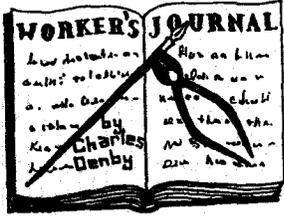


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Workers tell bureaucrats: speed-up kills

by Charles Denby, Editor

I was talking with some workers about the production workers' conference that the UAW leadership is holding in Atlanta. It is supposed to answer the complaints of workers in production over the alienation of work in the shops, what has been labeled the "blue collar blues."

Some workers said the conference won't mean a damn thing as far as easing the stress and tension of the working place. The union leaders know what is involved—it is production and more production, for more profit for the corporation. The big majority of our union leaders have stocks in those companies, and what they think about is how best they can put a pacifier in our mouth to keep us quiet.

One worker said, "Did you listen to Doug Fraser's speech in New Orleans at the skilled trades conference? He said what production workers want most is thirty and out, regardless of age. Some months ago, this same Doug Fraser was saying that the union must take as its number one issue in coming negotiations the reorganizing of the work place to humanize the shops."

UAW RETREAT

After the president of General Motors came out and attacked the union, saying there was no such thing as the "blue collar blues," we feel sure that UAW president Woodcock told Doug to drop those demands concerning the working place. Sure the majority of workers want thirty and out, but how can that help or change the inhuman conditions for those that are left in production.

If the UAW leaders were really serious, they would hold their conference here in Detroit where the majority of production workers are. They would have rank-and-file workers as delegates. They would listen to the experiences of workers that are glued to the production line everyday, workers who must be there for another ten, fifteen or twenty years.

Workers are dropping dead at a record pace from inhuman conditions in the shops. The majority of the younger workers will never make thirty years if human beings must be turned into robots.

SPEED-UP AND HEART ATTACKS

This same worker said, "Man, it used to be that we only heard of big business executives having heart attacks. We were always told it was from pressure and strain, but now it is mainly the workers in production that are having heart attacks.

"Last week we went by to pick up a rider that works in our department. After punching in the time clock, the three of us went into the rest room. Our friend came out first and sat on the bench waiting for us. When we came out we said OK, let's go. We opened

(Continued on Page 3)

In auto, even death won't stop the line

GM South Gate

Los Angeles, Cal.—On January 18th and 19th, two workers died of heart attacks in the plant on the second shift. In both instances, there was no doctor in the plant and no first aid given at the scene.

General Motors did not shut the line down for even one minute. The line foreman, instead of trying to find a worker able to give aid, warned workers on the opposite side to watch their jobs, as they were missing work.

In contrast, GM has rescue units ready at all times to revive the line when it dies. In fact, help arrives at the scene in seconds and all efforts of management are concentrated toward getting the line moving again.

Why does GM take this inhuman attitude toward the life and death of their workers? Is it because when a man dies there is little cost to replace him? Or that they can replace him with a younger man without job protection who must work faster. The key reason is production. Production at such a rapid pace that men have heart attacks under the strain. Production which will not allow the line to stop to help rescue a dying man.

We believe that GM should furnish a competent doctor for each shift, as well as a capable and interested nursing staff. We need a fully-equipped rescue unit able to reach the scene of any emergency in seconds. The line should stop at least until the victim has been treated and removed.

If a man's life is not as important to the company as production, then we workers have to join together to change their attitude.

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NEWS LETTERS

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—LNS PHOTO

Militarization and devaluation

THE WAR MOVES TO THE HOME FRONT

by Robert Ellery

The military budget for fiscal year 1974 calls for a \$4.2 billion increase over the already bloated \$74.8 billion when there was an ongoing war. Nixon's "peace with honor," far from decreasing the militarization of the economy, has met the demands of the Big Brass for ever newer and more diabolical weaponry. Thus, he slipped into

his "defense" budget no less than \$34 million for a new, horrendous, laser bomb, a more sophisticated H-bomb which can be used in the warhead of an intercontinental ballistic missile—and will permit the U.S. to strike two continents at once.

At the same time, volunteers, as against the draftees who could be paid a minimum, are being lured into the army by a much higher pay-scale, as befits the mercenary type of "professional" army Nixon now is, indeed building. No wonder that the stock market did not go up with the announcement of peace, any more than there was any mass outpouring of elation as at the end of WW II. Cynics on Wall Street, when asked about the failure of peace to trigger the market upward, said "It's already discounted."

What the capitalists will not discount is all the money that has gone into sheer destruction in the Vietnam War. There is no return on exploding bombs, B-52's, and the like, win or no-win policy. That drain on the economy gets saddled directly onto the shoulders of the masses of the U.S. All anyone has to do to see that is to see how Nixon is dismantling and scuttling every social welfare program since Roosevelt's New Deal.

Marxists have always maintained that the capitalist state consisted of special bodies of armed men, prisons, etc. But the special feature now is that these special bodies of armed men have so expanded that the distinction between a peace economy and a war economy has been erased. Nixon's "peace with honor" has already destroyed other peoples and their lands. Now he is moving in for the kill at home.

DEVALUATION OF THE DOLLAR

One victim of the unprecedented spending for war in Vietnam was the almighty dollar. On February 12 Treasury Secretary George Schultz announced that the dollar was being devalued by 10 per cent, the second such devaluation in 14 months.

On December 18, 1971, the first time the Administration found it necessary to devalue, in an attempt to stem the worst trade deficit in its history, the President was quoted as saying the move was "the most significant monetary achievement in the history of the world." Yet the dollar has continued to weaken and the trade deficit

(Continued on Page 8)

Van Nuys, Calif.—It may be too strong to call it murder, but what else shall we call what happened at GM Van Nuys on January 10? Red Suttle, a stock chaser, fell from his scooter due to a heart attack shortly after work began on the night shift.

It took at least twelve minutes for the doctor and nurse to show up to give first aid, even though you can walk there from the first aid station in three or four minutes. When they finally did get there, the oxygen tank was empty. They had to go back to get another tank, but that cost precious time.

It takes no more than two minutes for the company maintenance department to arrive on the scene of a breakdown in the line. There are stations throughout the plant which can receive radio messages and inform the mobile maintenance squad.

Of course, one can hardly expect GM to take such good care of its workers. And stopping the line can cost GM profits. Van Nuys workers know from experience that GM will always fix a machine to protect production before they take care of a safety hazard endangering a worker.

GM does not even carry a doctor full time at Van Nuys. For part of the day shift and most of the night shift there's no doctor at all; and on the graveyard there's not even a nurse. This is so despite the fact that serious illnesses in the plant have increased recently. Shouldn't GM treat its workers at least as well as its machines?

L.A. mailing house strike: workers' bitter fight

Los Angeles, Cal.—We want to get a union at The Mailing House because we have been working with no safety standards and no decent working conditions for too long. We do large scale mailings for companies and the machines we work with have high voltage.

Often people who work on the tying machine, the insert machine or the conveyor belt get shocked. When you report this to the manager his answer is "if you can't take the shock, go find another job."

There is no job security but plenty of overtime. The man tells you, "you are working such and such hours or don't bother coming to work tomorrow." At other times, when the work is slow, we might get only two days a week and this means we get nothing in the pay check.

Unfortunately, with the wages that we are paid, \$1.65 to \$1.80 an hour to start, some of us welcome overtime.

If you are taking home \$60 for a 40-hour week, you need overtime just to pay the rent and eat. But when you work 12 hours a day and a six-day week, you are too tired to do anything.

RACISM AND SEXISM

There is also discrimination between Black, Brown and white and between men and women. In the shop the workers are mostly Black and Brown. Up in the office the people are almost all white. Women often start at lower pay than men but do the same jobs. Older women are really treated badly because they cannot easily get another job.

We began to try to get a union after some of the women tried to get a raise. One woman asked the supervisor about it and he told her she must have rocks in her head. Everyone really rallied off of what he had said. We got behind each other, contacted the Paper and Printing Products Union (AFL-CIO) and began organizing.

Black woman discusses 'Black, Brown and Red'

In reading Black, Brown and Red, I have found things in the different articles which pertain to things needed in our community. They express how we feel. To understand our movement, you must start by seeing the different needs we have and the different ideals we have.

The Black, Brown and Red peoples cannot make it without other people, and we cannot make it without the different organizations that have already started. But at the same time, we must look at history and we have to find out why other organizations have failed so we do not make the same mistakes.

First we had the NAACP. They fought through lawyers. They said, "wait and be patient, we'll win in the Courts." Then we had the SCLC and Dr. Martin Luther King; we had the student sit-ins in the South. All those organizations that were formed should have gotten together and let each organization do what it could.

The people of Detroit, the Negroes, had to riot in 1967. But when it was over, all we thought about was that it failed. No one stopped to think about why it failed. The Black, Brown and Red people can accomplish things. But to accomplish things and then not hold on to them is not worth the fight, not worth the rioting and the loss.

We got some jobs out of it, but how long are they going to last? The whites are saying, "Here, take Detroit, have it. We're going to take all our factories and stores and put them all out in the suburbs." Detroit has been left with no money to run our schools, and all that's being built here are office buildings on the riverfront so people can drive through on the expressways and only see fancy buildings and not the condemned houses and apartment buildings.

The way I see it, everytime the big white man hurts the Negroes or other minorities, they are hurting the poor white man too. It hits them harder than it does us, because we have always been hit hard. It's just like in the South where they used to have a poll tax to stop the Negro from voting. But the poor white man couldn't vote either.

