "Stop Police Terror." Most of the speakers, while demanding an end to the brutal and genocidal U. S. role in the Viet Nam war, also spoke of the need for the movement to continue. Some speakers stressed the need to watchdog the U. S. to make sure the treaty, once signed, is implemented, while others stressed the need to fight racism, repression, unemployment, and poverty at home.

The Viet Nam Veterans Against the War distributed a pamphlet which seriously questioned the continued existence of a government which so fears the people it is supposed to represent, and spoke of the need for a society where peace, freedom, and equality exist for all.

Many marchers and speakers were seriously rethinking the foundation and philosophy of the anti-war movement. Most people returned home with the determination to continue protesting inhuman U.S. policies. If we are to ever achieve true peace, rather than Nixon's "peace of the dead," the new society, of which the VVAW wrote, must become the demand of the whole anti-war movement.

—Participant, Detroit

U. Conn. cafe fight

Storrs, Conn.—Two hundred and forty food service workers at the University of Connecticut are currently engaged in a fight to save their jobs. The state's plan is to fire them and cut them off from state benefit and retirement programs by contracting the food service out to a private company. Governor Meskill came up with this scheme to "save the State money."

TRICK WORKERS

Meskill's appointees tried to push this scheme through the Board of Trustees in the fall, but they were forced to table the issue by the united protests of workers, students, and faculty who demonstrated against private contracting and disrupted the Trustees' meetings.

Thwarted by our united protest, the Trustees tried to trick us. On the last day of classes, they voted to contract out the food services to Saga Corp.

The new food service contract supposedly contains a pledge by Saga Corp. to rehire all present employees at their current wages and to keep a thirty-five hour week. Most of the food workers accept the low state wages only because they get extensive benefits and retirement and have a "secure" state job. If these workers are turned over to Saga, they will lose their state fringe benefits and many will have worked for dirt pay for ten years or more for nothing!

LAY-OFFS TO FOLLOW

Saga promises "matching" benefit programs, but the workers have discovered that these plans are vague and full of loop-holes. For example: one worker found that he would lose over one hundred days of paid sick leave. Worse yet, Saga has promised to reduce the full-time work force by 70 through "natural attrition" and to replace regular workers with parttime student labor at even lower wages. Naturally this worries the workers.

The Connecticut State Employees' Union is fighting this latest trick of the Governor and Board of Trustees in court. The union succeeded in getting an injunction against the change-over, pending a court hearing. We will continue to fight against this attack on the cafeteria workers, and remain united as workers and students.

—Univ. of Conn. student

San Francisco, — The two major anti-Vietnam war demonstrations on Inauguration day attracted about 8,000 protestors here, with many other towns and cities all over Northern California holding their own meetings of protest.

The last minute coalition with NPAC and PCPJ brought over 5,000 mainly white old left types, pacifist and religious groups, and Union workers, to the rally at Civic Center Plaza, where the all-star cast of speakers included: Assemblyman, Willie Brown, Bobby Seale (now officially a candidate for Mayor of Oakland), David Harris, Country Joe McDonald, Rev. Cecil Williams, and Curtis McLain, President of Local 6, of the Longshoremen's Union.

The colorful rally in Mission Dolores Park had a different quality. There, about 3,000 young militants—predominantly Asian, Chicano, Filipino, Vietnamese, Islanders, Women's Liberation, Farm Workers, Prisoners Union, Black and white students and teachers, Welfare Rights, and groups like "Greeks for Democracy"—mingled peacefully with the sprinkling of old timers. John Silva of the Filipino Organization, Kalayaan, stated that "Marco's martial law is a sign of imperialism's growing weakness . . ." and that "the Philippines could become another Vietnam."

The rally was adjourned, and with flying banners, the United Farm Workers marched back to the downtown Safeway supermarket to protest that it still carries scab lettuce and produce.

—Activist, S.F.

No "Sweet Life" for foods workers

Suffield, Conn.— I write this in the hope that it will be read by my fellow workers at Sweet Life who are being beaten down by working in such a hostile environment.

