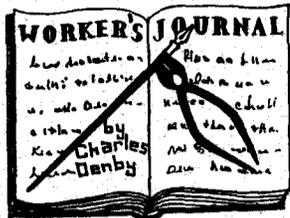


ON THE INSIDE

- Editorial: Move to right in France..... p. 4
Negritude:
Revolution and Counter-Revolution p. 5
Fleetwood workers force strike p. 3



Black leaders, Black masses and Wallace

by Charles Denby, Editor

Before the civil rights revolution in the South rolled to a high point in Birmingham, Ala., many older Blacks said there would never be any social changes for us in that racist city. First, because the National Office of the KKK was located just outside that city; second, because Bull Connor, the racist police commissioner, was a leading office-holder there; and third, because Governor George Wallace was Enemy Number One in the whole country against Black rights.

We did not dream of the courage and determination that the masses of people would soon show, the punishment they would suffer to make changes — things like standing in front of water hoses, making human chains of themselves, while the force from the hoses ripped their clothes away. Blacks did not flinch while mad police dogs sunk their teeth into the pits of their stomachs, while news pictures of it flashed around the world faster than the speed of the space flights that shared the headlines that year.

Many did not understand until those things happened what masses in action represent as force and as Reason of revolutionary changes.

A NEW DETERMINATION

The second highest point was the March from Selma to Montgomery, when Jim Clark rushed back and forth from Montgomery where he received instructions from Wallace. It was after several deaths in Selma and the blood bath on the bridge over the Alabama River that the March passed through Lowndes County where not a single Black had ever been allowed to register to vote. Thousands lined the highway, cheering, shaking marchers' hands, and they were inspired to a new determination. They organized a movement of their own, challenged the registrar's office in numbers and threatened court suits if they were rejected.

Lowndes County is my birthplace; I return every year, and I was there as a part of all this at the beginning of the movement. With other Blacks living in Detroit who were from Lowndes County, I helped organize support for our brothers and sisters, some of whom had been thrown out of their homes and into a Tent City for daring to register. And they finally succeeded not only in voting, but in electing one of their movement, John Hulett, as Sheriff. It was a great victory.

LEADERS AND MASSES

Some weeks ago, to the shock of almost every Black I know, Hulett was reported to be endorsing George Wallace, the man they know as still their Enemy Number One against Black people. It amounted to aiding and abetting the racist Wallace-ites who are now saying, "How can I be a racist when some of your own Black leaders are endorsing Wallace?"

It was not only in Alabama that this happened. Black

(Continued on Page 7)

Dasco wildcat fights company, union, cops

By Dasco Wildcatter

Oakland, Cal.—The wildcat at Dasco began May 1 when the company tried to fire one of our shop stewards. The boss said anyone who didn't go back to work was also fired. He never realized how many people would back our shop steward, Roberto.

For the first week everyone was out. Then some began to go back, because they needed jobs and were afraid. They were mostly older people who can't find another job so easily. The company told people they would have to come in or they would be fired. Still only a few went across the lines, and we began mass picketing. This forced the plant to shut down completely. We had beautiful support on the line, especially from the young workers.

NOT THE FIRST WALKOUT

We tried to win over all the workers, but the older workers were scared. The company had its armed security force, they massed the scabs outside the plant and had the police escort them in. In the last days of the wildcat more and more workers went in.

This is not the first walkout at Dasco. There have been a number recently. We make stationery material—notebooks, writing tablets, binders. We produce for the

government, including the Navy and the Marines. There was a time when the heat was tremendous and there was no ventilation. It was well over 100 degrees inside, especially with all the machines running. We walked out and demanded a cooling system. The company didn't do much. They just opened a few more windows and put black paint on the glass roof just to make us believe it was somehow cooler because it was darker. I think black paint might have made it hotter.

The weather changed and we went back to work the day after we walked out. The union (Teamsters Local 853) didn't do anything. They came out and said we did wrong to walk out. The same week we had the walkout, the company had laid off 65 people. Some of the people who were laid off were just a few days from getting through their probation period.

LAYOFF AND SPEED-UP

This is the way the company does it — they throw people out and get new ones. They get ahead by having lots of people in the plant for a couple of months, lay them off and then start oppressing those left by speed-up and intimidation, saying they will get fired if they don't do what they are told.

They watch closely who are the active ones. They harass us. They tried to take away a woman's vacation

(Continued on Page 3)

10¢

NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

VOL. 19—NO. 5

27 Printed in 100 Percent
Union Shop

JUNE, 1974

Nixon transcripts shock U.S. people, reveal criminal neo-fascist campaign

by Olga Domanski

The shock that swept across the U.S. when Richard Milhous Nixon's 1,254 pages of carefully edited transcripts finally began to appear in the nation's press on May 1, was the shock of seeing what homegrown totalitarianism looks, sounds, and smells like. No amount of laundering, of "expletives deleted" or "unintelligibles" could

wash the stench of a rotting, disintegrating Administration from those pages.

Nixon's public relations campaign had been carefully prepared. He delivered probably the best speech he has ever given, over the heads of Congress, directly to "the American people", the day before he released the transcripts. He even picked up a few lessons from Kissinger and evoked the "global" power image effectively. Then he delayed the release for another half a day to give unrivaled circulation to the legal brief his paid crony, James St. Clair had prepared—which presumed to tell the public what the tapes "really" said, so we wouldn't have to read them for ourselves.

Nothing more clearly reveals Nixon's utter contempt for the American people than his belief that they would trust his television words, and not care about his "private" conversations. How totally he misread his own "silent Americans" is measured by the depth of the outrage that spread across the land once the transcripts appeared in print. The \$12.50 government edition of the transcripts instantly became the "best seller" of any government publication ever released.

The shock of seeing exactly how petty, how debasing, how disgusting were Nixon and his band of henchmen, came after a full year of revelations about their corruption and criminality. But the true criminality that the Watergate Hearings had revealed was the criminal campaign to set up a One Party State within the two-party system. Neo-fascism has been exuding from the White House ever since Nixon's first election in 1968.

GROWING POLICE-STATE

Nixon was no sooner installed in power in Jan. 1969 than he worked out new police methods both at home and abroad. It was that very first year that Kissinger ordered the telephones of his own academic underlings bugged. Wiretapping, infiltration of opposition organizations, burglary, "dirty politics" of unmatched scope—all became standard features of Nixonism in power.

Informers were sent into selected campuses. ALL Black student organizations were infiltrated and bugged. There were outright murders of some Black radicals. At Kent State and Jackson, Miss., National Guardsmen were inspired by the Nixon climate to shoot to kill unarmed students protesting the Cambodian invasion of May 1970.

Agnew was sent out to lead the vicious campaign against the press. The famous "enemies list", unearthed by the Watergate hearings last summer, was prepared during the summer of '71; it included some 200 political opponents including actors, journalists, professors, labor leaders, businessmen, and senators who were to be "given a hard time." The just-released transcript of Sept. 15, 1972, spells out more precisely how the man of "law and order" planned to deal with his "enemies" after his re-election: "They are asking for it and they are going to get it. We have not used the power in this first four years. We have not used the FBI or the Justice Department, but things are going to change now." (Deleted was the section that specified that the Washington Post, in particular, would suffer "damnable, damnable problems" because of its coverage of Watergate.)

What is chilling about the actual words of the transcript is not so much that they were "cleaned up" and we can only guess at how much more vicious they really were, but that we can imagine where we would be today if part of the capitalist class itself had not become alarmed and decided to pull the stopper on these men of "law and order" who were well on their way to turn the country into a totalitarian state.

DISTRUST, DISGUST AND DISILLUSION

Post-election America has become a different land than pre-election America. Whereas, in 1972, white racism

(Continued on Page 8)



WL theorist offers mix of structuralism, Freud

by Deborah Morris

In her book, *Woman's Estate* (Vintage Books, 1973, \$1.95), Juliet Mitchell says that the first task of the women's movement is to develop a theory. She feels strongly that neither the Marxist movement nor the proposed feminist theories have been able to deal with the totality of women's oppression: the feminists see everything in terms of men-women relationships, whereas the so-called Marxists relegate women's struggles to a secondary position behind the class struggle. To meld the two into a new theory of women's liberation she proposes to use a Marxist methodology.

FALSE CONCEPT OF MARX

Unfortunately, Juliet Mitchell, instead of using the totality of Marx's theory of human liberation as her point of departure, relies on a narrow concept of Marxism, beginning with Lenin's 1902 pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* and ending in an Althusserian rewriting of Marxism. Her premise is that "the fully-developed political consciousness of an exploited class or oppressed group cannot come from within itself . . ."

That Juliet Mitchell cannot see the failure of this concept of vanguardism—that socialism must be introduced from the outside by the "party" or by "the" Marxist philosopher—and that she cannot see that Lenin himself moved away from that concept philosophically, is perhaps explained by the fact that she still considers Russia a socialist society.

Given this methodology to start with, the rest of her analysis rests heavily on the importance of middle class women to the women's movement, for in advanced capitalist societies ideology is more important than ever, and "the ideological dimensions of the revolution are likely to come initially from within the ideologically dominant class." For this reason the women's movement shouldn't be so concerned about its domination by middle class women, but rather should be searching

Women farmworkers fight to end death in the fields

I have been a farm worker since I was 15½. I quit school after eighth grade to care for the other children in my family. My mother was in the hospital and my father was making \$42 a week as a farm worker.

My family came to California from Texas. We were scabs then, but we made 50 cents an hour in Texas so \$1.40 looked good. Being a scab I learned a lot of good things the union could do. Working for Tenneco, a big corporation, two accidents happened that had a lot to do with getting us involved with the union.