Look at the history of this country. The people who organized America were not aristocratic people. Every one of them was ousted from England. When they came to America, they had no choice. But they got their freedom that way. So we've got to get our freedom.

Everybody can't fight in the same way. Everybody can't walk the picket lines; everyone can't fight through SCLC or through riots. Until we learn to let each organization and each individual do what they are able and capable of doing, our organizations will fail. We all need the strength of working together.



—Lillian Truth

We hoped that by winning a union election our problems would be solved. But after we won the election, the man didn't come up with any type of contract. He offered us a three-year contract with no change in any working conditions in the shop, a 15c raise the first year and two 10c raises in the next two years. People starting at \$1.65 an hour would just be getting \$2 in 1976!

REFUSED BAD CONTRACT

We turned it down and 26 of us walked out. At the same time, the company got people from Blue Collar (a daily hiring agency) to replace us. That was in November and we are still out on the line. At the last meeting the company said everyone was fired.

Now the Federal Government is helping the company by having the Post Office take things out to be mailed.

Another problem we have is with the companies who do business with The Mailing House. We asked Sears which supplies 60 per cent of their business, to stop while we were on strike, but their answer was who are we to tell Sears what to do. The conditions of 70 workers doesn't mean much to Sears.

We need outside help to win, help from individuals, from labor, community and civil rights groups. We as workers have never tackled such a problem before. Before our strike there had never been any unity among Mailing House workers. But now, among the strikers, there is.

—The Mailing House Workers on strike

Cabbies join S.F. rights fight

San Francisco, Cal.—The largest piggy bank in the world, the Bank of America, is increasing its vicious attitude toward the women employees who work the night shifts at the Computer Data Center here. If they get away with the elimination of the taxi service at night, all the capitalist jackals who employ women are waiting in line to follow suit.

Since Governor Reagan vetoed the amendment to the Equal Rights Amendment (which would have maintained all protection for women and extended it to men), "test" cases are being tried all over the state. Now the Bank of America, not satisfied with its attempt to remove the taxi service, is passing out "waivers" to their women employees, asking that they give up their daily breaks! Needless to say, they have received very few signed returns on this new attack on the health of the women.

A recent picket line at the Bank of America drew several hundred women and men employees; Union Wage members; News & Letters Women's Liberation Group; male and female taxi drivers of the Teamsters Union, as well as representatives from other unions and women's groups.

More than 400 employees at the Bank of America Data Center have signed a petition demanding that the taxi service be maintained for women. A company nurse, never before involved in any activity, is now dispensing propaganda for the Union along with pain pills, saying this is a better long term cure and treats the cause, rather than the symptoms.

A widely distributed leaflet by the taxi drivers of Teamsters Local 265 pointed out: "The bank sets a precedent for 'equalizing' the conditions of working men and women, by reducing both to a condition of super-exploitation rather than extending the special protections to men, and equality of pay, work and working conditions to women."

—Bay Area N&L WL Committee

Insurance firms continue bias

Hartford, Conn. — Several insurance companies in the area have issued statements on new company policy concerning their efforts to end discrimination against women in employment.

One company said that its number-one reason was that it is a better business practice to fully develop the human potential of all employees. Between the lines you could read about the cases before the Connecticut Human Rights Commission brought by women against insurance companies.

In response to the demands of women for equality in job situations, the insurance companies seem to be changing middle-level "male" technical jobs into "female" jobs with lower classifications, while demanding the same, if not more quality and quantity in job performance.

In our department management brags that the majority of technical jobs are held by women and therefore we can't complain. However, the three top managers are men while the clerical positions are all held by women.

In fighting for equal rights for women we must remember there is profit in this business of equality or the corporations wouldn't go in for it. And what's good for big business can't be good for working people.

—Woman clerical worker

If you have a story, or want to contact News & Letters Women's Liberation Committees in San Francisco, Connecticut, Detroit, Los Angeles or New York, write to the box, page 8.

WAY OF THE WORLD

New laws will put Blacks away to stay

By Ethel Dunbar

Nearly every Black person I talk with seems concerned about this city's crisis. Where is it going to end? Practically everyone says Detroit is on its way to hell, and some say not only Detroit, but this whole country.

Here in Detroit, Wayne County Prosecutor Cahalan had a plan to end probation and parole procedures for convicted criminals. He is saying forget all state and federal constitutional laws in order to put Blacks and the few poor whites who will be convicted away to stay. There are always enough loopholes in the law so that wealthy whites can be freed.

Everyone wants crime abolished. But when the judges came out with a concrete proposal saying that nothing can be enforced unless they first have a police department with an unquestionable record, Cahalan and Police Commissioner Nichols began to yell against the proposal and said they have the cleanest police department in the nation. Then why are they so afraid of all the complaints the Black community has raised against the Detroit police, some with documented proof?

A white policeman for the Thirteenth Precinct called the station on January 17 and said he had just surprised a burglar in his home and shot at the fleeing suspect, who he said resembled John Percy Boyd Jr., one of the Black men accused of shooting some STRESS officers. Enough police were dispatched to cover a 70 block house-to-house search. They did not break down doors and ramshackle homes because this was a white neighborhood.

Now they are saying officer Cooper told someone his report was phony and that he wanted to promote his own image among fellow officers and muster community support for STRESS. The daily papers want the Black citizens of Detroit to know that officer Cooper is still working. This would have been a major crime for Blacks, and according to Cahalan's racist position, would require sentencing without parole.

This country is headed on its way to hell, and Detroit is leading the way.

In Montreal

Workers pay now for Olympics

Montreal, Quebec—For the past two months the TV, radio, and press have been spouting off "Opinion Polls" about how the "large majority" of Montrealers are in favour of the '76 Olympics here. It must be a "silent majority" because I don't know anyone who is for the Games.

Every one of the city employees I talked with told about how the city is cutting off a lot of essential services in order to pay for the games. Manual employees are getting laid off more than they are working. Maintenance has been so neglected that in many streets people can't even get through.

One maintenance employee said, "The mayor doesn't care if the Games show a deficit or not since we're the ones who'll end up paying. We're already paying for them."

Raymond Garneau, Quebec finance minister, comes out with vague statements like: "As for a minimum deficit (whatever that means!) why should it matter next to the world-wide prestige which the Olympics would bring." Mr. Garneau has forgotten that the "world-wide prestige" of Expo 67 cost Montreal millions which Mayor Drapeau is getting back through all sorts of taxes, with the complicity of the Quebec government and on the backs of working people.

Garneau says, "The construction of the Olympic village with a capacity for 6,000 athletes will mean new lodgings for those who are expropriated for the new routes and buildings." But where are those people going to live between now and the end of the Games, Mr. Garneau?

The magic cost figure the government quotes is \$310 million, but how that was figured out not even the "experts" know. Many economists estimate twice that much. There is a proverb which says that "the ridiculous never killed anyone." Too bad since otherwise we'd have an imbecile or two less in the government.

—RL and PG, Montreal

Just out

Rosa Luxemburg: Revolutionary Theoretician

By Lee Tracey

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Black Edison workers sue to end job racism

Detroit, Mich.—I work at Detroit Edison and I am a member of the Association for the Betterment of Black Edison Employees (ABBEE). We are the group that sued Edison and the two unions over discrimination in hiring and promotion. The case is being tried in Federal District Court now.

ABBEE was started back in 1968 when a janitor named Willie Stamps was cleaning offices in the Edison building downtown. He saw a chart which showed that about 10,000 whites worked for Edison, and only 260 Blacks. This brother got together with several others and formed ABBEE. They wrote to Edison and the unions to discuss how to get more Blacks hired and promoted and how to open up all-white departments. The company said they'd look into it — and they "looked into it" for almost three years!

Then in 1971, ABBEE filed complaints with the Federal EEOC and the Michigan Civil Rights Commission and we started the suit in court. When we testified at the Federal Power Commission hearings in Washington, D. C., the Justice Dept. started its own investigation, and they joined the suit.

There is a lot to investigate. Even today, there are only 832 Blacks at Edison out of 11,000 workers. Most of the brothers and sisters are in clerical jobs, janitors or laborers. Out of 1,100 supervisors, there are 12 Blacks! There are a few "Black" departments — with dead-end jobs — but there are 28 white departments where there isn't a single Black worker.

Since ABBEE started, a lot of stories have become known. One Black janitor was working at the Edison Boat Club. He went to the Conners Creek Power Plant cafeteria to eat lunch and they told him that he would have to eat in the kitchen. This was in a regular Edison lunchroom, not a concession.

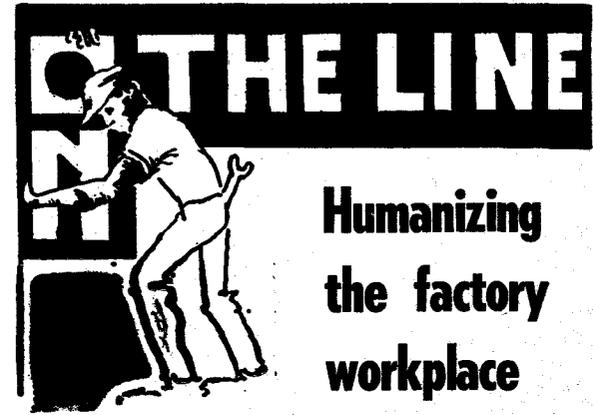
Another brother was one of eight Black janitors in a garage. The next job above janitor was laborer, and all white. They kept passing over Blacks even though they had the seniority. When this brother yelled about it, they transferred all eight to a different department so they wouldn't be in line for the promotion.