I hope they will see the true position of the union. I hope they can see that a man can lose his life or the means to make a life while the company promptly replaces him with another man at 55 cents cheaper an hour. The union has sent a letter to all employees explaining that if a man is seen destroying company property he will not only be fired, he will be "black-balled" out of the union.

We work in a non-production shop, yet any time a man falls below the company-set production rate he is pounced upon on the spot by a supervisor. If the man refuses to be beaten down, the following day he will be hounded and followed all day. He will even have a supervisor standing behind him while he relieves himself.

If this does not work, then they give him a few days off and request a hearing between the company and the union, charging him with low production. Most of the time he will be found innocent, but he loses a few days' pay along with the aggravation of being accused of breaking a non-existent rule—production!

We not only do not make enough money per hour; other warehousemen make almost a dollar more an hour. What really hurts is when the union agrees with the company and puts forced overtime into the contract. It just doesn't seem right to work eight hours and then be forced to work two extra hours. If you refuse, you are suspended on the spot.

We also have to work with little or no heat in the winter. Some say it's colder inside than out. I can't understand this. How can a man work when he uses a great deal of his energy just keeping warm?

To top everything else, you can't even trust your brother. The company even has paid informers.

Now, I ask you: do we have a right to do something about this situation?

—Sweet-Life worker

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TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

Class Consciousness." (p.xx) (4)

Now, to have discovered, no matter when, that the revolutionary spirit of the age was not only caught as it objectively developed, but prepared for by Lenin back in 1914 via his "return" to Hegel after the collapse of the Second International, should have been so exciting an actual and philosophic adventure that the profound philosopher Lukacs, couldn't have possibly slipped into factual dating of publications relative to one "knowing" or "not knowing" about these in 1919-22, if his 1967 ear had been attuned to the living revolutionary forces. Shouldn't his recollection of the "momentous world-historical change (that) was struggling to find a theoretical expression," 1919-1922, have led him to concretize his praise of "Lenin really brought about a renewal of the Marxist method," by grappling with Lenin's Notebooks instead of skipping over those "fragments?" 1967 is, after all, a good distance from 1932, by which time not only Lenin's Notebooks, but Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays had finally been published. It is true that Lukacs' 1923 work had anticipated the essays on "Alienated Labor" and "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic." But Marx's Essays also contained the sharp conclusion that "communism, as such, is not the goal of human development, the form of human society," which Lukacs neither anticipated, nor knew how to relate to.

In any case, Lukacs never reviewed either Lenin's or Marx's strictly philosophic works. This failure has nothing whatever to do with dates, but a great deal to do with the fact that Lukacs is developing the dialectics, not of revolution, but of ontology. Whether his monumental work, *Social Ontology*, will prove to be not only his greatest work, but that dialectics of the concrete which the New Left expects all revolutionary forces to be grounded in, the indirect references to it in the new Preface to *History and Class Consciousness* does not help enhance that Preface. It isn't the Preface that will enter history, but the original work. The ambience of the Preface can no more detract from that epoch-making event than the author's renouncement of the book under Stalinism could keep it from having a most exciting underground life of its own.

One final word must be said before we can finally turn to its contents, and that is that *History and Class Consciousness* isn't a book, i.e., a whole. (5) It is a collection of essays, and not all are of historic import. The two philosophic essays carried on a subterranean existence for a full half-century which has romanticized the whole, but the historic-philosophic breakthrough resides in those two central pieces—*What Is Orthodox Marxism?* and *Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat*. It is to these we now turn.

(To be Continued)

(4) Actually, the dating is wrong. Even before Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* were published in Moscow, not in 1932, but in 1929-30, sections of them began to be published soon after Lenin's death, as various factional fights developed. In view of the fact that many among the "New Left," with malice aforethought, are deliberately mixing up the Comintern's June, 1924 attack on Lukacs' work with Lenin's 1920 critique of the politics of the ultra-left in "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, it should be made clear that Lenin lay on his deathbed, totally paralyzed, for 8 long mute tormenting months in 1923. Lenin's activity was finished when the second stroke hit him on March 10, 1923; he died Jan. 21, 1924.