One was that a 16-year-old girl, a very dear friend, cut her finger trimming vines. The company wouldn't help her, but sent her back to Mexico as she was an illegal alien.

NO AID FROM COMPANY

Another friend was hit in the eye by a vine and they just sent her home. It was on a Friday, and by Monday she had lost her eyesight.

My mother lost a child because of the labor contractor. We were doing piece-work, and he wasn't satisfied with what my mother was doing; he had her carry her own buckets and she lost the baby. We tried to send her to the hospital in Delano but it was too expensive. So we had to send her all the way to Texas. The doctor said if she had arrived just a few hours later she might have died.

These kinds of things got us involved in the union. The other reason is we have seen women active in the union. For example, Dolores Huerta, the vice-president; Jessica Govea, who ran the first boycott from La Paz; and Helen Chavez, who has eight children and has worked to support the family for years to enable Cesar to build the union.

I remember when I first told my dad I was going to a union meeting. He had been active in the union for years, but that was men's business. After much arguing, he finally said all right, I could go, but not my mother. That made my mother mad. She said she was paying union dues the same as he was, and after that she went too.

WOMEN ACTIVE IN UNION

For the first time last year, a lot of women got more involved. We were on the picket line breaking the injunction. They kept jailing only the men and one day came when there were only women, so we all joined hands and they dragged us all in. When we got before the judge he said the women should be released because they have children at home. The women said No, we're not going out. We want the men to go first, then we all go out. The men have children too; it takes two to make a child. The next day they let us all go because the women refused to leave.

We have more women involved not only picketing but organizing and as co-ordinators in different cities. We had never seen this before. So it means this union is not putting women behind the men but up there with them and this is why it has been very successful in everything, because everybody's involved. The whole family is organized into the union.

— Mary Maddock

for that which will unite all women.

That form which unites us all is the family. Her argument states that although it is true that some 42 percent of the American workforce is comprised of women, their "exploitation as part of the working class is made invisible by their identification with the other aspect of their condition—their oppression as wives within the family."

EMBRACES FREUD

Juliet Mitchell says that in understanding the oppression of women we have to see that there are four major structures that combine to form the basis of our oppression: production, reproduction, sexuality, and the socialization of children, and that the "variations of woman's condition throughout history will be the result of different combinations of these elements . . ." To understand familial relationships she says it is necessary to embrace Freud and his methodology—for it is only through psychoanalysis that we can ever begin to understand how the family shapes the consciousness of men and women.

That she sees Marxism as only a means of "analyzing" social relationships rather than a theory of human liberation is very obvious, for in her own way she does just what nearly every male theoretician has done—and that is not to see women as self-developing subject. Just as she argues against limiting women to an economic position secondary to the working class, all she has done is bind us to the framework of the family. Instead of tracing what women have been doing, she spends her time explaining to us why women can't do anything revolutionary.

This is totally contrary to the actual concrete activities that women have and are participating in, from the struggle of the welfare mothers for dignity, to the miners' wives in Harlan County, Kentucky, who are walking the picket lines.

In looking for a new theory, all Juliet Mitchell has done is bind us as nonpersons into economic and familial structures that we have been bound to for centuries. A new theory is needed, but four predetermined structures cannot substitute for the actual movement of women from below and their unity with Marx's theory of human liberation.

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

Women halt I.W.C. hearing

San Francisco, Cal.—The meeting of the California Industrial Welfare Commission (appointed by "let them get botulism" Reagan) held last month was full of angry demonstrators demanding to be heard. Over 300 women and some men entered the meeting hall only to be informed there would be no discussions permitted.

The protest was called over the IWC "equalization" of the Equal Rights Amendment. They ruled that as of June 1, thousands of women, youth and unorganized workers would receive no overtime pay until after 10 hours of work. Agriculture, domestic service, hotels and restaurants could work their employees unlimited hours without overtime, and government workers had no rights at all. Also, all workers no longer needed drinking water, toilets, first aid, lifting limits, cleanliness, lighting, heat, ventilation, emergency exits, couches, rest breaks. They must buy and maintain uniforms, and pay for cash losses or breakage.

Twenty-nine petitions for a re-hearing, including one from the California Labor Federation, were all rejected, 4-1. There was so much booing and hissing that the Commissioners were forced to declare a recess in their proceedings and left the podium. Their desks and microphones were immediately taken over by the women protestors and the chairwoman opened the floor to all, while the IWC huddled whispering in a corner, well protected by the police lining the hall.

Demands were put forth for better protective laws for all; the eight-hour day; no mandatory overtime; health and safety regulations; equal pay for equal work; no welfare-forced work; hearings be held at night when workers could attend.

When the AFL-CIO representatives announced they would sue the IWC "for exceeding their authority" one woman said: "We don't trust you, 80 per cent of working women are still not organized, where were you when we needed you? This time we are doing it ourselves . . ."

The coalition of women's groups, labor committees, rank and file workers, Third World youth, especially women in and out of unions, is growing all over the state. Demonstrations are scheduled for June 1 in San Francisco and Los Angeles when these new "laws" go into effect.

—Demonstrator

WL NOTES

The "Three Marias" of Lisbon, Portugal were acquitted of having offended public morals with their book which attacks the repression of women in Portugal. Maria Horta, Maria Barreno and Maria da Costa said they would now start a women's movement and try to legalize abortion.

Italians voted three to two in favor of the three-year-old law permitting divorce. This was a stinging defeat for the Church which has opposed divorce. Many votes for divorce came from the poor in southern Italy and from registered women voters who outnumber men by 1.7 million.

After a year of demands 26 matrons at Wellesley College in Massachusetts will now be paid the same as the male custodians. In some cases this will be an increase of 64 cents an hour.

In Bonn, Germany after a three year debate, a bill allowing women to have abortions on request in the first three months of pregnancy has been approved by the lower house of Parliament. Since 1971 there has been an intensive women's movement to repeal Germany's anti-abortion laws.

Taxi wildcat at Dover garage

New York, N.Y.—After an argument with a dispatcher, a driver at Dover garage in the Village was fired for "gross insubordination." The dispatcher had refused to give Tom, the driver, a message from his wife that their three-year-old son was missing. The union offered nothing except a slim possibility of reinstatement after waiting months for arbitration, so the drivers at Dover decided to do something about it themselves.

Over 40 drivers attended a meeting in the garage the next afternoon, and everyone knew the real reason Tom had been singled out by management. This was because he had been active in the Dover Committee, a group of rank-and-file drivers who often hung around the garage to do what the union stewards never did—advise and back up their fellow workers in their disputes with management.

Very few cabs were rolling on the evening shift while Tom's firing was being discussed, and since management offered nothing, a strike was called. Everyone went home and some returned the next morning to set up pickets for the day shift, where the strike was almost 100% effective.

Management was getting very worried, but they didn't call the cops, they called their trusty picardos from the union. The union came down and started threatening the strikers that they were going to be fired and that the union would let the firings stand. In other words the union knifed the workers in the back.

At this point a few more cabs went out on the evening shift so the workers had no choice but to accept management's offer to arbitrate Tom's case right away and no reprisals against the strikers, something they'd offered at the beginning of the strike. The strike was called off.

Dover drivers may not have won a victory but they have started something a lot of other cab drivers are watching. As an older driver told me as we were both stopped at a red light in midtown, "That's the only way, shut the garage down and forget the union. Dover, that's a very good garage."

—N.Y. Taxi Driver

Kraft boycott gains strength

The Kraft boycott, begun in August, 1971, is being intensified across Canada. The original demand of the boycott still stands: Kraftco should meet with the National Farmers' Union (N.F.U.) to discuss procedures which would give dairy farmers effective collective bargaining rights through the N.F.U.

With food costs up 18.2 percent this past year, costs of production for farmers rising 60 percent in the last 10 years, and agri-business scoring leap-frog profits, the boycott continues to point the finger at who really benefits in the food industry. It is this fact that has helped the boycott grow into a credible urban/rural alliance against Kraftco.

In the Dawson Creek-Fort St. John (British Columbia) area approximately 80 farmers joined recently in distributing boycott information and alternative shopping lists at local food stores. Some independent grocers even put boycott literature in shoppers' food bags.

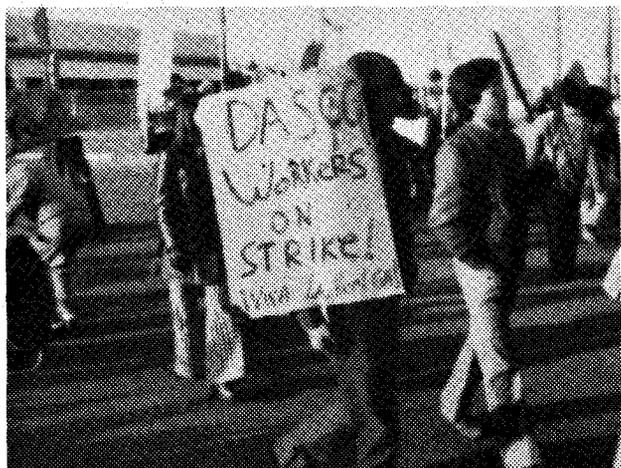
In Belleville, Ontario, N.F.U. members gave out boycott leaflets that included support for workers at the local Black Diamond cheese plant where workers have been striking in an attempt to get a fair wage.

Grocery stores in the University of Alberta area reported having to cut down on retail orders from Kraft because of the Edmonton Kraft boycott. Store managers unanimously attribute the success of the boycott in this part of the city to the high concentration of students who refuse to buy Kraft products.

From Kraft Boycott News
P.O. Box 701
Kingston, Ontario



Dasco wildcat fights company, union, cops



—News & Letters photo

Dasco strikers conduct mass picketing.