One worker asked Personnel why he didn't get a job he bid on and asked to see his test score. Personnel told him to see a psychiatrist!

We are suing the unions too, because they have helped Edison in racist treatment of Black workers. The unions told Blacks to withdraw grievances on promotions and transfers or refused to even file them in the first place. They just haven't treated Black members the way they treat white members.

The Court has knocked ABBEE out of the suit. Now it's the Justice Dept. and each worker against Edison. But how will the court see that Edison carries out the order after we leave court? I know we can't depend on the Justice Dept. We are the ones who brought the case and fought the case. And we need to keep ABBEE going until racism is ended at Edison. If you want to contact ABBEE and give us your financial or moral support, write to:

ABBEE, 19300 Sunset, Detroit, Michigan 48234.



John Allison

The assembly line worker has become the subject of quite a controversy. Management and the UAW, in the course of negotiations, set up a study group to solve the problem of the assembly line. Now here we are, near contract time again, and no recommendations have been made yet.

UAW President Woodcock made a statement to the press, quarreling with the intellectual class, because, in his words, they were down-grading the assembly line workers. GM President Gerstenberg made a lame excuse, saying sometimes he gets tired of his job, too.

The real reason the union and the Big Three auto makers dropped the subject like a hot potato was because of production. We have been working six and seven days a week ever since we signed the last contract. Workers can kill, or steal, or take dope if they like—just so long as they get production out.

Management and the UAW are both afraid to ask the workers on the line how to humanize the shops. They know full well, without asking, that production is just too high for anything to be "humanized." Any worker will tell you that before you can get the question out.

At the same time, I was in Virginia recently and found to my surprise that workers are just now getting time-and-a-half for all work over 40 hours. You guessed it—they now work only 40 hours. Workers in the state have been used to working until the boss told them to go home. That was when overtime didn't cost the boss anything extra. Those workers are wondering now how long it will be before they begin to receive a cost-of-living increase in their contract. The cost of living is just as high there as here.

Wherever you go, it's the same. And the more you see, the more you know that the shops and factories will be humanized only if the workers do it themselves.

Steelworkers bear burden of world capitalism

by Felix Martin

Los Angeles, Cal.—News item: William J. Lindley, a 58-year-old yard worker from the Fontana, California Kaiser Steel plant, was crushed to death between two ore cars last week.

The word sent down from corporate manager M. J. (Smitty) Smith to pipe mill workers at the Fontana Kaiser Steel plant was, "We're going to shut the place down. The facts are Japan makes the same steel as we make but a hell of a lot cheaper."

Faced with the loss of their jobs in the pipe mill, the workers asked to take over the production management of the mill. The company agreed and the workers began doing their own work and management. The result was a 32.1 per cent increase in production.

This increase in productivity is a wage cut to the workers in the form of a speed-up. It compares to the four to five per cent normal annual increase in productivity. Even this may not save the Fontana pipe mill. The managers are saying this increase in productivity is not good enough and they want the government to step in and help stem the tide of imported steel.

The managers at Kaiser are asking the laborers to bear all the expense of bringing their product into competition with the steel from Japan. Are they asking the workers to give up their American standard of living and lower it to the Japanese worker's standard of living?

Back in the 1950's, the managers of the Masonite plant in New Albany, Indiana also told the workers that they were losing money and that if the plant was to continue, all workers would have to take a wage cut. The union agreed to a wage cut if management took the same percentage cut in salaries. Immediately management said they could not go along with this idea. This plant went out of business and the blame was put on the backs of the workers.

Can anyone imagine what these greedy corporate managers of GM, Ford, GE, ITT, and all the others are going to try to do to the workers? Kaiser Steel in Fontana is only a start.

I see it as the first step of Nixon's "Phase Three" to control the workers of this country and make them compete with the workers of Russia and China and see who is going to produce the cheapest. They will bring in and use all the weapons of their class-ridden, racist arsenal to bring about more and more repression of the worker and larger and larger profits for the super rich.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

the door but our friend had not moved. We yelled a little louder, but he still did not move. One of us shook him, thinking he was asleep. He fell from the bench onto the floor dead."

The following day in the lunch room we were talking about how fast workers were being murdered by the inhuman conditions of shop work. An older white worker who was once a skilled tradesman and had come back on production after a year's layoff analyzed the difference between production work today and what it was twenty years ago.

He said that before the introduction of Automation the average production worker liked his work. He said sometimes workers would take some of their work to management to show how neat and well done it was. Many looked forward to coming to work.

ABOUT-FACE IN SHOPS

The average worker today hates the thought of coming into the shop. In those old days workers had some control over their production. The union would speak in their favor and was on their side. With automation there has been a complete about-face.

Years ago, production workers only worked about ten months out of a year, and eight hours a day. There were usually two to five weeks off for model change. Then there was always a week here and there because of strikes, or three to five days for something beyond the company's control.

This gave workers some physical relaxation and they came back fresh. Today we work from nine to twelve hours a day trying to keep pace with automated machinery. Model change only takes two or three days in

some plants, and the human body wears down quicker than steel wears out.

Take the job Wilkins has for example. It is a light motor he uses to put in bolts, and he said he liked it, but last week all the nerves went from his arms and hands. He couldn't even lift his lunchpail. That is from working ten hours a day, and sometimes more. After letting him pick up paper for a week and rest his nerves, he went back and worked his job again.

FIGHT WORK PACE

If we could force the union to fight for an eight-hour day, and let the company hire the unemployed if they want more production; and if we can force the union to fight with us over the work pace and production standards, to the point that we have some say over our own lives where we work—then I think we will be beginning to save some workers' lives from these constant sudden heart attacks. That is what I call murder of workers by the company with the help of the union.

I believe that if it were not for the position of the union as a stop gap for the company, workers would have revolted long ago. They revolted in 1936 and 1937 and changed the whole thing around over working conditions. That was the beginning of the UAW-CIO. We workers must do something again, and some of us feel the time is now.

READERS:

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

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—The company has been hiring again at Fleetwood. They are working these new hires as hard as they can, then they fire them just before their 90 day probation is up. There have always been incidents like this at Fleetwood, but now it looks like a new company policy.

They hired a lot of new workers around the beginning of November and let them all go around the end of January. They hired another group in the middle of February. Because these workers are new they don't work a steady job. The company moves them all around the plant. Whatever job they are on the foreman makes them do it faster.

The new hires can't call the committeeman or file a grievance because they haven't worked 90 days. Once the job is speeded up it stays that way no matter who is working it. The speed-up starts with the new hires but it isn't long before it reaches all of us.

A lot of the new hires are women. The company has been forced to hire a lot more women by outside pressure like the Women's Liberation Movement and the Equal Rights Amendment, but the company is trying to build a case against them. These women are being given the heaviest jobs. This is happening all over the

plant, but it is worse on the fifth floor where Jerry Hatfield is the general foreman. Hatfield is hell on everyone. Lately he has been really bad on the women. He is making them work even harder than the men.

—Fleetwood Worker

GM South Gate

Los Angeles, Cal.—A few days ago a worker caught on fire in the body shop. Only the quick action of a fellow worker, who put out the fire, saved the first worker from extreme injury or even death. The worker had been given a fluid to wipe off cars. He was working where spot welding was going on and the fluid caught fire. The company has taken the fluid away, but this is not enough.

We need a watchdog safety committee of workers which investigates these accidents and makes changes in procedures of production to prevent them. The company's usual answer is worker carelessness.

But we want an investigation of all aspects that cause accidents—the speed of production which makes a worker fatigued, unsafe procedures forced by keeping up with the line and so on. Accidents don't just happen, the pace of production makes them happen.

—GM South Gate Workers Committee

Readers' Views

BLACK REVOLT

The reason for all the police brutality in Detroit is not because some cops were killed. The police brutality is why people are killing cops in the first place. If it doesn't stop, there will be worse riots than in '67.

Black Worker
Connecticut

* * *

Breaking into and searching homes without warrants, beatings, searching women by making them undress, guns pointed at heads, threats. These are the conditions which have virtually united the Black community into an outcry of "Abolish STRESS." I feel that this recent manifestation of racism is similar to the Hitler era of anti-semitism.

White Mother
Detroit

* * *

For the third consecutive year the Peoples College has called upon all Black people to join with us in making Black Liberation Month celebrations a spring-board for activities throughout the year. Life in the Black community has been increasingly characterized by heightened anxiety over what will be the next act of terror the government will instigate: youths being shot down in the streets, infesting Black people with disease under the guise of "scientific experiment," increased police occupation.

Organized study and discussion sessions can lend clarity to the problems that confront us. We have a rich heritage of struggle. Let us unite to struggle and struggle to unite.

Peoples College
PO Box 5747
Nashville, Tenn. 37208

* * *

There are some 1,500 brutalized Black inmates in Alabama's notorious Atmore Prison Farm at Atmore, Alabama. It is reputed to be the most dehumanizing "tiger-cage" facility of continental U. S.A., sardine-packed with Black and white inmates.