(5) Lukacs himself, in the original (Christmas, 1922) Preface, made this clear with his very first sentence: "The collection and publication of these essays in book form is not intended to give them a greater importance as a whole than would be due to each individually." (p. xli.)

The Original Historical Analysis:



By Raya Dunayevskaya

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BLACK-RED VIEW

Black seaman Essex—made in racist U.S.A.

By John Alan

B-52's were still sending down their deadly rain of bombs on North Vietnam, when suddenly on Jan. 8, the "chronicalization" of this terror was swept from the front pages of the newspapers and television throughout the nation and replaced by the sensational duel of death between 600 policemen and a young Black ex-serviceman atop a Howard Johnson motel in downtown New Orleans.

The press and top news spots on radio and television were now filled with dispatches from New Orleans, eye-witness stories and pictures of grim-faced police with high-powered rifles crouching behind buildings, automobiles or lying wounded in the streets.

BLACK CONSPIRACY CHARGED

Like the war in Indo-China, no facet of news was unreported. Press conferences of high judicial and police officials were covered—all hinting, or saying outright, "There is a Black conspiracy to kill police officers."

The tragic drama that young Mark J. R. Essex chose to "act out," high on a rooftop, with the "cooperation" of a horde of frightened but eager policemen was not simply meat for a sensation-seeking press—it was a great deal more than that!

Although it was an act of desperate frustration, its origin and motivation came from the viscera of a malignant racist-capitalist society, most particularly the kind the present administration is trying to foster in the nation.

MADE IN USA'S NAVY

And if this tragedy was given the same magnitude of coverage that the news media gives the war in S.E. Asia, it is because they are aware of the significance of the Black Struggles for Freedom in this country. It can be truthfully said that young brother Essex was a product of his experience in the U. S. Navy, as a Black man.

His mother, with great feeling and understanding said: "He, (Mark) was mistreated in the Navy. It was prejudice. I don't know if the Navy is doing it deliberately, but they're doing it. I have talked to other young men, white men, and they confirmed what my Johnny told me. Young Blacks are not going to accept the white racist society. We must cease provoking people to the point that they must seek revenge, to get even with society." Mark's sister, Mrs. Penny Fox, summed it up

this way: "The Navy, to Jimmy, was his own private hell."

Blacks in the U.S. don't have to be told that the Navy, in spite of all the Z-grams sent to Commanding Officers by Admiral Zumwalt, is still a bastion of thinly-veiled white racism. Race riots have occurred aboard aircraft carriers off the coast of Vietnam, and as this is being written Black enlisted men are being court-martialed in San Diego for their participation in them, while the white rioters have been more or less ignored by Navy brass.

As I viewed the battle of New Orleans on television seeing hundreds of policemen firing thousands of rounds of ammo with machine guns and rifles, chipping away chunks of mortar and brick, and then saw the sprawled body of Mark Essex on the roof, I had to overcome the feeling that these were not real men of flesh and blood, but wooden puppets being pulled by strings—because the image presented was one of total alienation from all that was human and compassionate.

Mark's sprawled body was a silhouette—a cipher, who only came alive when he was understood as a Black human being within the context of our racist society—but the others never did.

ERA backlash at Norris

Los Angeles, Cal. — The first backlash of the Equal Rights Amendment (E.R.A.) was felt in California, as Norris Industries notified its women employees that their morning and afternoon rest periods were being eliminated. Prior to this time only women employees were given breaks, and this was done only to comply with state law.

Norris stated that the new action was necessary because the Civil Rights Act of 1964 states that there can be no job-related discrimination on the basis of race or sex. Federal court decisions have interpreted this act as eliminating, among other things, differences between men and women's work hours, including rest periods.

The whole letter implies that Norris is doing the only thing it can do. They ignore the possibility that protective legislation governing women's working conditions could be extended to men. The company could give men rest periods and still be complying with Federal law, but production and profit govern Norris' actions, not civil rights.