(Continued from Page 1)

rights, so we fought that. They didn't want to give workers the money they owed them. According to our contract no one is supposed to pick up more than 50 pounds, but they have us picking up 80 and 100 pounds. The contract itself is a lousy one. I hate to even read it, but they don't even follow the regulations they have in the contract.

THREE STRIKES AND OUT

The contract has this part where the company can write you down for anything they think is wrong. They write you down once, twice and the third time you are fired. They can tell you to move something to an unsafe place. You don't do it and they write you up.

To fight all this we have three shop stewards who we voted for and who fight for us. The company has tried to get rid of them. We elected one shop steward after removing another who was just with the union and company officials and would never find out the struggle of people inside. She was not working in the shop but more in the office. The new steward, Roberto, fought for us and the wildcat started when they tried to get rid of him.

We have gone to our business agent before when they tried to fire people and the answer has been there is nothing we can do, the contract won't be up until November.

This time we went out on our own. They will not so easily stock up between now and the end of the contract

in November. By firing us they will not be able to produce so much, because many of the skilled machine operators were fired.

In our meeting to end the wildcat, the decision was to let the workers go back in and try and win our jobs back through arbitration. Seventy-three of us are fired. I didn't vote for going in. I don't like to see people going back because we lose our strength. But that was the decision of the majority. There was some discouragement because people wanted to go in. It is hard to win a strike then. But many workers didn't have money. The wages are very low and they have to work every day to survive.

The union gave no support. There has to be something done. The unemployment office doesn't want to give us anything because we are fired. The union doesn't want to give us strike benefits because they didn't sanction the strike. We who were fired are sticking together trying to figure out what to do and to keep contact with the workers back in the plant.

Uniroyal workers walk out, company answers with lockout

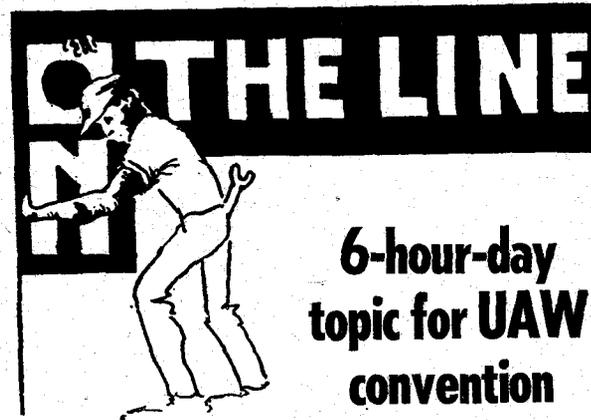
Detroit, Mich. — The Uniroyal plant was closed down on May 9 for a week because of wildcats in Receiving and in the mill room. First the company tried to make workers in Receiving unload trucks without a lift truck.

When they walked off the job, the company took some people out of the mill room and put them in Receiving, leaving a huge work load on those left in the mill room, and it's already one of the worst places in the plant. Then the second shift mill room workers walked out and that closed down the whole plant.

The company violations were so flagrant that there's a rumor going around that the management deliberately provoked the wildcats so they could close the plant without it costing them anything. We just had one big lay-off the week before. Whether this rumor is true or not, it shows what people think about the company.

There's also a company policy of closing the whole plant for three days whenever there's a wildcat in one department, hoping to turn the other workers against the wildcaters. It doesn't work out that way, though, since everyone I know supports the mill room people, and when we heard about the wildcat on Thursday night, it was just like a carnival in our department.

—Uniroyal Worker



6-hour-day topic for UAW convention

by John Allison

The six-hour-day is being discussed in all local unions of the UAW as a convention issue. This is directly due to the Canadian workers, who fought to get the six-hour-day on the upcoming UAW Convention agenda.

Inflation is rampant while unemployment is at its highest level, and this brings us to our immediate task of trying to find something new — the six-hour-day.

The Cost-of-Living Allowance did not stop inflation. The UAW said it would. Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) and unemployment compensation were supposed to stop the layoffs. The UAW said it would. Retirement was supposed to create jobs for the young workers. The UAW said it would.

Now we ought to make the shorter work week universal, because in 38 countries the auto plants are fully automated. Chrysler has 17 plants outside of the U. S. and Canada. In Spain, Chrysler employs 12,000 workers, but the government controls the wages. And the top pay is \$3 a day.

The Big 3 are in a big hurry to capture the Russian and Chinese markets for U. S. made cars. The labor movement has not solved the problem of organizing at home. And now we're off to Russia and China and rest of the planet earth.

With the answer "Make it a universal six-hour day!", I am sure it will help. The big question is if the millions of auto workers will be strong enough to tame the Big 3 world wide.

Worker tells students: unite mental, manual labor

by Felix Martin

I was recently invited to speak on a college campus about workers. I look forward to speaking there as the students are always interested. I remember in 1970 when I first went to the campus. We were on strike in auto and had closed the plant down. The students were surprised that the workers were strong enough to close down a corporation as powerful as GM.

The thing that struck me that first time on campus was the working conditions—they were like working conditions should be. There was no smoke, grime, noise, or the foreman standing over you. But since then I have realized that alienation is really there also. It is in having to take the classes they give you and not necessarily the ones you want. It is in not having anything to say about what is being taught. And it is in being trapped in this system just like workers are trapped. I have tried to work out this relationship between the alienation of students and that of workers. Here are a few notes which I spoke to the students about:

"WHAT IT IS REALLY LIKE"

People ask me to talk about the shop and tell them what it is really like. I will do that, though sometimes I get emotional about it. However each of you will find out soon enough. The most important thing is that none of us workers or students should let this society control us.

When I talk about wage slaves I am talking about the most horrible divisions of the capitalist system—the split of mental and manual labor. When I am talking to students I am talking to those who are becoming the mental labor and who the system is training to look down on us workers. The workers are the dropouts of this society. They say the only reason there has to be wage slavery is because the dropouts don't know anything. Just because a worker can't say the words he could have been taught had he gone to an institution, doesn't mean he can't think. He had to do a lot of things just to live. . . .

HOW MANY CAN THINK?

I spoke to your professor and he told me about the different divisions of study on this campus, like into scientific areas. But all those science minds end up being there for one thing—controlling and extracting from the dropouts, the men not trained for using big words. Almost everyone can be trained, but how many at the university can think . . . ?

I see a close relationship between the mental labor here and the physical labor in the plant. The two are being separated from each other.

When I am at GM I see this army of supervisors, which I call mental labor, over me. All of you at college can be part of this division into mental labor, or you can work to end it. We all aren't going to be anything until we change this society . . .

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Fleetwood workers force union to call strike

BULLETIN: As we go to press, Fleetwood workers have voted to return to work. But one worker summed up the attitude of the men: "It doesn't make any difference what was said at the ratification meeting. What counts is whether conditions in the plant are changed, and we won't know that until we go back to work."

Detroit, Mich. — We have been out on strike now at Fleetwood since May 13. The conditions in the plant were so bad and the people were so mad, that the union had to call a strike. I don't think the union wanted to call it. They waited up to the last minute, but everyone was ready to go and there was no way the union could have stopped them if they tried.

Before the strike, people who have been at Fleetwood 20 years were saying this is the worst they have ever seen. The line was only reduced 13 jobs an hour, but everyone I know has twice the work added on. We are giving BLOOD, SWEAT AND TEARS to make up for the drop in GM's first quarter profits. If this goes on, soon people will be dropping dead on the line. Hundreds are out on sick leave now.

The pace we have to keep up to do the job now is unreal. You don't even have time to get a drink of water. Everyone is on some kind of medication. Many people are taking nerve pills because they are ready to have a nervous breakdown from the pressure. Medical is passing out pain pills and muscle relaxers. These are dangerous downers.

You go down to Medical and wait in a long line. You see people getting arms and legs wrapped up. You see horrible cuts and gashes. When you get to the front of the line, you tell Medical that you are hurting so bad you can't do your job. And they say, "We can't send you home. Give these pills a chance to work."

They are running Fleetwood on habit-forming dope pills. We are being turned into doped-up robots because it is the only way you can stand the pain at the speed we are working.

THIS IS NO WAY FOR MEN AND WOMEN TO LIVE!

So now we are on strike. But there are a lot of questions to be asked. Are we going to be sold out? If

you look at what happened the first couple days of the strike it really makes you wonder. It seems that Local 15 is cooperating with management wholeheartedly by allowing Dept. 17 to cross the picket line and enter the plant to supposedly "clean the offices." Local President Gaston and Committee Chairman Adams are worried that the bigshots might not have clean floors and ashtrays.

The whole purpose of a strike is to keep all hourly employees out of the plant. They say you have to let some maintenance people in the plant to keep the powerhouse running. In my opinion, if we really want to hurt management we shouldn't allow maintenance in the plant. Let the white-collars get their hands dirty for once.

On the first day of the strike, picket duty was voluntary and by 5 p.m. there were only a few pickets left. The union was responsible for relieving these people, but instead they were told to go home. They stayed till 11 p.m. but never got any relief. The only interest the union had was to tell them to be sure and let Dept. 17 and maintenance go to work.

If Gaston and his gang sell us out again, we will have to take things into our own hands. I want to see the agreement in writing before I vote on it. And the only agreement I will settle for is some control over production, where the line speed and the amount of work is more human than it is now.

—Fleetwood Worker

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

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

CONNECTICUT: PO Box 291, Hartford, Conn. 06101

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

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

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

EDITORIAL**Giscard victory in France is prelude to class war**

The narrow victory of Valery Giscard d'Estaing over Francois Mitterand in the May 19 French Presidential election sent journalists and "political analysts" all over the world to proclaim the "end of Gaullism." While Giscard now flouts his "mandate" for seven years as President, it is a very hollow mandate indeed. Only 400,000 votes separated him from Socialist Party leader Mitterand out of 27 million votes cast. French workers voted solidly against Giscard, and an atmosphere of "polarization and bitterness" was reported.