Our War on Poverty League has begun legal aid activities to fight the battle for Atmore's chain-cuffed inmates. We desperately need help to expand and sustain our law student oriented activities.

If you can help, or need more information, write:

War on Poverty League
PO Box 10233 Prichard Station
Mobile, Ala. 36610

STATE CAPITALISM

In answer to Herman Bear who contends that "the analysis of Russia and China . . . was not put into the correct context" in Raya Dunayevskaya's article in the January issue:

Capitalist economy is based on the operability of the law of value, where labor-power itself is a commodity . . . The struggles on the part of the working class in response to this wage-slavery will become an ever growing force which will compel the bureau-class to seek

other ways to maintain their economy and control. We have already witnessed the suppression of revolutionary struggles in East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, as the people in each of these countries struggled to break out of the straight jacket of Russian economic and political domination.

To speak of U. S. imperialism as "the biggest, most bloody" as if it were qualitatively different from the state-capitalist societies is not to see both as only different moments of capitalism, with the potential to adopt the other's tactics.

It is not the momentary differences between the two which must be stressed, but rather, as the criticized article did, their increasing similarity must be brought to light.

L. L.
New York

* * *

Time Magazine certainly caught what the capitalist class will see in the increased production at Kaiser Steel when they named the workers there "the new Stakhanovites." after the speed-demon coal miner of Russia whose production records were to become the Russian workers' "norm." The description of Stakhanovism in your new pamphlet, *Russia as State-Capitalist Society* may have been written in 1946, but it is very appropriate for 1973.

Teacher
Los Angeles

ED. NOTE: See Article by Felix Martin, p. 3.

* * *

The unique combination of intellectual and worker I find in *N&L*, which one rarely finds in "left" journals, is certainly refreshing. I'd like to find out more about your activities. I've been out of college for a few years and ache for revolutionary change here in Babylon . . .

Your new pamphlet, *Russia as State Capitalist Society* was excellent. I want very badly to find an alternative to what many on the U. S. "Left" say is a "necessity" — that is, state-capitalism in the Third World revolutions. They say we must go easy in criticizing China and work for the Revolution in the developed West, which alone can liberate the Third World Revolutions. What troubles me is whether Maoism can be avoided in the Third World.

New Supporter
New York State

BY ANY OTHER NAME

Since I returned from Israel last June, Golda Meir has attended two Socialist Conferences, in Vienna and in Paris, under the guise of being a Socialist Prime Minister of a socialist country. Yet Israel in its recent policies has gone more and more to the right. Internally, Israel is a land of conflict. Its young are dissatisfied and want to leave, the workers are paid small wages and are taxed heavily, the Jews from North Africa and the Arab countries are forgotten people, the non-professional immigrants are forced to go to live where the government wants them to, hashish and crime are prevalent, and the Left is jailed.

By any other name, it still spells capitalism to me.

Socialist-Humanist
Detroit

THEORY AND PRACTICE

It is important to me to understand the stage of history that we are at today and the state of class-consciousness of people. The one thing that I have learned is the importance of class in analysis.

I am disturbed when people talk about Women's Liberation as a basically revolutionary struggle because that statement tends to cross class lines in a dangerous way. The Trotskyists control much of the WL movement here for good class reasons. They work with the

middle class and that issue started and remains a middle class issue.

I agree with the humanistic side of the issue completely and try to live my life as if I do, in spite of my socialization — but I cannot get away from the fact that the movement is a middle-class one, and therefore basically reformist. The same thing applies when you treat the Black as Vanguard. Not all Blacks are working class.

I am now involved in studying the basics of Marxism . . . Part of that education is contact with other Left people like you. *Marxism and Freedom* is an important part of my study.

Nova Scotia did have a glorious working class movement at one stage in its history and it will again. I want to be a responsible part of that.

E. Y.
Halifax, N. S.

* * *

Please terminate my subscription. I now totally reject the historical and philosophical basis of Marxist theory, though at one time it seemed a cure-all for social and economic problems. I am still concerned with the myriad of problems the world faces such as wars, poverty, racism, corrupt government, etc. — but see these problems as stemming from different sources than you do. History has proven that man's inner nature and the principles it operates on such as greed, selfishness and covetousness are the primary cause of the world's pathetic plight today. This is true in interpersonal relations and in all our political and economic institutions on all levels of society.

Student
Tennessee

* * *

Today, with repression and racism coming down harder than it has ever in the memory of my age group peers, I think that those who have not given up or retreated finally recognize the absolute necessity of philosophy for the success of revolution, as well as the importance of knowledge of history. We have also recognized the fact that revolution will not occur because we march in the streets or sit in administration buildings, but that it is a result of what a friend of mine, a Black revolutionary prisoner, terms "protracted struggle."

I can think of no more appropriate and vital title for Raya Dunayevskaya's new book than *Philosophy and Revolution*. In that title is welded together the most fundamental emergent forces of our age. One of the most obvious facts of Capitalism is its complete lack of philosophy, its emptiness of any theoretical base beyond the profit motive.

Philosophy Student
Connecticut

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I just received an announcement of how International Woman's Day is going to be celebrated by one women's liberation group here this month. The day is to be devoted to slides on China, "self-examination" by the Health group, tai kan do and judo demonstrations and things of a similar cult nature.

When one remembers that this day was begun in commemoration of striking women garment workers in New York City, and taken up by women's movement all over the world in 1910, such a program becomes an affront to the idea of women's liberation. It reflects a complete disregard of the masses of women who are fighting for liberation, not through China, or judo, but through challenging the foundation of this capitalist, chauvinist society. I, for one, am insulted.

Infuriated
Detroit

* * *

I am beginning to feel the need for Marxist-Humanist women to speak out on the ERA, especially in light of our

recent experience with Norris of Los Angeles, and Bank of America in San Francisco, and now with the shenanigans at the Connecticut State House.

In Connecticut the amendment was defeated last Spring, but is expected to pass this session — the first session of a new Republican Legislature. The Ct. Business and Industry Association lobby is working hard for passage of the ERA. The woman from the League of Women Voters who keeps track of various lobby groups told me it got her to start investigating and she found out that there are several bills before the house which would extend to men the protective legislation now in force for women. Trade unionists are asking that such bills be enacted before Connecticut approves the ERA. It all becomes clear why the Republicans seem so anxious for the new ERA to be passed.

W L Activist
Connecticut

* * *

The class-action suit that was filed by women workers of the ARA is not dead, though the company and the union certainly wish it was. Judge Thornton had ruled that the case was not a class-action suit, but our contention is that his ruling is not correct under Title 7, and we are seeking to file an appeal in Cincinnati. We will keep you abreast of the news on the case as it develops.

ARA Worker
Detroit

BOYCOTT KRAFT

The Kraft Boycott has been going on here in Canada since August '71. It's been a long, difficult struggle for the men and women of the National Farmers Union. We would appreciate your support in spreading the word to the U. S. It is our only chance to succeed.

The boycott is designed to put pressure on Kraft to bring them to a meeting with the top officers of the National Farmers Union to discuss procedures which would give farmers collective bargaining rights.

Either we win this struggle and force Kraft Co. and corporations like it to negotiate, or the small farmer in Canada is finished. Many won't make it through this winter. Government at all levels and big business have combined to force farm families into the cities. The NFU is a grassroots farm organization in Canada which opposes the concept of huge corporate farms. For further information, readers can contact National Farmers Union, 250 C 2nd Ave., S., Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

We have an information packet available for \$1 which includes a three month sub to the newsletter, several pamphlets and a Boycott button. The money is used to spread the news of the boycott.

Kingston Boycott Kraft
c/o PO Box 701
Kingston, Ontario

ELLSBERG TRIAL

The Ellsberg trial is turning into a farce. The government's case is so poor that the judge threw out one charge, and the prosecutor is straining to find any witnesses. The problem is not in proving that the defendants stole the papers, but that their revelation did any damage to national security. This just proves over again that the government was attempting to censor the Pentagon Papers to save itself embarrassment, not because they had any security value.

The government's entire campaign of bringing radicals to trial in the last few years has been a flop. But those who remember McCarthyism particularly feared witch-hunt spy trials on charges like Ellsberg's. I am sure he'll be found innocent because juries today are too sophisticated to believe the government's phony case.

Lawyer
New York

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TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

PART II

"Hegel's tremendous intellectual contribution consisted in the fact that he made theory and history dialectically relative to each other, grasped them in a dialectical reciprocal penetration . . ."
—Lukacs.

* * *

It was the most unorthodox character of "What Is Orthodox Marxism?" that fired the imagination of German revolutionaries when it was first published in 1919 and again when it reappeared in revised form as part of the book, *History and Class Consciousness*, published in 1923.

When, by the end of the 1920's, the work was repudiated by its author as he made peace with Stalinism, the essay carried on many subterranean existences in many languages in different parts of the world: first, for those who had broken with Stalinism in the 1930's and 1940's; then for some of the "new philosophers"—French Existentialists, especially Merleau-Ponty—in the mid-1950's; and, finally, for those in the new generation of revolutionaries in the 1960's who, out of their own experiences, were turning away from sheer activism to reaching out for a "world view" of the dialectics of liberation.

The enduring relevance of the essay is proof of the fact that its explosive effect was by no means limited to the fact that it had anticipated the rediscovery of Marx's now-famous 1844 Manuscripts which demonstrated how deeply rooted in Hegelian dialectics and theory of alienation were Marx's "Alienated Labor" and "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic."