This potential to misuse the Civil Rights Act has existed for over eight years, but it is only now, that the E.R.A. has passed in California, that it is being used as a weapon against non-professional working women and their hard-won rights. Union women vigorously opposed the E.R.A., not because they were opposed to the concept of equality, but because they knew exactly how it would be used against them.

Already the supervisors at Norris are saying to the women, "see what women's liberation has done for you?" But it is our job to figure out how something like the E.R.A. which was to propel the women's movement forward, is being used by management for an opposite purpose.

The E.R.A. was supposed to be part of a movement towards a new human society. But such a movement by necessity must include the ideas and involvement of minority and non-professional working women. Middle-class women must understand that in a class society such as ours, the E.R.A. will have a class nature. Under capitalism this means that non-professional working women will be equally exploited along with men at the point of production.

—Deborah Morris

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

Step up equal rights fight

San Francisco, Cal.—The picket line in downtown San Francisco (see January N&L article) protesting the Bank of America's Computer Center attempt to remove the taxi service for the women who work at night, resulted in an enthusiastic wave of new support.

The campaign to protect women's needs and extend equal protection to men, organized by Union W.A.G.E., N&L-WL Committee in the Bay Area, and assisted by many others, has new muscle, both mental and manual. A demonstration is planned at the front door of the Bank of America World Headquarters on California and Kearney Streets.

Joining the protest coalition is the Independent Union—Bank Employees Data Processing Association—who have been "underground" organizing B/A employees, until some of their organizers got fired; Yellow Cab drivers of Teamsters Local 256—hundreds of whom will lose their jobs if the night service is stopped; the women's collective for a new working women's newspaper, Change, plus the Third World groups who walked with us in December, and many more.

—Bay Area N&L-WL Committee



FORCE
AND
REASON

Feminism and Marxism

At a recent convention of teachers and college professors, the radical caucus organized a session called "Feminism and Marxism." The subject was constantly posed in false alternatives of feminism versus Marxism, and the terms were used so sloppily as to mean nothing more than viewing the world as divided into either sexes or classes!

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

The "well-read" people who called themselves Marxists had to be reminded that Marx's meaning of class struggle was a broad one and included women, Blacks and national minorities when and where they were fighting for freedom. He was constantly looking at the actual struggles of the masses in his time. In fact, he disowned the American "Marxists" who refused to support the Civil War on the grounds that it was not a class war, but "only" concerned with human slavery!

I tried to point out our job as working out what Marxism means for our age, linking up the different groups who are in revolt so as to actually create a revolution and a truly new society.

ENTIRELY NEW RELATIONSHIPS

Women today are demanding not just equal treatment with men under capitalism, but entirely new kinds of relationships between human beings, starting with the end of the division between mental and manual workers and developing into a kind of world we have never seen. Yet these same women are having Marxism so misrepresented to them that they think it has nothing to offer the women's movement or even that it is in opposition to it.

Some of the feminists at this academic conference were honestly asking the "Marxists" to explain what Marxism means to feminism. The unfortunate answers ranged from "look at China" to ivory-tower definitions of Marxism that never once mentioned human beings.

ALL RELATIONS PERVERTED

Marxist-Humanism is the philosophy and method for the self-development of all people. The alienation of our minds and bodies springs from the relations between people at the point of production which pervert every single relationship under capitalism, including the relationship of woman to man. Women cannot be free in this society any more than any but a few privileged men can be.

Most of the women at the meeting were young, and many were unemployed because the schools are firing what radicals they can. These women saw themselves as oppressed by the men who control academia. But one woman went so far as to say that there are no longer class differences in this country, because she, a Ph.D., is presently on welfare.

A statement like that shows how isolated some feminists are from the real problems of the vast majority of women, who are chained to families and/or low-skilled jobs.

We need to work out serious theory for the women's movement, and there is no better place to start than with Marx. If we read him instead of listening to his corrupters, we will see that his method and vision are exactly what we need today.

—Molly Jackson, New York N&L-WL

Bell agreement falls short

Detroit, Mich.—During the past year, the National Organization for Women (NOW) has made continuing efforts, both locally and nationally, to get telephone companies, all subsidiaries of AT&T, to implement fair employment practices and to improve working conditions for women.