MOVE TO THE RIGHT

Far from Giscard representing an end to Gaullism in anything but name, and even further from his policies demonstrating a "return to the center," the ascendancy of Giscard to power is a move to the extreme right. Where the early years of DeGaulle's regime were at least marked by his negotiations to give Algeria a measure of independence, if only as the way to save French capitalism, no such events dominate the scene now.

It is true that Giscard maintained his own Independent Republican party, and separated himself from the Gaullists, but it was always to distinguish himself on the ultra-right. He describes himself as "first, an economist," and his economic policies and writings mark him as an advocate of state co-ownership and control of production under the banner of "national leadership." There is the unmistakable smell of neo-fascism.

It is significant that DeGaulle's own party—and not just the rank-and-file, but many in the leadership—began turning to Giscard even before the first round of the election was held on May 5, rejecting their own candidate, Jacques Chaban-Delmas, in doing so. They saw in Giscard a "strong hand" who offered his background as the economic "planner" they desperately needed to cope with France's deteriorating economy. So bleak is that situation that even Giscard himself predicted that

France's balance-of-payments deficit will not be corrected until late 1975, if then.

INFLATION AND TRADE DEFICITS

Meanwhile, the inflation which has wreaked havoc with capitalist economics throughout the world has hit France especially hard. And the French political circles which are forever comparing their fortunes to those of Germany see nothing but gloom when they compare their trade deficit to Germany's \$1.8 billion trade surplus in the last year.

There is plenty of discussion, therefore, when the press suggests that "a new German-French rapprochement" is likely, since newly-installed German leader Helmut Schmidt and Giscard are "old friends and get along very well." Such a friendship is not surprising, since all the fancy economic talk of both of them boils down to fighting the inflation crisis through massive additions to the ranks of the unemployed and by new repression against workers. (See Our Life and Times, page 8.)

Yet despite the discussions of a new affair between France and Germany, and despite the speculation about better relations with Washington, the real test for Giscard is not abroad but at home. His close squeak into power was possible only because Mitterand and his Socialist-Communist alliance never opened a new banner of social and economic transformation of France, but chose instead to stick to the same politics they displayed in 1968. There is no doubt that the French masses want a change, and that mass discontent dominates the French political scene.

CLASS WARFARE AHEAD

The rash of strikes that broke out across the map of France before the election is just an indication of the class warfare that may face Giscard as French workers fight rampant inflation and the decline in real wages. There is not much doubt that the workers are ready to fight, but there is a great deal of concern about whether

the union leaders, especially the Communist CGT, will not try to throw obstacles in the workers' way. Communist Party leader Georges Marchais commented on the day after the election: "Tomorrow work will start again everywhere, normally. Leave bitterness aside."

Whether the union leaders and the Communist party bosses decide to quiet worker rebellion, or to rush out and be the "leaders", it is certain that the economic conditions in France and the election of Giscard are the kind of explosive mix that Britain experienced under the regime of Edward Heath. And like Heath, Giscard can be expected to counter with a McCarthy type anti-communist hysteria and with appeals to "good French workers" to separate themselves from the large numbers of foreign and unskilled workers who have come to France in the last decade.

It is not in the Elysee Palace, but at Renault and other plants that the future of France will be decided in the months ahead.

News & Letters

Vol. 19, No. 5

June, 1974

News & Letters is published ten times a year, monthly except for January-February and August-September, by News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207. Telephone: 961-1010. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
O. Domanski Managing Editor

Second Class Postage Paid at Detroit, Michigan

Reader**NIXON OUT NOW!**

In light of the Watergate scandal and the indictment of those involved in all the revelations that followed it, the Adam Clayton Powell case comes to mind. The question is, will the same standards which Congress applied to Mr. Powell be applied to the President? In the Powell case, the question of whether his alleged guilt was sufficient grounds for his expulsion is still debatable. But Congress saw what it said was its duty, and acted. I wonder if they will act as fast and with the same determination in the case of the President?

Prisoner
Georgia

Earlier, a newspaper editor who had exposed illegal smuggling was murdered, and 30 policemen were eventually arrested, plus the mayor who was accused of ordering the murder because he was afraid of exposure by the journalist.

I couldn't help thinking about the Watergate transcripts, and now this. It shows how badly this capitalist system needs to be abolished.

White Auto Worker
Los Angeles

It looks like his fellow totalitarians are the only ones that remain "loyal" to Nixon. While even the last of Nixon's Republican buddies are deserting him here in a mad rush, it was startling to read that in an official Communist (youth) paper in Moscow, they were trying to draw a parallel between—of all things—the hostility of the American press to Nixon and the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Talk about the rewriting of history!

Correspondent
Philadelphia

A black man in Alabama was recently given 50 years in prison for possession of marijuana, yet a judge has just ruled for the second time that Nixon is acting illegally and he is still President.

White Worker
California

JOIN THE UFW BOYCOTT

If we're not able to gain these contracts, what happened last year is nothing compared to what will happen this year. It's a matter of the people fighting for the survival of the union—either we stand up for what we have or we lose it and never gain it again. Last year there were 4,000 to 5,000 arrests, this year there may be 10,000.

Farmworker
N.Y.C. Boycott

If more of us farm workers have not come to the cities for the boycott, it is because we are afraid. All our lives we have been oppressed. I have a selfish reason for being here: I have two younger sisters at home, and I want them to have dignity. This boycott means our future.

It's in your hands whether we win or lose. If I can work nine or ten hours in

the hot sun to pick grapes, you in the cities can help me. When we ask you not to buy lettuce or grapes and to picket at least once a week, that's not too much.

There are three million farm workers in this country being mistreated. Eight hundred die from insecticides each year. If you put in one hour picketing, it puts us a little closer to victory.

Mary Maddock
Member, UFW of A

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Argentina wants to increase its population and has restricted birth control pills which can now be obtained only with a prescription signed by three medical authorities. The dissemination of birth control information is prohibited. One wonders why they want to increase population since more than a million people are unemployed in Argentina.

The government's view of women as beings whose sexual organs belong to the state is reflected in a quote from the Ministry of Health stating that "non Argentine interests" are pushing birth control, undermining "the fundamental maternal function" of women and "distracting youths from their natural duties." La Bases, a magazine that has General Peron as a contributing editor, says, "We must start from the basis that the principal work of a woman is to have children."

I wonder if the government will start lining women up for artificial insemination with penalties for the unpatriotic women who don't conceive!

Feminist
Detroit

At the recent Conference of Labor Union Women, a resolution was handed out by Native American Women (they were unable to present it formally due to the rules of the conference) requesting that trade union women bring before their organizations resolutions pledging support for the struggles of Indian peoples. The specific areas are: asking Congress to establish a Treaty Commission to examine the 371 treaties signed with Indian peoples; repeal or reexam-

ination of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934; removal of the BIA from the Dept. of the Interior and setting it up as an independent agency; and the dismissal of all charges against the 129 people under prosecution by the government for their stand at Wounded Knee.

Attached to the resolution was a separate sheet on "The Women of Wounded Knee". For copies of the resolution or for more information, write:

Wounded Knee Legal
Defense/Offense Committee,
333 Sibley St. Suite 605,
St. Paul, Minn. 55101.

ANYTHING BUT SOCIALISM

The sorriest thing to me about the recent elections in France was the so-called "socialist" Mitterand playing Tweedle Dum to neo-Gaullist Giscard d'Estaing's Tweedle Dee. What a farce to see "socialists" and "communists" fall all over themselves to prop up French state-capitalism. The important point for me is that the French Left and French Right were the same in this election, and you can be sure if the Left had won, they would not have asked the workers how to change society.

Activist
Detroit

As the first-ever strikes by nurses, the scandals over corruption, and the threatened action by civil servants which will hold up pension increases show — the Labour leadership from Jenkins to Foot have no solution to the current crisis.

The Shrewsbury building pickets remain in prison, the Clay Cross Councilors who refused to implement the Housing Finance Act (which meant vicious rent rises for council tenants) are still being penalized, food prices continue to rise, North Sea oil remains unnationalized, Phase 3 is still in operation, the junta in Chile is still receiving arms. The much vaunted social contract between the Government and the TUC has already been broken. All this demonstrates that because the Labour Government will do anything except advance

TWO WORLDS

Negritude as revolution and counter-revolution

By Raya Dunayevskaya

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

I'm very happy to give my space this issue for re-printing excerpts from the section on Negritude contained in a speech delivered by the great Haitian poet, Rene Depestre, to the Tricontinental Congress in Havana in 1968. Complete copies can be obtained from INVISIBLE CITY, 6 San Gabriel Drive, Fairfax, California 94930.
—Raya Dunayevskaya

Haiti today is the country where one can most trace the adventures of negritude, because ours is the land where, as Aime Cesaire has said, "it took its stand for the first time," and where it now is the ideology which feeds the most monstrous tyranny in contemporary history. That's why a critical examination of the concept of negritude, in the light of the horrible Haitian experience, can have an efficacious significance for all oppressed blacks. We know that all ideology, in so far as it represents something real and pursues certain objectives, has a tendency to give to the particular aspirations of one class an imaginary value. Marx called mystification such a process of deformation of reality.

In Haiti, pseudo-sociologists such as Francois Duvalier, studying the role of negritude in our national history always consider the concept as a thing in itself, rather than analyzing it in its relations with the true history of social connections. By separating the racial question from the economic and social development of Haiti, and assigning it an absolute character, by making it mythic, they have debased Haitian history by a chaotic succession of merely ethnic conflicts between mulattoes and blacks . . . In the Haitian case, the racial question, far from being the determining factor in the development of Haitian society, is merely the mystifying form which, in the consciousness of two aristocratic rivals, serves to hide

real interests and momentums from the class struggle.