In re-establishing Marxism as a totality, never once separating the young Marx from the mature author of *Capital*, Lukacs proved himself as uncompromising in his refusal to bow to scientism as to reformism.

THE REVOLUTIONARY DIALECTIC

In naming names of those who had not worked out the full implications of the revolutionary nature of the Marxian dialectic, Lukacs did not stop short of criticizing Marx's closest collaborator, Engels, who "does not even mention the most vital interaction, namely the dialectical relation between subject and object in historical process" (p. 3).

The whole weight of this study in Marxian dialectics was its stress on "the transformation of reality": "It is at reality itself that Hegel and Marx part company. Hegel was unable to penetrate the real driving forces of history." (p. 17) It is true that Lukacs himself so overstressed "consciousness" of the proletariat that it overshadowed its praxis which was both material force and reason so that it left room, at one and same time, for a slip back into the Hegelian idealism of "the identical subject-object," and into substituting the Party that "knows" for the proletariat.

But none noted this in the excitement generated by the essay's recapture of the revolutionary dialectical dimension of historical materialism which gave action its direction: "Marxist orthodoxy is no guardian of traditions, it is the eternally vigilant prophet proclaiming the relation between the tasks of the immediate present and the totality of the historical process." (p. 12) And that "historical process" was then concretized by the internationalism proclaimed in the *Communist Manifesto* and in the *Paris Commune* which Marx specified as having "no ideals to realize" but "to liberate the elements of the new society."

"REIFICATION"

The essay, "Reification and Consciousness of the Proletariat" has neither the movement and verve of the first essay, nor its "orthodoxy" (and I'm using the word in the Lukacsian sense of authentic Marxism). There is no doubt, however, that it is the center of *History and Class Consciousness*.

This is not simply a matter of it being the longest piece. (As against the 26 pages of the first essay, the essay on reification totalled no less than 139 pages.) Lukacs could have called it a book, but, instead, took care to cast it in essay form. Where he shied away from claiming for it a totally new departure, a worked-out whole alternative, the intellectuals took it as such. It be-

George
Lukacs



came the fashion to talk about "reification," "the reified world we live in." They may very well have anticipated, by three full decades, the intellectualistic rage around "One Dimensional Man," "One Dimensional Thought," "technological rationality," the move away from Reason to irrationality, or the retrogression from ontology to technology.

The "masses" (the rank and file) in the subterranean discussion of Lukacs' book, on the other hand, kept their peace not merely because of lack of knowledge of "the history of philosophy," but because of a solid proletarian instinct that this was not merely a restatement of Marxism for a new epoch, but rather that it contained elements deviatory from that which was authentic Marxism.

First and most important of the distinctions between the two concepts of reification is that Marx had limited his analysis to the reification of labor, transforming it into thing, a mere appendage to a machine. Lukacs on the other hand, had transformed reification into a universal, affecting the whole of society equally: "Reification is, then, the necessary, immediate reality of every person living in capitalist society. It can be overcome only by constant and constantly renewed efforts to disrupt the reified structure of existence by relating to the concretely manifested contradictions of the total development, by becoming conscious of the immanent meanings of these contradictions for the total development." (p. 197)

Here, then, we see that reification is universalized, made a veritable "human condition"; "every person" is affected equally.

And "becoming conscious" is endowed with a "neutrality." Though Lukacs is a revolutionary and quotes endlessly from Marx as to how the proletariat, and the proletariat alone, is the revolutionary force to create new human relations, it does not flow either logically or objectively, either historically or dialectically from his original theory.

Where Marx, the practitioner of the revolutionary dialectic, analyzes reification as resulting from the specifically capitalistic production process of the reification of labor, pounding labor into thing, and thereby creating in the laborer the absolute opposite—the "quest for universality" and the revolt—Lukacs blurs totally the Marxian concept of "freely-associated labor" stripping the fetishism from commodities, overcoming alienation, shaping history.

Ironically enough, it was Lukacs who—in recapturing the Hegelian dimension in Marx; in delivering mighty blows to the revisionists by showing how very inseparable was their reformism, their turn away from revolution with their abandonment of the dialectic—made his greatest contribution to authentic Marxism by interrelating and making central to his dialectic the interrelationships of the concepts of "totality" and "mediation."

In reviewing, in the 1967 Preface, what he had meant to do and what he had done, he thinks that, on the one hand, "alienation" sans objectivity was "in the air," and, on the other hand, "messianistic utopianism" led to a residue of idealism. And he adds that concerning the whole question of the relationship of "mediation to immediacy" of "economics and dialectics" that he had begun reworking in Moscow in the early thirties: "Only now, thirty years later, am I attempting to discover a real solution to this whole problem in the ontology of social existence." (p. xxxv)

PART III

THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION VIS-A-VIS "SOCIAL ONTOLOGY"

The 1956 Revolution, with Lukacs suddenly appearing as participant, revived hopes that, despite his quarter of a century of capitulation to Stalinism, Lukacs would continue the revolution in thought he wrought in the early 1920's.

Every new stage of cognition is, after all, not born out of thin air. It can be born only out of praxis, the

'What is orthodox Marxism?'

praxis of new revolutionary forces uprooting the existing social order; and the Hungarian masses were directing their revolt not against private capitalism which had already been abolished, but against the existing exploitative, ruling Communist state-power, or, more precisely put, state-capitalism calling itself Communism. With this new mass upsurge, its plunge to new freedom, there was every reason to expect the old philosopher would catch what, in the 1920's, he had called, "a momentous, world-historical change . . . struggling to find a theoretical expression."

The criticism levelled against Lukacs by independent Marxists seemed to lose its validity, especially as much of it had the character of Monday morning quarterbacking raised to "wisdom" by the knowledge of some three to four decades of objective development. Considering the excitement of the new generation of Marxists over the philosophic dimension of Lukacs and its impatient waiting for the comprehensive *Social Ontology* he had been writing for a decade and to which he had referred in his last years as having been the product of three decades of thought, it would indeed have been a joy to report so great a historic breakthrough—a new stage in cognition that met the challenge of the spontaneous upsurge from below, the Hungarian Revolution.

Unfortunately, nothing could be further from the truth. The truth is that, whatever deviatory—deviatory, not reinterpreted—elements were implicit in the "Reification" article, "reification of consciousness" affected Lukacs, who reduced socialism to the perfection of industrial production achieving the Plan! (6)

"MEDIATION"

Take a most crucial Hegelian category, and one central to Lukacs' dialectics, Mediation. As concretized by Marx, and the one Lukacs tried to extend, it was, first, inseparable from the most fundamental of all Hegelian categories, their summation, Subject. Secondly, and most important—since that revealed a totally new continent of thought, Historical Materialism—Marx historically, philosophically, dialectically spelled Subject out as Proletariat. In a word, Marx didn't simply stand Hegel "right side up," didn't only critically transform Hegel's concept of labor as process of man's becoming, much less leave it in the realm of thought. No, as laborer, the proletariat was both opposing the capitalistic exploitation and reduction of all his concrete labors to one abstract mass by that "pendulum of the clock," and seeking "universality." Thus, he became reason as well as force, reshaped history, created new beginnings for totally new human relations.

Whatever duality there was in Lukacs, and whatever abstractions—because of the emphasis on "morality" and "ethics"—the point is that the concert of concrete totality escaped him, despite the fact that totality,

(Continued on Page 7)

(6) It no doubt is both incomplete and unfair to judge *Social Ontology*, since the work has not yet been published. But, no matter how the whole will reveal some partial brilliant flashes and dialectical insights, it is impossible to think that it could reverse the direction of what has been stated by Lukacs in his many world interviews on the subject, in the references to it in the 1967 Preface to the 1923 work, and in the two chapters of his late writings. One was published in *Telos*, Fall, 1970. "The Dialectic of Labor: Beyond Causality and Teleology"; and the abbreviated publication of "The Ontological Foundations of Human Thought and Activity" in *Contemporary East European Philosophy*, Vol. III, 1971. (See especially pp. 223-4, pp. 228-230, the above quotations are from those pages.)

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.

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Ga. students demand Black studies

Atlanta, Ga. — Black students from O'Keefe High School have been boycotting classes since Wednesday, January 31, in protest against the racist policies of school principal Elton Powers. The protest has now spread to include students from other Atlanta high schools and colleges and focuses upon the need for daily Black Studies programs in the public school curriculum beginning with elementary school and continuing throughout high school.

Some 200 students marched from O'Keefe to the Atlanta Board of Education offices on Central Ave. last

Wednesday to demand a meeting with Dr. John Letson, head of the Board. In the middle of the meeting, Letson got up and walked out and has refused to deal with the students' grievances since, referring all matters to subordinates. When the students again marched on Letson's office last Friday, Feb. 2, to stage a sit-in, he had 21 of them arrested for public trespass. They have since been released on bond.

ISSUES AFFECT ALL

Beginning this week, Monday, Feb. 5, O'Keefe students have begun a concerted effort to enlist other Atlanta high school students in their cause. They held another demonstration in front of the Board of Education offices Monday afternoon, at which leader Henry Carter, a junior at O'Keefe, said theirs was a city-wide issue, not one just affecting a single school.