The Michigan NOW chapter has filed two class action suits against the Michigan Bell Telephone Company on behalf of women workers who are paid lower wages than men doing the same work at AT&T subsidiaries in other states. NOW is also challenging the company's latest request to charge higher telephone rates, because the company has failed to comply with federal anti-discrimination guidelines.

The pressure on the Bell system was sufficient to get AT&T to sign an agreement on Jan. 18, 1973 with the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), which promised increased pay and advancement opportunities for women and minority employees. While the \$38 million the company agreed to pay to victims of discrimination is the largest civil rights settlement in the nation's history, it is far short of the \$3½ billion estimated by the EEOC to be lost by women employees alone since 1965 when sex discrimination was made illegal.

The Michigan NOW chapter is not at all satisfied with the agreement but is studying how to continue the fight since the EEOC, in their negotiations with the company, agreed to drop pending and some future discrimination charges against AT&T subsidiaries.

—Working Woman, Detroit

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WORLD IN VIEW

by Peter Mallory

Australia

The pro-American reactionary conservative government of Australia has recently been replaced by a Labor Party government headed by Prime Minister Gough Whitlam. All sorts of things have been happening since the event.

Within the first two weeks the Labor government pulled out of alignment with the big powers and with the third world majority. It has abolished the ban on "colored-immigration," banned racially-selected sports teams and will vote in the United Nations to tighten sanctions against Rhodesia and South Africa. The Australian Maritime Union conducted a two-week boycott of U.S. shipping to protest the bombing of North Vietnam.

On the domestic scene the condition of the Australian aborigines is the worst page in their history. There are only three aboriginal university graduates because up to two generations ago they were not permitted to attend college. Black children are encouraged to drop out of school after two years when they need six years to qualify for higher education. In Queensland, aborigines are given six months in jail for idleness at work. They are forced to live on reservations under conditions worse than the American Indians.

Mr. Whitlam has promised to override state legislation which in Queensland is reminiscent of restrictions placed on Blacks in South Africa.

Three of the six states—New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland—are still run by conservative racists who are not likely to give up without a struggle.

India

The 74th annual meeting of the ruling Congress Party has taken place in a specially constructed "Tent City" which cost \$700,000, while the leader, Indira Gandhi, was housed in a lush \$107,000 hut.

The only thing that emerged from the meetings was the revelation of deep discontent within the party and the lack of progress in solving the problems of the Indian masses. Despite her campaign promises to oust the old corrupt political bosses in the party, this conservative hard-core still runs the Congress Party.

While the plight of the impoverished masses is well known, the growing army of educated Indians without jobs found a voice in the radical wing of the party who demanded 500,000 new jobs in the next year. Canada estimates that up to 1,000 illegal Indian immigrants per day have been entering Canada as "visitors," and that a total of over 100,000 have remained to seek jobs.

The Communist Party of India finds no difficulty living in this coalition. One of their members serves in the government as Minister of Steel and Heavy Industry.

Italy

We have received the following letter from Milan:

So many bombs are thrown around in Italy that you almost forget this isn't the "normal way of life." On Dec. 12 Italy "celebrated" the macabre incident of "The Bomb" that blew up in the bank of Milan killing 15 people 3 years before. By now everyone knows that Vaipreda, the Anarchist accused of placing the bomb, was not guilty, but that it was a fascist attempt. Thus, in all of Italy there was a protest against fascism and for what seems the age-old slogan, "Free Vaipreda."

In Naples, 20,000 workers and students met to make a demonstration. Five minutes before they were to march a bomb blew up in front of them. In Rome 30,000 demonstrated and after the rally groups were attacked and 38 arrested. In Milan the unions insisted on the workers holding a one or two hour assembly in the factory. The high schools and universities were literally assailed by police.