NONETHELESS this racial question is a very important social reality in the history of Haiti. We know that Marx, by way of denying that spiritual dogmas had a decisive role in the historic process of determined societies, nevertheless believed that as social realities they could affect the general course of history . . . Since 1946, the Haitian society has been the prey of general crisis, fundamentally due to the economic domination of the United States over the country, with the color question once again occupying the foremost ideologic and political place, but only in order to cover up the real content of the class struggle. Black middle-classers like Duvalier, who since 1946 has been allied to the black landlords and the mulatto "compradores", control political power, demagogically helping themselves to big notions of "negritude" and pretending to the black masses that it's they who are in power and that the "Duvalierist revolution" is a sparkling victory for negritude.

The awful Duvalier dictatorship has made the Haitians change the image that they've had of themselves . . . In their eyes, Haiti has stopped being congealed into the mythic figure that has been patiently printed in the consciousness of every Haitian since schooldays: Haiti, first black republic of modern times, mythic fatherland of the black man, cradle and paradise of negritude! Haitians have discovered through unheard-of sufferings that, in a semi-colonial system, the power that should be spread among black, white, mulatto or Indian hands, remains invariably an instrument for ferocious dehumanization, in terms of man and his social and cultural setting . . . Haitians behold blacks and mulattoes, tyrants, criminals without shame, obscurantists, Nazis, tonton-macoutes, because in fact they are without any individuating essence, they're as middleclass as the rest and at the moment of terrorist dictatorship in the capital, they are as capable of crimes as horrible as those

Hitler committed in yesterday's concentration camps or those the yankees of the Pentagon perpetuate today in the two Vietnams.

NATURALLY the tyranny of Duvalier offers a monstrous caricature of negritude, and it's not necessary to conclude . . . that such a twisted rationale is fatally open to an enterprize involving the annihilation of the human condition. Socialism is a doctrine of the liberation of man, but national-socialism was an instrument for his extermination . . . Today the black bourgeoisie, who possess neo-colonialist privileges of intrigues and violences in Africa and America, have prematurely seized upon the concept of negritude as an ideologic weapon because they

(Continued on Page 6)

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

Views

towards Socialism the working class is going to have to pay for capitalist mismanagement with decreased standards of living and increased attacks on basic democratic rights.

This is why the role of the army is no longer seen as defense against external aggression but the maintenance of internal security. In Northern Ireland it is testing out the techniques of repression which will be brought into play in any future confrontation between capitalism and the working class.

Terry Liddle
England

THINKING AND WORKING

My teacher was explaining to us in the class how important it was to do what we are told. He said all through life we will be told what to do, when to do it, how to do it, when to begin work, when to stop to eat, when to go home. I asked him why we are in school if we have to have somebody else do our thinking all our lives? The way I see it, if everybody does their own thinking and working to make the necessities of life, we would all have enough leisure time to enjoy living.

Junior High Student
California

BLACK REVOLT

Why was there all this stop-and-search in the Zebra killings where the criminals are Black, when there has been no such policy when a white was the killer? If Alioto wants to start a race war he may succeed. My nephew just visited me from New Orleans and reported that there appears to be more fighting between whites and Blacks, which he felt was tied to the Zebra publicity.

We as Blacks don't like killing, and would like to see Zebra caught. But the way Alioto has gone about this, Blacks are arming themselves and saying we are not going to be pushed around. The Zebra has been killing whites, but it is

Blacks that are going to be hurt the most in the end.

When a crisis came, Alioto was quite willing to say to hell with the rights of Black people. Isn't this taking us back to the KKK and all that Wallace represented when he stood in the schoolhouse doorway?

Audrey William
Los Angeles

Over the last three years, the Bay Area has been subjected to a plague of mass slayings . . . The latest of these killings (called by the police code name Zebra) has kept the public in a grip of fear played upon by the mass media, the police, and in particular, the slick demogogic Mayor Joe Alioto . . .

What gave this case an added dimension of fear was that the killers were allegedly Black . . . Alioto started a campaign of stop-and-search of every male in the Black community . . . It didn't matter if you didn't fit the descriptions of the killer; what mattered was that you were Black. When whites commit a crime it is individual, but when a suspect is Black, it becomes a collective crime.

J. Brown
San Francisco

Do you believe that we as Blacks have forgotten what Mr. Wallace did to us? To me it seems like only yesterday when he defied the law and stopped Blacks from entering the school of their choice. How can we as Blacks forget what he stands for—racism, period. What did these Black "leaders" have to gain by endorsing him? Are we back to the days when "good" Blacks are selling out the "bad"? Politics makes strange bedfellows.

Black Woman
Los Angeles

Black school teacher Yvonne Golden, arrested "for inciting to riot" when she demanded the San Francisco Board of Education evict 13 uniformed Nazis who were advocating genocide of Blacks and

Jews, has just had her case dismissed after her second trial. She is now suing for false arrest and her hundreds of supporters are working with her on a petition to ouster Board President Hopp, as a bigot and racist, who would do everything in his power to prevent decent education for the children of this city. She said: "It's a cop-out to say my struggle is a Black struggle, it's not. It's not a woman's struggle. It's not a teacher's struggle. It is a human struggle!"

Activist
San Francisco

MIDDLE EAST MASSACRES

Assassination and retaliation of and against innocent people. The current situation in the Mid-East—in Quiryat She-mona and in Ma'alot and the refugee camps in Lebanon, with more to come—cannot be justified on either side. The reprehensible tactics of the Palestinian guerrillas, who think of themselves as revolutionaries, but who are, in fact, in Hitler's league, accomplish only the massacre of their own people by the equally inhuman acts of the Israeli government. The only purpose served is in uniting the people on each side against the other, and preventing real revolution. Peace will come only when the people control. It cannot come from genocide.

Supporter
Detroit

CUBAN REALITY

On the April lead article on Latin America . . . The feeling among many Mexicans towards Cuba is very positive and hopeful. I can't agree with the idea that the hope is or should be by now "sour." I agree with the two concluding paragraphs, that "seeking solutions among other big powers" is not the real solution to the "struggle to escape from U. S. domination." But all countries need some international trade (Cuba needed a lot, being a one-crop economy) and military defense against foreign enemies (again, Cuba was and is in a position more vulnerable than other countries).

These needs, I believe, explain Cuba's relations with the Soviet Union. I'm sure Castro's government would not exist to-

day if the Cuban leaders had chosen to fend for themselves. There seems to be reason to believe that the close relations with USSR can be relaxed as the western boycott on trade with Cuba eases.

Student
Mexico

When I was in Cuba in 1970, there was still a lot of enthusiasm for the government, although people were very discouraged about meeting the impossible sugar quotas Castro had set. But now it appears conditions are still so poor and people are tired of waiting for the benefits of the revolution. I just met a young man who had been educated to be a scientist, and when he got out of school, he was told he had to be a fisherman. He took his fishing boat and sailed here.

Commune-dweller
Massachusetts

INFLATION

The Spring Offensive of the Japanese trade unions are all over. As a result of the general strike, workers in Government enterprises and big business won a sharp increase in wages. But the managers gave in knowing they could expect an increase in their prices. Workers of private railroad and airlines won an increase of 31 percent, but corresponding fare increases are now expected.

Correspondent
Japan

"Fight and switch" is the slogan around which 14 consumer groups and the Bay Area co-ops have decided to act in protest over the high cost of milk—which has gone up 16c per half gallon in one and a half years. As of Mother's Day all fluid milk is boycotted and only dry powdered milk will be used 'til prices are down. A family using half a gallon milk per day can save \$10.00 per month and get more nutrition too. Milk Companies are crying in their cream that the boycott will make them lose more money than they can afford! But all I can think of is their big Milk Lobby bribes to John Connolly, and their contributions to Nixon.

Consumer
Bay Area

Mexican students fight repression

Hermosillo, Mexico—Here in Hermosillo the University situation is no better. The "temporary" president, who has willingly enforced the new law stripping students of any university representation, has taken virtually all administrative power into his own hands, and is still in office—now a month past the supposed date of election of a new president in the University Council.

Three hard-line politicians have declared willingness to be candidates, but the only person who would be an acceptable political compromise has declined to be a candidate. This perhaps explains why the election date was postponed, as the incumbent president seems to have reached his limits with the State's governor, who would like to maintain peace on all sides.

21 PROFESSORS RESIGN

Perhaps the biggest annoyance to both the University president and the governor in the past month was the resignation of 21 professors of the School of Engineering in February of this year. They protested when the popular director of the school was removed and an ex-army captain, who is not even an engineer was put in his place.

That whole episode lasted about six weeks, in which time there was much discussion in the local press, and articles and paid publications — even in the largest Mexico City newspapers—exposing the dictatorial tactics and down-right unpolished political maneuvers of the University administration in Sonora.

STUDENTS SLANDERED

In an attempt to scare any remaining politically active students from the State and to discourage the activity of new leaders within the University community, the government, through the local press, is currently running a campaign to show that students in general are involved in crime: car-thefts, hold-ups, stealing guns — and police killings.

Last week, two policemen were shot and killed in nearly the same district of town. These were the latest in a series of four policemen shot dead since January. Each time the press has accused students, with or with-

out even circumstantial evidence, and in every case, out of line with legal proceedings.

Two years ago the press campaign was drug addiction among students. That never died out completely, but last year the strong solidarity within the University community and the presentation of a legally brilliant bill to the State Congress for the deliberation of a new University administration law forced the negative publicity into the background. For the meantime, it seems that the legislation of a fascist law instead of the proposed one was the trick that put the anti-student sectors back in power.