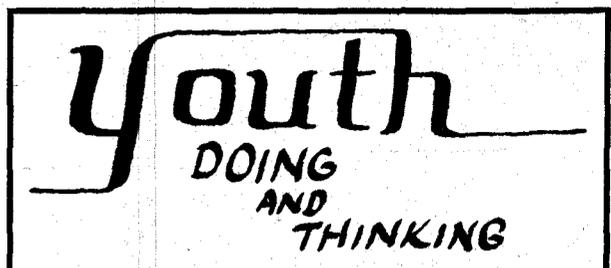
Students carried signs saying, "Equal Rights Is a Stranger at O'Keefe," "Get Rid of All Racist Principals and Other Board Members," "Mr. Powers Is Unfair to Black Students," and "We Are Tired of People Pussy-footing Around With Our Future." Carter put heavy emphasis on the need for a Black Studies program, pointing out that "If a man can't study his own past, he's no better than a slave. If you learn about yourself, can't nobody put you down."

TEACH ABOUT BLACK MAN

At a community meeting, another O'Keefe student explained, "We want Black History to relate to science, the Black man's contributions in economics, etc. We want it all tied in." Aubrey Gibbs added, "If they teach us every day about the White man, they can teach us every day about the Black man." A student from Southwest said, "I believe if we get every student involved with us, we can have anything we want."

It's not clear what the Committee's (representing students from O'Keefe and the other Atlanta high schools and some colleges) next move will be, but the fact that students from many of the city's schools are already working together suggests that this could be a very important movement indeed. As Hosea Williams said at the Wheat Street (community) meeting, "The one thing Atlanta is scared to death of, the one thing they're always asking is, 'When will the young Blacks wake up?'"

—The Atlanta Voice



One Viet Vet's fight for amnesty

By Chris Norwell

The Amnesty of John David Herndon, by James Reston, Jr., McGraw-Hill, 1973, \$5.95

Now that the war in Vietnam is "over", many people are wondering what is to become of the 100,000 or more men that are exiled or imprisoned or were less-than-honorably discharged because of their refusal to cooperate in the murder of Indochinese people. This book tells the story of one of those men.

John David Herndon is a Vietnam veteran of working class background who served 15 months in combat and was wounded three times. While he was stationed in Germany, he learned that they were going to send him back to Nam for another tour. Rather than have to go back and kill more Vietnamese who he said he wasn't helping, he went AWOL and ended up in Paris.

After 2½ years in exile, he decided to return to the United States under the auspices of Safe Return, a group working for amnesty for all Vietnam resisters, and make a political case around war crimes and an immoral war. The Army, rather than risk an embarrassing war crimes trial, refused to court-martial him for desertion and gave him a bad conduct discharge instead.

The author, also a Vietnam veteran, and two organizers for Safe Return, Ted Ensign and Mike Uhl, went to Paris in March of 1972 to co-ordinate Herndon's return to the U.S. The book describes in detail the week they spent with him before his return, his past life, and the events after his return.

AMNESTY KEY ISSUE

The question of amnesty is the key issue the author is trying to put forth, and he does so in a very convincing, justified, liberal way. He says that the Vietnam War was a "mistake" and the American government should recognize that and grant amnesty in order to "reconcile" the divisions that the war has brought upon our society.

That would be nice to do, except that nothing short of a social revolution is going to "reconcile" the opposing forces in capitalist society. I am totally in favor of unconditional amnesty for all political prisoners, exiles, etc., but I know that the government is not going to give it unless a mass movement in this country demands it—a mass movement that doesn't separate the anti-war and amnesty issue from the struggles of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Indians, women, workers, and all other movements for freedom. The student anti-war movement in the '60s would talk about nothing but the Vietnam War, and as a result the forces of revolt are being shot at one-at-a-time by Nixon.

NEW STAGE IN MOVEMENT

I believe a new stage in the anti-war struggle has been reached now in the fight for amnesty, but we must not let that become a single-issue as the war did. We must relate that struggle to the release of Black prisoners in the American "just-us-white-folks" system, to the struggle of Indian people for their land and lives, to the demand for decent housing and working conditions for poor people, and to the constant struggles of all people around the world against the state-capitalist powers that dominate them, including ours right here at home.

Anyone interested in concrete activities in the amnesty struggle, or who wants more information, can contact Safe Return at:

156 Fifth Ave., Suite 1003
New York, N.Y. 10010

or:

Families of Resisters for Amnesty (FORA)
69 First Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10003

or in Canada:

Amex-Canada, Americans Exiled in Canada
P.O. Box 187, Station D
Toronto, Ontario M6P 3J8, Canada

Eagle workers unite

Long Island City, N.Y.—I haven't been working at Eagle Electric too long, but I learned quickly that the way a person is treated there stinks. I'm only 20, but I have one bad case of nerves already. Any worker would do anything to get out of there, if only there was a better job somewhere else.

Recently a buddy of mine was struck by a piece of steel which fell off an old machine and busted his foot. When they carried him off to medical, he wasn't hollering; he was grinning like he'd just found a diamond. Something's wrong if one's only chance for a little peace and happiness is when one gets smacked bad.

Sec.-Treas. Matles of the United Electrical Workers recently proved that attempts to stave off the youth revolt in production by "humanizing" the operations are a fraud. The monotony of the assembly line is still inherent in the new unit assembly system. Matles concluded that the only way to break the vicious hold of dehumanizing unskilled work is to kick out older workers sooner and move younger workers into skilled shops faster. He said the only thing the union can do is "mitigate the pain as much as possible" until younger workers can get kicked upstairs.

The company won't change the hideous working conditions, and the UE's solution to dehumanization and speed-up is grossly inadequate. The only people who are going to humanize production are the workers themselves. The company tries to divide us up, threaten and humiliate us, but the moment we get together on this one simple point of truly humanizing the line, all the floodgates are going to bust open.

The last workday before New Year's, a couple of the younger Black workers went around the shop and got all the Spanish and white workers together. One of them said: "During the past year we've been on each other's backs and treating each other pretty bad. I'm no radical, but I'd just like to say that this coming year we ought to try to work together, to help each other out. I'm not even saying we should just tolerate each other—we got to love each other!" And there were handshakes all around.

Those were the bravest and most beautiful words I ever heard. Maybe there is a possibility to "get together."

—Henry Thommelson

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'I asked my teacher'

Los Angeles, Calif.—One day my class was discussing the rich people. My teacher said that if we didn't have the rich this country wouldn't be number one. He said a rich man will spend his money wisely.

I asked my teacher how he thought the rich man got all his wealth. If the poor man can work all the time, how come he can't become rich. The other kids in my class were asking questions too. And every time I raised my hand my teacher wouldn't even let me say anything. He kept on saying things about the rich that sounded so ignorant. That's about all that happened that day.

—Junior High Student

BLACK-RED VIEW

By John Alan

The assassination of Amilcar Cabral, on January 20th, in Conakry, the capital of the independent Republic of Guinea, by servile agents of Portuguese imperialism, is a shocking example of the murders that imperialists can descend to, from their allegedly lofty pinnacles of "Civilized" Europe.

This act of murder was so cowardly and distasteful that the hypocrites in Lisbon have tried to hide their obvious guilt by denying any complicity in Cabral's death — a death they have been actively seeking for the last ten years.

Cabral was the Secretary-General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC). These two West African colonies have been under some form of Portuguese domination for the past 500 years, from the very dawn of Western European expansion into Africa.

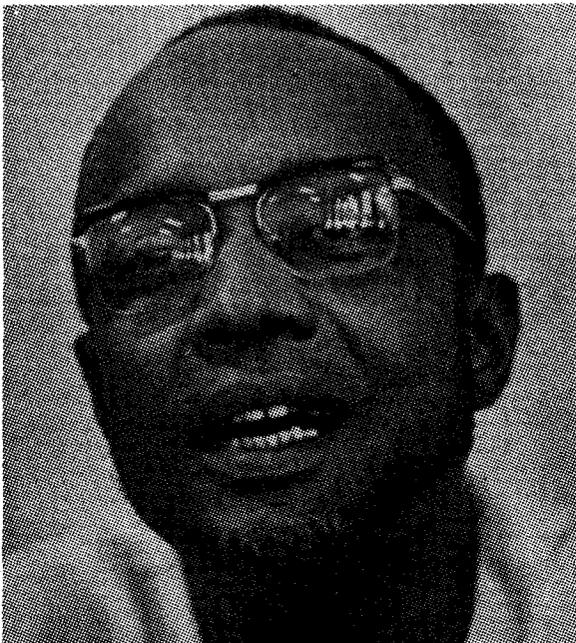
Although PAIGC has conducted, for the last decade, a surprisingly successful struggle to expel the Portuguese from the swampy territory of Guinea-Bissau, Cabral was little known in this country, even among Black people. But in Africa he was the living symbol of revolutionary opposition to the uncompromising brutality of Portuguese colonialism which had chosen to maintain itself on the African Continent by use of indiscriminate naked military force.

In 1963, after Portuguese troops killed 50 striking dockworkers, the PAIGC moved from protest to armed resistance, and in the ensuing ten year struggle they were able to win two thirds of the 13,948 square miles of Guinea-Bissau, defeating 10,000 Portuguese troops armed with the most modern equipment of warfare.