The fascists were on the defensive three years ago when "The Bomb" blew up in Milan. This time they didn't even deny they planted the recent bomb in Naples. They have gone in three years from the defensive to the offensive. Meanwhile, making holocaust in the streets has become a Leftist "tactic." One certainly can't blame students who are held in their school by police wearing gas masks and holding tear gas, shields and machine guns, for wanting to march against the powers that be. The problem is that many groups have taken to attacking some isolated fascist standing on a street corner, or some so-called spy who may be just somebody who belongs to a different group.

As far as strikes go, there is no question that they are going ahead at a fantastic rate. There have never been so many nor have they been so strong in the last ten years. The differences among the three large unions (the Catholic Union still refuses a united policy) doesn't seem to have made a break in the strikes.

The principal protagonists are the metal-mechanical workers (which includes almost everyone in the auto and steel industries), the bank employees, and the teachers from grade school up to the universities. There are many other workers on strike more or less regularly. The workers are really at a disadvantage because the papers report regularly

that one major company after another has zero for profits.

Food and rent along with every other necessity have skyrocketing prices. We're at the point where clothes and heating the house are in competition and often get left out of the list of necessities. The Italians, even the bankers and teachers, are going back to being spaghetti eaters.

Egypt

President Sadat of Egypt is beginning to meet with resistance and increasing opposition. After a five-day sit-down strike at Cairo University, over 3,000 students attempted a march on the central square of the capital. They were driven back by riot police using tear gas and batons. At Ain Shams University across town the police closed the University down and declared a sudden holiday.

At Alexandria 7,000 dock workers stormed a police station to free fellow workers who had been arrested for participating in a wild-cat strike. Some Egyptian journalists openly cry out against the Sadat censorship of the news. Rumors of abortive military coups are promptly suppressed.

Syria has threatened to pull out of the Federation of Arab Republics if Egypt does not supply more aid, but Sadat's problems stem from the lack of financial aid he needs from the rich Arab lands who refuse to help him unless he actively participates in war against Israel.

Amilcar Cabral

We mourn the death of Amilcar Cabral, murdered by Portuguese assassins in front of his home on January 21. Amilcar Cabral, a courageous and tireless African revolutionary, was the leader of the movement to end Portuguese rule in Guinea-Bissau, West Africa. Founder of the African Party for the Liberation of Guinea-Bissau, Cabral led a ten-year struggle for independence, which has thus far wrested two-thirds of Guinea-Bissau from Portuguese control.

This cowardly act by Portuguese colonialists follows by less than four years their murder of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, former President of FRELIMO, which is fighting to free Mozambique. The deaths of Eduardo Mondlane and Amilcar Cabral cannot stop the fight to liberate Africa. But they show that the counter-revolution is ever-present, whether in its Portuguese and South African forms, or in the form of Great Power neo-colonialism. Revolutionary vigilance is necessary to defend African freedom.

Nixon's power grab aimed to crush growing forces of revolt

(Continued from Page 1)

the Council: AFL-CIO's Meany, UAW's Woodcock, Teamsters' Fitzsimmons, United Steelworkers' Abel and Seafarers' Internationals' Hall. Just as the labor representatives were outnumbered and outvoted during their time on the Pay Board, so will they be again.

Workers on the production lines know very well what their leaders can't seem to learn: you can't win playing against a stacked deck. In every showdown vote, the labor leaders will lose.

Where Nixon's Phase 3 deck is stacked against the workers, it is stacked for the capitalists. All controls were taken off rents; dividends and interest remain untouched; there are no effective regulations on food prices; the formula for profits effectively removes them from control; no company has to give any advance notice of a raise in prices; only companies with sales of more than \$250 million a year have to report a raise in prices (it was \$100 million before); the enforcement staff is cut from 4,000 to 2,000.

However, the 5.5 percent wage increase formula remains in force, and Secretary Schultz intends to see this guideline observed. He exposed the myth that the administration was truly "lifting" controls, when he stated that if anyone gets out of line "they'll get clobbered." What this means simply is that if workers try to get wage increases over the 5.5 percent figure, they'll "get clobbered," while the capitalists will be able to increase their already swollen profits without fear.

INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT REMAIN

Inflation, meanwhile, not only remains unchecked, it will rise faster under Nixon's new deal for the business interests. At the present, inflation is increasing at 3.2 percent. This, however, is a false picture, because those items which affect workers the most—food, clothing, medical care, housing and taxes—have all gone up closer to eight or nine percent. In the past five years alone, based on the full price index, the cost of living has increased by at least 27 percent. Just to stay even, a worker making \$100 a week in 1967 would have to make \$127 a week now.

Unemployment continues at a very high rate of 5.2 percent, but this figure is meaningless where it comes to minority group unemployment. While unemployment among Vietnam veterans has been "cut" to the national

average of 5.2 percent, the rate among Black and Chicano veterans is 16 percent. Among Black youth, unemployment is so high that often no records are kept on them, but their jobless rate varies from 40 to 75 percent—depending on state and city.

And now, with unemployment still in full swing, auto plants are scheduling impossible overtime hours rather than hire the unemployed. Working 10-14 hours a day, seven days a week is simply more than the men and women can endure. Thousands are winding up in hospitals from heart attacks, physical exhaustion, and injuries resulting from fatigue.

NIXON BYPASSES CONGRESS

Nixon meanwhile continues his strategy of usurping congressional powers. Congress has always closely guarded its right to control the financing of federal programs. However, there is no law to compel a President to approve the expenditure of allocated funds. Whereas past Presidents in isolated instances have spent less than the full amounts authorized, no President before Nixon has ever used the selective but widespread impounding of allocated funds as a matter of administration policy.

And the funds he has refused to release have almost invariably been authorized for public welfare programs such as housing, roads, education, medical facilities, urban renewal—but never funds earmarked for military or business assistance programs.

Another run around Congress is Nixon's elite corps of super secretaries and advisers such as Secretaries Schultz, Lynn, Weinberger and Butz, and super assistants like Kissinger, Erlichmann, Ziegler, Whitehead and Ash. They constitute a private force of officials with unprecedented authority concentrated in the executive branch of government—Nixon's branch that he seeks to make the whole tree.

Such significant executive re-organization calls for Congressional approval, but Nixon, far from requesting approval, has presented Congress and the nation with an accomplished reorganization. It's been done—it is now fact.

And perhaps more than anything else, Nixon's total contempt for Congress can be seen in the simple fact that instead of delivering his State of the Union address to Congress in person, he simply had the word delivered . . . by messenger. This gesture accurately states the true State of the Union as seen from Nixon's White

House.

There are, however, other views. The view of the unemployed worker whose unemployment compensation has stopped. The view of the young Black who has never had a job and sees no hope of getting one. The view of the growing number of Blacks who daily bear the frustrations of discrimination—and can explode in death in a New York department store or atop a New Orleans hotel.

The view of both Black and white workers, on production lines, in mills and mines, who must go out on incessant wildcat strikes against their conditions of labor because their union leaders refuse to fight for them. The view of the youth and women that a change in human relationships is necessary and can come only with a full reorganization of society.

Indeed, Nixon has been blasted by both Black and white women for his total failure to deal with their real problems in his planned economic report to the nation. Nixon's references are reserved for middle class, professional career types, with not one word about women who have to work or their problems of low wages, racial discrimination and child care facilities. Instead, there is an absurd reference that in 1900 some 22 percent of American families baked their own bread, but now "baking at home is statistically negligible."

CLASS BATTLES AHEAD

In the coming year, labor contract negotiations will involve some five million Black and white workers in basic industries such as auto, textile, electric, transportation, postal, meat and rubber. Some of their leaders may be meeting with Nixon to try to sell-out their interests, but they will be meeting every day on the production line, fighting every day against that production line for their own interests as human beings.

The actions of those in continuous revolt—Black and other minority groups, youth, women and the working class—can stop Nixon's drive toward total power. This, however, can be done only when the workers throw off of their backs the weight of their own so-called leaders who would lead them into deeper bondage and exploitation under the present system. Bobby Seale caught the same idea when he said at the Inauguration Day demonstration in San Francisco: "It is not only that we will have four more years of Nixon, but that Nixon will have four more years of us!"