— Correspondent, Mexico

This is job training?

The following was written by a young man in a Job Corps training center in Indiana. This is an account of the "training" he is getting.

Edinburg, Ind. — The day of a Corpsman in Orientation begins at 5 a.m. Suddenly two lights come on and the wing commander yells, "Alright, you lazy b . . . s, get your feet on the floor." So I roll out of bed.

Then I make the bed with hospital corners and as stiff as a board. Because if it's not done right, the wing commander tears it up and gives you a 510 form — for which they deduct \$5 from your paycheck.

After breakfast I stand by my bunk waiting to be assigned morning detail. This morning I get the job of sweeping the wing of the building, which is the easiest job of the whole detail.

Then the dorm advisor comes in to inspect the place and tells us that we aren't going to class today, but are going to the base hospital to get physicals. So out in the rain we go in a two-line column headed for the hospital. We stand up and wait in lines of 40 guys each, then go room to room getting examined, and shot, and losing blood.

We all have to wear uniforms, and they issue us all shoes and a bag of clothes. In my stuff there is a note that says my shirts weren't ready and I can get them in about a week. Till then I will have to wear issue T-shirts because all my civilian clothes are now in security.

After dinner we have details at 6:30. I get the job of buffing the hallway.

The staff is forced to live with the policies of the government and Westinghouse Learning Corporation, which operates this camp. We do not get newspapers or anything and are completely cut off from the outside.

— Corpsman

Youth picket V.P. Ford

San Jose, Cal.—About 1000 people showed up April 20 outside the state Republican Convention to picket the Nixon Administration and its lackeys. Gerry Ford, Ronnie Reagan, and Rocky Rockefeller were the featured speakers at the convention which was to endorse Republican candidates for office.

The demonstrators marched on the Le Baron Hotel chanting "Throw the Bums Out!" and generally razzing all the delegates. They carried signs reading "Ford is not a better idea!", "The Blood of Attica is on Rocky's Hands!", and "Botulize Reagan!" The last one referred to Reagan's statement about the Bay Area's food giveaway program for poor people in February that "maybe a case of botulism should go around." A group of 50-year-old VFW delegates came outside with martinis in their hands to yell at the protestors. Everyone got a laugh out of that.

The demonstration started and ended peacefully. Hopefully the people there will go back home and actively work to throw not only Nixon out of office, but to end capitalism as well.

—Bay Area Militant

Fight college aid cuts

Brooklyn, N.Y.—Students at Brooklyn College have been fighting against the budget cut-backs in SEEK, EOP, and EOG, which are financial and counseling programs for poor and minority students. A number of demonstrations have been held, including picketing of a speech by Mayor Beame.

As of now a coalition of about 50 white, Black, and Puerto Rican students are involved. We will continue research and activity planning during the summer so we can be ready for action by the beginning of the fall '74 term. There's a level of unity between white and Third World students that has not been seen for many years.

The struggle also involves the threat of tuition throughout the City University system, as well as a cut-back in open admissions. Whereas the present budget cuts affect principally Black and Puerto Rican students, a cut-back in open admissions would affect primarily white students, and tuition would affect all students.

All students of other branches of CUNY interested in building a broad coalition to save free, quality, integrated public education should contact: Emily Filardo, at 434-0779.

—Brooklyn College Student

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

justly know that . . . this concept has powerfully expressed the double character of alienation among oppressed blacks. So this concept, for a given moment in the story of decolonization, became the affective reply of the black man, exploited and humiliated and facing the global contempt of the white colonist . . .

Thus negritude, in the best sense of the word, was the cultural operation by which the black intellectuals of Africa and the two Americas recognized the validity and originality of Negro-African cultures, the aesthetic value of the black race, and the capacity for respective peoples to exercise the right to historical initiatives that colonization had completely suppressed. Negritude, in its most authentic sense, was at the outset (in the poetry of Césaire, for example) the influence upon consciousness of the fact that the proletarian black is doubly alienated: alienated on the one hand (like the proletarian white) by being endowed with a workpower that is sold on the capitalist market; and alienated on the other hand by having a black pigmentation, alienated, that is, in his epidermical singularity. Negritude was the consciousness of this double alienation and of the historical necessity to go beyond it, by means of a revolutionary praxis.

WE MUST not forget, with respect to racist dogma, that in the eyes of a great majority of Whites, the permanent crime of the black man (besides his proletarian state) is that of his light-color. This odious mystification at an ideologic level continues to be a weapon one runs into in the United States, in South Africa, in Rhodesia, used against Blacks. The epidermical singularity of the black or scorned man, instead of being taken for what it is, that is, one of the objective accidents that the history of humanity teems with, becomes a malefic essence, the sign of an absolute evil of the black social being in the consciousness of all the slavers of the world — the mark and stigmata of an unremissable inferiority. We've given a metaphysical and aesthetic significance to the color black as we have to the color white . . .

Negritude, in literature, in art as in ethnology and history was from its inception a form of authentic revolt opposed to the contemptible manifestations of racist dogma in the world. It was colonization which through gun, gunshot, and blood had opened the bleeding white-black contradiction in the very wombs of universal history, in order to conceal and thereby justify the goings-on of capitalist exploitation. Negritude posed the necessity for going beyond that contradiction, not through a new mythic operation, but by way of a revolutionary praxis that was collective. Unfortunately, more often than not, the concept of negritude has been utilized as a myth which serves to conceal the presence of black bourgeoisie on the scene . . . and as any class which oppresses another class, it has need of an ideologic mystification to cover up the real nature of its established connections within the society.

TODAY, with mystificators both black and white, negritude implies the absurd idea that the Black is endowed with a particular "human nature", endowed with an essence that might only belong to him, and in that respect, he is called upon, according to a publicist like Janheinz Jahn, to lend to Europe and the West I don't know what sort of "supplemental soul-life", which occidental civilization is in need of. For the president of Senegal, the poet Leopold Sedar Senghor, "emotion is black and reason Greek."

In such a way all class contradictions are drowned in abstraction, and the black bourgeoisie of Africa and America can securely and with the blessing of neo-colonialism freely exploit the black workers in the name of a spiritual commune . . . According to this elementary and insolent logic, negritude as thus understood, far from articulating a revolutionary enterprise of total dis-alienation and decolonization of Africa and the two black Americas, merely arrives at covering up the fact that it is one of the columns holding up the cunning, snares and perfidious actions of neo-colonialism. Separated from the historical context of revolution across the board of the Third World, arbitrarily separated from the immediate exigencies of the global, tricontinental struggle of under-developed peoples against imperialism and neo-colonialism, negritude defines an unacceptable "black zionism" with the help of which we would here like to dismiss black peoples from the duty of making revolution.

Join the campaign to unconditionally amnesty all war resisters. Follow the amnesty movement by subscribing to AMEX. Donations are badly needed!

Subscribe today to:

AMEX/CANADA

Published by Americans Exiled in Canada

P.O. BOX 189, STATION P

TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA M5S 2S7

Introductory offer:

Two special issues—\$1 or free with one year

subscription

One year — \$5/individual

\$7/overseas

\$8.50/institution

Two years — \$7.50/individual

PUBLICATIONS OF NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

- 1—American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Includes "Black Caucuses in the Unions," by Charles Denby 75c per copy
- 2—Notes on Women's Liberation—
We speak in many voices \$1 per copy
- 3—China: Voices of Revolt
Excerpts from Sheng-wu-lien 35c per copy
- 4—Russia As State-Capitalist Society
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy
- 5—Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution
Report direct from Prague 50c per copy
- 6—U.S. and Russia Enter Middle East Cockpit
By Raya Dunayevskaya 50c per copy
- 7—Black, Brown, Red 75c per copy
Black, Chicano, Indian Freedom Struggles
- 8—Polish Shipyard Workers Revolt Against Communist Party Leaders
Smuggled out of Poland 25c per copy
- 9—France: Spring 1968
Eyewitness Report by Eugene Walker 10c per copy
- 10—Mao's China and the 'Proletarian Cultural Revolution'—
By Raya Dunayevskaya 25c per copy
- 11—Workers Battle Automation
By Charles Denby 50c per copy
- 12—Culture, Science and State-Capitalism
By Raya Dunayevskaya 25c per copy
- 13—News & Letters—
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year \$1 per sub.
- 14—Also Available from News & Letters:
MARXISM AND FREEDOM by Raya Dunayevskaya
New British edition with special preface
By Harry McShane \$3 per copy
New French Edition with special introduction
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$6 per copy

MAIL ORDERS TO:

News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Det., Mich. 48207

Enclosed please find \$ for the following:

Please add 15c to each order for postage and handling.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

(Please circle number corresponding to literature desired as listed above)

Name

Address

City State Zip

BLACK-RED VIEW

Portugal and the African revolution

By John Alan

General Antonio Spinoza and his junta, who ousted the dictatorship of Marcello Caetano in Portugal, are based in that section of the army and the Portuguese ruling class who have come to the realization that the revolution in the African colonies can not be defeated, and they must salvage whatever they can out of the African debacle.

This salvaging of the colonial areas would be endangered if the long years of opposition to the Caetano government — opposition such as that which the youth and working class has shown by fleeing the country to evade the draft — was transformed into a spontaneous revolutionary opposition without the possibility of holding it within the bounds of the legalized Socialist and Communist parties.