Such success has had ramifications beyond the borders of tiny Guinea-Bissau. It became the symbol of the capacity of the African People, as a whole, to defeat the powers of Colonialism on their continent. If Guinea-Bissau can do it, why not Angola, Mozambique, and even the Black masses in the fortress of white South Africa?

As a revolutionary leader and thinker, Cabral was on a par with Frantz Fanon. In a certain sense, he is the heir of Fanon's view of what the African Revolution is all about. He spent no time in developing elaborate "theories" about the uniqueness of the racial culture of the people of Guinea-Bissau, which is the usual hallmark of the petty-bourgeois nationalist. If Cabral considered anything unique about the people of Guinea-Bissau,

Amilcar Cabral



it was their willingness to negate their status as an unfree people, through their own self-activity.

However, the thing that places Cabral closest to Fanon was his recognition that neo-colonialism and elitism are constant threats to any African Revolution—the twin elements of the counter-revolution that stand in the wings of the drama of every National Revolution in Africa.

Fanon saw neo-colonialism and elitism as a major force to be combatted after liberation. Cabral saw them as a present danger in the struggle toward revolution and he seems to have been without Fanon's pessimism, as when Fanon realized that the heirs of the Algerian "revolution" would be the middle class Algerians, who really had their economic roots, and thus their ideological souls in the old system of European domination.

To paraphrase Fanon, Cabral was not writing revolutionary songs but was fashioning the revolution among his people and thereby new songs were being fashioned, by and of themselves.

One can only conclude that showcase revolutionaries, like Stokely Carmichael—who must have known Cabral since they both were residents of the Republic of Guinea, and yet said nothing about the death of this great martyred man during his recent lecture tour of the U.S.A.—were singing different songs.

Sweet-Life rides new workers

Suffield, Conn.—Production in the Sweet-Life Foods warehouse is set so high that some weeks three out of four new hires don't meet the quota. These men are fired at the end of three weeks. The hiring goes on because the company is always firing, and because guys quit this rotten place all the time.

At the end of 30 days, you join the Teamsters and start paying \$150 plus dues. The union cleans up on this because of the unbelievable turnover on the night shifts where most of the work is done. The union does nothing to change the work conditions that cause this to happen.

Guys race around in the freezing cold selecting groceries on forks and on the loading dock. There are so many injuries. One young worker can't use his shoulder anymore after hundreds of pounds of laundry soap fell from the stacks and hit him. Why? Because the company had them stacked too high, according to what it said right on the boxes.

The contract opens in April only for wages, but we're boxed in between the union, the company and the wage freeze. Even to keep our present wages we had to raise hell in January. The company tried to cut the wages of everybody hired since last April. There was so much slow down and talk of wildcat if the union didn't protect us, that the company had to give up this scheme under pressure from the union.

—Sweet-Life Worker

Reader reports from Guyana

Georgetown, Republic of Guyana—The Guyanan government has nationalized the bauxite industry owned by Alcan-Demba. Needless to say, workers have little or no real participation in the industry that is not different from their old relationships.

Eusi Kwayana's *The Bauxite Strike and the Old Politics* describes and analyzes events during and after nationalization, strongly setting forth "that nationalization without workers' control and workers' self-management is a fraud."

There has been a movement started in this country by peasants, African and East Indian, to take over the unused lands "owned" by Booker's Sugar Estates (of Britain). The movement presently takes the form of squatting, primarily for house plots, by peasants and workers who have no land or who rent.

There is also the demand to claim land for agricultural use. Rather than join the movement, the government is objectively supporting the large sugar companies against the interests of its own people.

—Reader, Guyana, South America

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

itself, was one of his central categories. Having never grounded his concept in the concrete struggles at the point of production, in the factory he never entered; having never made the actual voices of the workers the new point of departure, labor is seen not as the laborer in revolt; labor is no more than the exercise of labor-power in the most specifically capitalistic form: socially-necessary labor time.

Where Marx used the category, socially-necessary labor time, to define that which is uniquely capitalistic, oppressive, chaotic, Lukacs denudes it of its class character and makes it applicable to all societies. No wonder he begins this excursus with the statement: "Above all, we propose to examine what economic necessity consists of. At the outset, it would be emphasized this is not a natural, necessary process, though Marx himself, in his polemic with idealism, occasionally used such an expression."

As Lukacs himself put it, he was ready "simply to skip over the most important mediating areas." By then mediation was no longer the class struggles, much less outright proletarian revolution. Mediation became subject-less; "totality" became cult. (7)

We hope we are wrong when we think that the attraction Lukacs has for the New Left is due to the fact that they never were "weighted down" by any concept of the revolutionary role of the proletariat and, with Lukacs at least philosophically, they are ready to scuttle Marx's theory of proletarian revolution.

FOOTNOTES:

(7) Istvan Meszaros, who had once been a pupil of Lukacs, and remains the most profound of his sympathetic critics, calls attention to the duality in Lukacs' concepts. "Even the most recent Lukacs—the author of a massive *Social Ontology*—insists on a duality, on a dual causality, and on an ultimate autonomy of 'decisions between alternatives . . . on the basis of his Ontology, the positive outcome can only be envisaged as the impact of a 'sollen' . . . an ought to change their way of life." (p. 53, 64, George Lukacs, *The Man, his work, and his ideas*, ed. by G. H. R. Parkinson, Vintage, 1970.)

Native Canadians claim land

Montreal, Quebec—There are two major aboriginal land claim crises raging across Canada—one in British Columbia, the other in northern Quebec. In both cases, the Indians and Inuit (Eskimos) argue that land which was never sold or given away remains theirs, and that any attempt to alter this situation must be preceded by negotiations between the white governments or companies and the aboriginal owners. The white governments, however, recognize no legal land rights other than the rights of the conqueror.

The Supreme Court of Canada ruled by a 4-3 vote that the British Columbia natives have no rights to the land which they have always possessed, and no rights to compensation for loss or alien use of that land. In Quebec a similar battle over the right of Quebec-Hydro to construct a huge ecologically devastating hydro-electric project is likely to once again ignore native rights.

In the Quebec case, a 1912 Quebec Boundaries Extension Law specifically ordered the Quebec government to conclude treaties with the native peoples, and "guaranteed" federal protection for native rights. An Indian and Inuit law suit pointing this out is virtually certain to fail.

The white answers to these native claims is identical to U.S. arguments of the 19th century—the inevitability of triumph by the more advanced intruder—or "Manifest Destiny" one century later.

Connecticut readers:

You are invited to a series of discussions to be held

Wednesdays at 7:30 p.m.

Unitarian Church,
50 Bloomfield Ave., Hartford

MARCH 7: Panel discussion on Women's Liberation

MARCH 14: "Marx's Historical Materialism and its Inseparability from the Hegelian Dialectic"

MARCH 21: "American Civilization on Trial; Black Masses as Vanguard"

MARCH 28: "The Shock of Recognition and the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin"

Mich. Lowndes County group condemns STRESS terror

The following are the words of the members of the Michigan-Lowndes County, Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights speaking out against the wave of police terror against the Black community in Detroit (See February News & Letters):

Most of us were born and raised in Lowndes County, Alabama. We remember when, if a Black person tried to vote, tried to do or say anything in defense of his freedom, he could be beaten or shot, and nothing would be done about it. These things didn't change until the Black people of the county built a movement strong enough to change them. They ended the rule of the Klan when John Hulett, a Black man, was elected sheriff in 1971.

In the two years he has been sheriff, for the first time in history, no person Black or white has been killed or abused by a Lowndes County law officer. This kind of law enforcement is only possible when the police are a genuine part of the community, both in where they live and in how they think.

For more than two months, the Detroit police have been beating, threatening and humiliating Black men, women and children. This campaign of terror is being led by the "STRESS" unit which has killed 18 people, 17 of whom were Black, in the last year. Mayor Gribbs and Police Commissioner Nichols say that the police can treat us any way they want to because they are after three young Black men who they say killed two STRESS officers.

We know that they are not just after these three. They are only an excuse. They want to take away all the gains we have made in our lifetime. They are hoping they can scare us into giving up everything without a fight.

They would never have dared such an attack before George Wallace toured the country preaching his philosophy of race hatred, or before Richard Nixon made it clear that he is in agreement with Wallace. Or before the silence of the labor unions, including the UAW, made this philosophy "respectable" for the first time in 20 years. Even in Alabama, the Klan was afraid to come out from behind their sheets. Today it is the Detroit police who do the killing and they act proud of what they do.

We know that the police state mentality will not stop at the edge of the ghetto. Our fight for self-determination is a fight for survival. Without it, there will be no freedom for anyone. We urge all people, Black and white, to join with us, to abolish STRESS and the racist mentality which created it.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory

South African Blacks Strike

In recent weeks over 50,000 Black workers have conducted sporadic strikes against their miserable sub-subsistence wages. In the mines a white worker is paid \$450 a month while a Black gets \$30, and it costs the average Black family \$120 a month to exist.

The widespread strikes affected almost every industry. 16,000 municipal workers in Durban left the garbage to the whites to take care of. In Hammarsdale 7,000 left their jobs and the police used brutality and tear gas to disperse a crowd of 200 shouting the Zulu war cry "Usutu." Textile factories, the largest bakery in Johannesburg, industrial plants and hotel workers all joined the walkout.

Drake Koka, general secretary of the Black Allied Workers Union, declared that the strikes were not just to raise wages but to overhaul the entire South African labor system.