PLAYING WITH DEMOCRACY

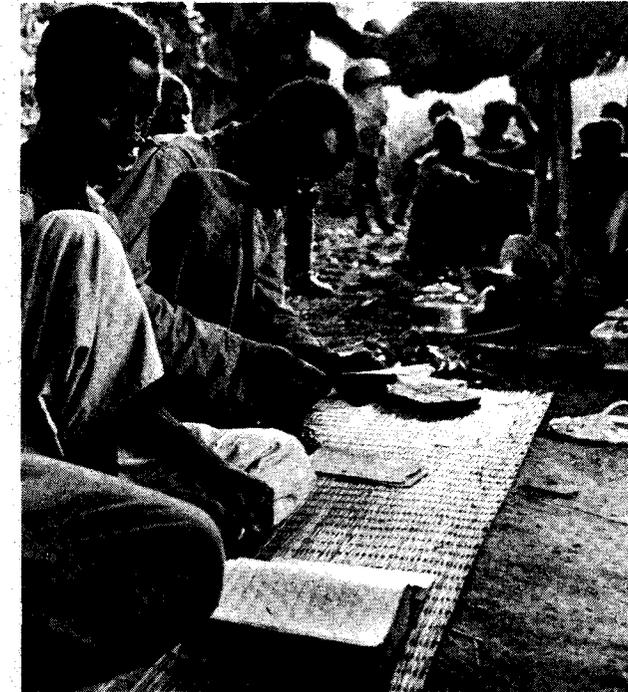
Spinola has made gestures in the direction toward democracy by removing the most obvious oppressive policies of Caetano, by disbanding the hated secret police, unmuzzling the press, permitting public demonstrations and allowing exiled Socialist and Communist party leaders to return home. This will permit the Socialist and Communist parties to act "legally" and become vital members of the Portuguese cabinet.

To date, Spinola's playing with "liberalism" has paid off. Neither the Communists or the Socialists are making any move to rock Spinola's boat. Both of these parties now hold positions in the military junta government, and their acceptance of such posts can only mean that there is a working agreement among all the parties involved.

"SCOUNDRELS AND IMPERIALISTS"

It has been reported that Mario Soares, the Socialist leader, will become Foreign Minister. This would not be unusual because Soares has already indicated his position; "... that the right of white settlers must be protected" in Portugal's African territories in any agreement between the guerrillas and Lisbon. He supports the general policy of Spinola, which only offers "internal independence" to Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, while foreign, fiscal and military powers would remain in the hands of Lisbon. This is DeGaulism all over again!

These types of Socialists and Communists, in an oppressor country, who would tie strings to the struggle for self-determination of an oppressed country, are



—LNS photo

People's school in liberated area of Guinea-Bissau

enemies to the internationalism of workers and oppressed peoples, or as Lenin dubbed them, "as scoundrels and imperialists."

NO COMPROMISE FOR FREEDOM

The winds of democracy which are blowing in Portugal are not due to General Spinola (a man whose entire life has been devoted to serving totalitarianism in one form or another) but flow from the 13 years of struggle for freedom which the Africans have been fighting, against horrible reprisals, to end Portugal's 600 year old entrenched oppressive presence on the African continent.

Portuguese workers, youth, and women can only expand and safeguard their new freedom by demanding and supporting a policy of no compromise of the African revolution, whether it emanates from Spinola, the Socialists or the Communists.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Mayor Charles Evers in Greenville, Miss., whose brother was gunned down by a racist white only a few years ago, came out with even worse statements. I cannot help wondering if that is not all involved in the way Evers is playing around with Senator Kennedy — who is playing around with Wallace.

The Black masses are now questioning all their leaders — even Andrew Young, who came to Alabama to fight those Black leaders who had capitulated to Wallace, even Julian Bond and John Conyers, who are continuing to fight against racism. We want to know if these leaders are already going in for "big politics" instead of the mass demonstrations that were the only way we ever won any advances. We want to know if the leaders will always be separated from the masses. We want to know if we can't work out a different relationship, based on a unity of workers and intellectuals for total freedom.

FORCE AND REASON OF REVOLUTION

It made us sad to see someone like John Hulett, who had been such a fighter against Wallace, trying to explain his actions by saying Nixon had made it impossible to get funds for Black clinics without having to go begging to Wallace. But it felt good to hear that many Blacks in Lowndes County opposed Hulett's actions. They were yelling, "Why in hell didn't he call a meeting to hear what we had to say?" And Hulett, himself, reported that the great majority of Blacks in the county voted against Wallace.

Some are saying it is only opportunism that has caused the revolutionary leaders of yesterday to turn into their opposite. I feel it is more than that. It is a question of losing faith in the masses in action as force and Reason. Once you have lost your philosophy of liberation — which is based on that — you automatically end up wheeling and dealing.

In Detroit at the recent meeting of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the biggest ovation was given to William Lucey, President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. He blasted Wallace as being the same racist he always was, who has not said one word against Nixon or indicated any regrets for his previous actions against Blacks. And they gave Lucey a standing ovation when he attacked by name Michigan's AFL-CIO president Tom Turner, who was in the audience, for suggesting that workers support Wallace in 1972.

The Black workers were saying: If you don't stand up for the principles of freedom, for uprooting this capitalist society with its unemployment and racism, we will remove you from office just as easily as if your face was white.

As others see us

Philosophy & Revolution reviews score urgency of philosophy today

The UCLA Daily Bruin, April 15, 1974

Despite the stagnation and impasse of the socialist movement in the latter half of the twentieth century, there have been disappointingly few attempts at a serious re-evaluation of the theoretical legacy of Marxism. Although various leftist sects still offer variations on what they consider the original theme (the most popular being those following in the political footsteps of Mao and of Trotsky), any thorough-going effort to analyze the essence of the Marxian perspective has been noticeably absent. The latter-day versions of Marxism . . . have transformed a philosophy of freedom into a pseudo-scientific dogma, and turned what is basically a methodology into a tactical program. Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* is needed critique of what passes for Marxism today that offers in its place . . . a philosophy of freedom that is humanist and rooted in the continuity of history itself.

Dunayevskaya's approach . . . is to take up the question of methodology as basic for any evaluation of theory . . . Contrary to those who see discontinuity between Hegel and Marx, Dunayevskaya stresses the underlying continuity of philosophy . . .

Philosophy and Revolution begins with Hegel and describes the development of the dialectic by Marx into a theory of working class revolution. What allowed Marx to discover his "new continent of thought" is the recognition that the "masses" in history have to be viewed not as objects but as self-determining subjects . . .

Significantly, while contemporary French philosophers such as Althusser are working out a positivist, structuralist interpretation of Marxism, Dunayevskaya insists that socialism must be seen, as it was by Marx, as a stage in the self-development of the human subject. Would-be Marxists who concentrate only on the objective system of capitalism miss this dimension entirely.

Although her admiration for Lenin's philosophic integrity tends to exaggerate the importance of his private pronouncements at the expense of his political actions, her position on Lenin is both unique and open-minded.

Even the philosophic reactions to the dogmatization of Marxism have not broken with the tendency toward elitism and separation from practice. Sarte himself, Dunayevskaya notes, has realized that existentialism by

itself has reached a dead end.

One wishes that the *Philosophy and Revolution* had also analyzed thinkers such as Korsch, Lukacs, Horkheimer, Adorno, and the school of phenomenological Marxism. Yet if Dunayevskaya had confined herself to a solely theoretical, intellectual critique of philosophic "alternatives," her work would not transcend the current impasse of the left. There can be no purely theoretical solution to what is fundamentally a disjuncture between theory and practice . . . *Philosophy and Revolution* should accordingly be read as a ground-breaking contribution to this task of Praxis: the uniting of thought and action.

—Kenneth Rasmussen

Peace News, April 5, 1974, London, England

The name of Raya Dunayevskaya is well known to the libertarian left. She was secretary to Leon Trotsky during the period of the infamous Moscow Trials, but broke with him at the signing of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, declaring that Russia, far from being a "degenerated workers' state" was in fact "state capitalist." This break stimulated Raya to "dig deeper" into the philosophical problems of revolution, and her work cannot be ignored by the serious student of revolutionary politics.

Raya begins her study by looking again at Hegel, and asking the questions:

"Why is it that now, in the 1970s, everyone is re-discovering Hegelian dialectics?"

"Why do the enemies of freedom go out of their way to de-bunk Hegel?"

"What is the positively revolutionary basis of Hegel's philosophy that both Marx and Lenin found so essential to an understanding of capitalism and socialism?"

The text is not easy going, and Ms. Dunayevskaya is inclined to assume much knowledge in her readers, but she succeeds in demonstrating quite clearly that, right or wrong, Marx's Capital is incomprehensible without familiarity with Hegel's philosophy of "the dialectic of negativity."

Trotsky, Mao and Sarte are each subjected to ruthless criticism before she moves on to the problems facing the third world and the "dialectics of liberation." The positive achievements of the grass-roots movements against the ruling classes of the world (Hungary 1956,

Paris 1968, Black Power, etc.) were possible only because they were independent of all political organisations, all of which are part of the "total" apparatus of exploitation.

Her interpretation of the dialectic sees everything in motion, "becoming" its opposite, "transcending" itself, or in concrete terms, all organisations of liberation (trade unions, political parties everywhere) becoming instruments of, part of, the ruling class. The very first step in the liberation of humankind depends on the realisation that any support for any of these institutionalised structures serves only to strengthen the ruling class.

—Bob Potter

From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao

Philosophy & Revolution

By Raya Dunayevskaya

Hard cover: \$8.95 A Dell Publication
 Paperback: \$2.95

Order from: NEWS & LETTERS, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207

In Britain, order from: Harry McShane, 31 Balbeg St., Glasgow SW1, Scotland.

Name
 Address
 City State Zip

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory

Germany: the fall of Willy Brandt

The sudden resignation of Willy Brandt, sparked by the fact that an East German spy (Guillaume) had worked his way into the Chancellor's entourage, was greeted everywhere as the act of a very honorable man. The speed of less than ten days with which the ruling Social Democratic Party had elected its Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt to replace Brandt was greeted even more joyously. And no one in "the West" shed any tears that there would be a slowing down of the Ostpolitik.

None of these three things, however, touch the real situation. There is no doubt that Willy Brandt is an "honorable man," and there is no reason whatever to reduce that to a comparison with the corrupt Nixon. Honor is not just the opposite of corruption. What does give Brandt a place in history is neither this nor getting the Nobel prize for initiating Ostpolitik. The courage and integrity of the man resides in the fact that he was an open anti-Nazi from the moment Hitler came to power. Precisely because he had fought Hitler, he could face reality: Germany had lost the war; Germany was

divided; Russia, the superpower, had set new borders throughout East Europe.

This facing of reality, moreover, came at moments of great economic crisis when trading would help the economy. It doesn't do so now; the disappointment insofar as any free move between the peoples of East and West Germany is concerned is rankling the people; the Berlin Wall is more impenetrable than it ever was. And there is a new type of crisis ever since the Arab-Israeli War and the quadrupling of oil prices.

The timing of the change in rulers may have been accidental, but Helmut Schmidt has been planning this move to the right for quite some time. Far from having any anti-Nazi stamp in his background, Helmut Schmidt had joined the Hitler youth. It is true that, while a P.O.W. in Great Britain, he had been converted to socialism. So much a part of the right wing of that party has he always been that their move away from Karl Marx and class struggle led him to call Jusos, the youth group of his

own party, "drivel," when they opposed it.

As for his being a "friend of the U.S.," it holds only to the extent that he is anti-Russia. All one has to do to sense his global outlook, especially his German national outlook, is to read his own words in the April issue of *Foreign Affairs*. Germany was not, of course, alone in the speed with which it capitulated to the Arab demands during the energy crisis; France bent lower and got less for it. Europe had quite literally gone to pieces.

Where others at least didn't deny that those kingdoms and sheikdoms were using oil as a "political weapon," here is the way the German intellectual-ruler turned this around: "in essence, the oil price issue is not one of a clash over the Suez Canal, the West Bank, or Jerusalem." The Shah of Iran couldn't have put it better.

This Chancellor will cook us a peppery dish, unpalatable most of all for the German people, and especially the youth whom he has already designated as "drivel."

World food crisis

There is much talk in the UN of a world food crisis of staggering proportions. While the prices of most exports of underdeveloped countries have remained relatively stable, the prices of vital imports like food, oil, and fertilizer have skyrocketed. UNICEF warns that the threat of severe malnutrition and starvation hangs over 400 to 500 million children in the Third World.

While human needs have always been, at best, a side issue in the world economy, the Nixon-Kissinger vision of global dominance is particularly single-minded in putting profits before people. The severe famine forecast for much of southern Asia and Africa is a result of the U.S. policy of extorting the most for its most vital commodity—food—as well as the U.S. oil cartels' engineered energy crisis in partnership with the oil kingdoms.

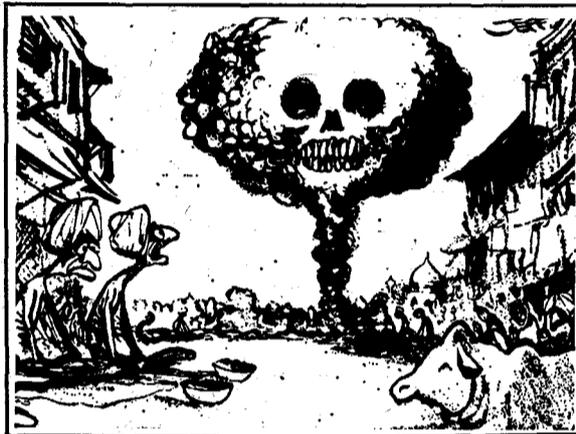
The so-called "Food for Peace" program is now at 3.5 million tons, down from the minimal 1972 levels of 9.5 million tons. While there are no reserves for this human emergency, some more creative accounting of the Pentagon has been exposed by Senator Fulbright—the Pentagon has been secretly building a \$1 billion reserve of weapons to be used in a "military emergency" in Asia.

India—strikes and bombs

India's railway workers are conducting a massive strike in spite of the unprecedented rounding up and jailing of over 7,000 union leaders by Indira Gandhi's government. The mass jailing of union leaders, which began only because a strike was threatened, was the government's answer to the workers' demand for a wage scale and benefits on

the level of other government employees.

The government insists that it has no resources to raise wages amidst galloping inflation and to provide food to ward off famine. However, its program



Isn't science wonderful — —it's cured my appetite.

of massive military allocations has culminated in shocking the world with its announcement of an explosion of an atomic bomb. India's rulers are determined to make the workers pay the full price of world inflationary food and oil prices even if it means mass starvation and packed jails.

The more-than-two-million striking railway workers have been supported by countless sympathy strikes involving millions of workers. There also have been sporadic food riots and, just before the railway strike, mass demonstrations and strikes against rising prices. As the national crisis deepens, so does the gap between the Indian masses and their rulers with their big power illusions.

'Samizdat'

The Chronicle of Current Events, the newsletter of the Russian underground movement, has started up again despite the continuing brutal repression of the K.G.B. which had forced it to disappear for eighteen months. The newsletter is circulated by individuals painstakingly retyping copies and passing them on. They are called "samizdat."

That the movement for freedom is unconquerable is further proved by the following report we have just received from East Europe.

* * *

What could be called a socialist opposition in Czechoslovakia is a loosely structured movement with no strict organizational forms. This may be both because of differences in ideas and for fear of police infiltration. Nevertheless, and in spite of being limited mostly to larger cities, the movement is rather broad and includes representative sections of all classes.

Connected by different issues of "samizdat" (which have been circulating fiction of prohibited authors both domestic and foreign, as well as copies of journals of emigration published abroad and smuggled to Czechoslovakia) and by personal contacts, circles of "oppositionists" remind one of Marxist circles in pre-revolutionary Russia.

The movement, latent but far from dead, has different intensity in the two republics. It is less conspicuous in Slovakia and more prominent in the Western parts of the country. The reason is their different evolution both economic and political, as seen in 1968.

Nixon transcripts shock U.S. people, reveal neo-fascist campaign

(Continued from Page 1)

succeeded in re-electing Nixon by a "landslide", despite the fact that the Watergate burglaries had been uncovered in the very midst of the election campaign—in 1973, the fiasco of a so-called "Vietnam peace" combined with increasing recession made the electorate take a second look not only at Nixon, but at themselves.

Whereas, in 1972, they were willing to believe that it was only Nixon's surrogates who were guilty, in 1973 the open hearings of the Ervin Committee and endless inflation resulted in both disassociation from Nixon and independent mass movements, as wildcat strikes erupted across the land.

The climax came in October '73, with the Middle East war, when the distrust and the disgust with the energy crisis, piled on top of inflation, piled on top of recession, was so strong that none even believed the nuclear alert, and thought it just a trick of Nixon's to get out of the Watergate mess.

But none of this compared to seeing the actual transcripts. Nothing equalled their naked vulgarity.

THE OBSCENITY OF STATE-CAPITALISM

The vulgarity that is the most shocking is not the "four-letter words" that Jesuit Nixon-genuflector, Father McLaughlin, had the gall to call "therapeutic." The true obscenity is the degenerate state-capitalism for which Nixon was the perfect expression.

What could be more obscene than the devastation of North and South Vietnam, the napalming of their children, the invasion of Cambodia, the Christmas bombing of 1972—a blitz unparalleled in modern history? Far from the act of a madman, that was the act of a barbarian who represented the depravity of our state-capitalist age.

What could be more obscene than scrapping federal welfare programs at the very moment that unemployment was soaring? By now the unemployed number almost five million, which means five million families are without jobs to feed or clothe or house them.

And what could be more obscene than the fact that 20 years after the historic May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in schools, public schools in almost every major city OF THE NORTH are more segregated than they were before?

On the very anniversary of the 1954 decision, the Senate defeated by only a single vote an attempt to prohibit all court-ordered school busing, and passed a substitute Scott-Mansfield amendment scarcely better; while the House has already passed a bill that would not only prohibit any busing in the future, but permit the reopening of all previously settled school desegregation cases.

CONGRESSIONAL "GAMES"

Nixon was dead wrong in estimating the American people when he released his transcripts, but he certainly knows his Congress—and the class nature of the racism in both parties has never been more exposed than now. When a supposed "liberal" like Senator Mansfield co-sponsors such reactionary anti-busing legislation; when Edward Kennedy can embrace George Wallace; this country has not only not moved forward—it has moved backward to White Reconstruction at its worst.

That is why there is no reason to believe that Congress will necessarily vote for impeachment, despite all the pressure from below.

The mounting cry among Republicans to have Nixon resign surely comes in large part from wanting him out of the picture by election day 1974. And the pious urging

of the Democrats to "cool it" and let impeachment take its "legal constitutional course", is surely dictated, by and large, from a desire to have him still around on election day. Yet, since the transcripts were released, there has been a new feeling throughout the land that while Congress is still playing with impeachment, and while it may not yet be probable, it is for the first time possible.

The greater truth is that, necessary as it is to get Nixon OUT NOW—simply removing Nixon will not get rid of the decay around us. The Democratic Party is as state-capitalist, as racist, and as foul as the Republican—with or without four-letter words. The degeneration of state-capitalist society is so advanced, the stench of its disintegration so putrid, that only getting rid of the whole rotten system will permit creating a new, human society.

The original Marxist-Humanist analysis of modern society.

**Marxism and Freedom
From 1776 Until Today
by Raya Dunayevskaya**

Price: \$3.00, plus 25c postage

Order from: News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson
Detroit, Michigan 48207