For Blacks to strike in South Africa is illegal but their power lies first in their numbers. You cannot jail 50,000 people and still get out production. Secondly, and more important still, the courage and solidarity as well as the elemental outburst of the masses in a fascist apartheid state against its white rulers shakes up even those who have all the power, for they recognize that the strike is but one phase of the revolution: yet to come.

Uganda

In a public square, 12 men—11 in their 20's and one a 17 year old schoolboy—were tied to stakes and publicly shot by the Amin dictatorship. The executions were termed "a lesson to the people of Uganda" by a military spokesman.

Recently, the dictator General Amin expelled thousands of Asians and confiscated their property. Relations with Kenya have been strained by his threats to expel thousands of Kenyans, and several hundred families have fled back to Kenya. Only the threat from the Kenya trade unions to block the movement of Ugandan goods made him back off.

It is obvious that the severe internal disloca-

tions caused by Amin's policies are causing a wave of unrest that finds response in the population as a whole. Public executions without a trial are the mark of a desperate administration. While this is played up in the daily press, what remains unnoticed is the undercurrent of revolt among the masses, now finding expression in a new guerrilla movement which is sure to become a focal point for the discontent.

Chinese Youth

Each year thousands of Chinese youth from the cities and urban areas move to the countryside and far-away villages, usually thousands of miles from their homes, for the purpose of bringing to the rural areas an educated work force. The movement is called "Shang Shan, Hsia Hsiang," meaning up to the hills, down to the villages, and the government claims that these youth voluntarily seek rural living "with proletarian enthusiasm" after their schooling is finished. However, there are indications that Peking is trying to stop the continuous revolt by youth in the cities by scattering them around the country, where they can be more closely watched by the village authorities.

Last year 20,000 Chinese fled from China to Hong Kong. Most of them were young people who didn't care to be moved out of their homes at the government's discretion. They said that village authorities had been given instructions to "take good care of the young intellectuals' living conditions" and to "attack subversion" and "resolutely resist unhealthy trends." There were also indications of a youth revolt in Heilungkiang Province, where the government radio station said that a "problem" had arisen when it was decided to transfer some young people.

Multi-national Firms

The U.S. multi-national companies have reaped huge profits from the devaluation of the U.S. dollar. There is some speculation that they were instrumental in the move.

U.S. firms abroad at the end of 1971 controlled

over \$268 billion in assets abroad. They deal in all the world currencies in everyday business. The movement of only \$6 billion in U.S. currency into Germany touched off the crisis that netted these speculators some \$330 million in profits in a single week. A Frankfurt banker claims that 50 percent of the dollar dumping came from American firms through their branches abroad.

The American worker will feel the pinch when he buys his next radio, T.V., small foreign car or any one of a number of consumer items whose only source is a manufacturer abroad. The capitalists were prepared for the move, the workers were not.

Soviet Speed-up

The Soviet press and the officials have been putting the heat on Soviet labor to tighten labor discipline and taking punitive action against what they call "idlers, slackers, alcoholics and absentee workers." The campaign is led by Aleksander N. Shelepin, the bureaucrat who heads the so-called Trade Unions.

On Jan. 24 he told a trade union meeting, "There are still many shirkers, idlers, rolling-stones and drunkards who regularly violate labor discipline thus preventing collectives from fulfilling their plans and obligations . . ."

"In the struggle against them, management and the trade union organization have many means of administrative, material and public influence." (Sounds like a U.S. corporate executive.)

Pravda, in turn, has printed the various existing laws which provide for rebukes, reprimands, demotions, loss of bonuses and dismissal from jobs for labor violations, the infamous anti-labor "labor code" of Stalin's day.

The problem seems to be that the rate of growth of per capita income has dropped from 4.5 percent over the past two years to 2.7 percent. What the state-capitalist rulers fail to face is that lack of labor productivity has ever been the measure of mass revolt against oppression in "socialist" lands as under private capitalism.

Militarization and devaluation: the war moves to the home front

(Continued from Page 1)

last year was triple the 1971 figure. Foreign capital never did believe that Nixon could stop inflation, and the multi-national American corporations gave the dollar the final coup de grace (See "Our Life and Times," p. 8).

The Administration continues to assure us that all is rosy, and has attempted to convince the public that a dollar that buys less abroad should be of no concern to Americans at home. The utter nonsense of this is shown in the fact that it is not only luxuries like foreign automobiles, wines, and diamonds that will cost more, but everything from carpets to roofing materials. Most important of all to the average American is the guaranteed rise in food costs, which are already soaring. And everyone using electricity or operating a motor vehicle will pay more for the energy because a third of the petroleum consumed in the nation comes from abroad.

SAME OLD PRIORITIES

At the same time, Nixon is playing a deliberate game of select neglect. We are bombarded with all he is doing for the POW's—assuring the colonels, captains and commanders jobs commensurate with their status, and a new Ford to drive for a year without cost. He hopes the attention focused on the POW's will make people forget the nearly 50,000 Americans who died and the 300,000 who were wounded, not to mention the 254,000 Viet Vets who have come back only to find their way into the army of the unemployed.

The rate of unemployment for those between 20 and 24 is 8.9 per cent, and for Black veterans in that age group, unemployment is put at 9.5 per cent. A public employment program where 40 per cent of those enrolled are veterans is to be slashed by \$1 billion and the vast majority of the estimated 100,000 men who became addicted to drugs in Vietnam go untreated. Such is Nixon's concern.

The close of the Vietnam war exposes the fact that the Administration through its State of Union messages and budget proposals intends no reordering of priorities.

The crassness of Government policy is exemplified by appointing, as head of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), Howard J. Phillips, one of the founders of the right wing racist, Joe McCarthyite, student organization Young Americans for Freedom (YAF). A document from the Office of Management and Budget leaked to the press, revealed that it is the intention of the Administration to dismantle OEO as rapidly as possible.

As for the "greater job security" for the American worker that Nixon promises will be a result of the devaluation of the dollar, at the expense of the Japanese and European workers, it puts one in mind of the old Leadbelly refrain: "We're in the same boat brother, you shake one end, you're gonna rock the other." The truth is that Nixon hopes to stop the inflationary spiral by breaking the backs of the American workers.

Arthur Brickner, chief economist of the Savings Bank Association of New York State came closer to letting the cat out of the bag when he said, "The heart of the issue is whether we can get inflation in the U.S. under control and maintain a high rate of production." In short, speed-up.

MEANY: PRIZEFIGHTER FOR CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM

Nixon hopes to accomplish his war against the workers with the aid of the labor bureaucracy. The whole fabric of economic relations is such that you are either for a new social order, or you have to support that which is, with all its military drive. The AFL-CIO, headed by the perennial war-hawk George Meany, is already embracing Nixon's militarization and move against labor on the inflationary front. Meany's whole hypocritical play of "neutrality" during the elections was his way of helping Nixon's re-election in return for crumbs, such as having that hard-hat, Brennan, named Secretary of Labor.

The craft unions, ever since Gompers' days, have consistently taken the most reactionary positions on foreign labor. Just as the hard-hats have excluded the Blacks here, the AFL began by demanding the Oriental Exclusion Act. So integral a part of the very structure of American capitalism is that working class traitor, Meany, that he is actually in the fore-front of both the militarization of the economy, and making labor an appendage to it.

NEW STRUGGLES ON THE HORIZON

The country lurches from one economic crisis to another. The constant expansion of the capitalist economy and the capitalist state have grown at such a rate that capitalism gets over one hurdle only to reach a greater one. Capitalism could not pull itself out of the Depres-

sion without engaging in total war. Now it cannot pull itself out of Indochina without risking total chaos. That is why postwar has not meant peacetime—ever since World War II.

The Administration ignores the American people at its own peril. Unemployment in the ghettos of San Francisco, Chicago, Los Angeles and New York is put at no less than 20 per cent. Police terror unleashed against the Blacks in Detroit is but one manifestation of the absolute gulf that exists between Nixon and the Black community.

The rapid ending of Phase II controls coincides with the fact that labor contracts have to be negotiated in major industries like Rubber, Auto, Teamsters, Electronics and Post Office, this year. And neither Brennan nor Meany will be able to control these five million workers. Men and women who bore the wage freeze while they watched food prices soar, and felt the relentless speed-up to extract more and more of their labor while profits remained unfettered, are not going to sit still when bargaining time comes.

The poor, who have been penalized and pulverized, are also not going to take lightly the withholding and withdrawing of the federal assistance that farmers and workers have won over the years from a government that has been trying to stave off impending social revolution ever since the Great Depression.

Life for the capitalists begins and ends with the exploitation of labor. But life for the workers, day in and day out, is one continuous fight against their exploiters. This will in no way lessen when the state directly performs the job of exploitation. Rather, the coming struggles, both on the part of the Blacks and the workers, will see it intensify. The outpouring of 10,000 Blacks and whites at the Capitol on Feb. 20, to protest the slashing of all programs for the poor, is but a small hint of things to come.

DETROIT READERS:

You are invited to a series of classes-in-progress on the forthcoming work of Raya Dunayevskaya **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION**
Sun., March 4: "Leon Trotsky as Theoretician"
Sun., March 18: "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung"
Sun., April 1: "Jean-Paul Sartre: Outsider Looking In"

Downtown YWCA

Elizabeth and Witherell, 7 P.M.

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