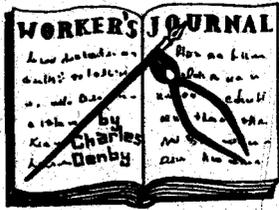


ON THE INSIDE

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Civil Rights impasse is in philosophy

by Charles Denby, Editor

I spent my vacation in Atlanta, Georgia several weeks ago. On our flight down, the pilot was announcing the altitude and speed we were traveling at. His voice sounded as though it was a "Black" voice. I mentioned this to a passenger sitting with me. He said he did not think Delta had Black pilots.

On my return flight, I noticed a white stewardess leading passengers on board. I was last in line. A Black man in a pilot's uniform was speaking to everyone, and I asked him if he was our pilot. He said yes. Then I told him the flight I came down on and the date, and asked if he was our pilot then. The answer was yes. I said good, how many Black pilots does Delta have? He said 17, and I said great.

He said, "What's so great about that, when you think of 3,000 white pilots for the company and only 17 Blacks, and the struggle we had to go through to get that many. But I want to leave this with you, that we are not stopping at 17. We have just begun to fight."

Many Black leaders and intellectuals today are saying that integration is a dead issue, and that Blacks did not achieve anything out of the civil rights struggles of the 1960's. One would have to wonder what world they are living in.

The neighborhoods in Atlanta seem to be integrated more than any other city I have been in. Even the huge new apartment houses in many of the suburban neighborhoods around Atlanta are fully integrated.

WHERE IS SCLC HEADED?

In Atlanta I attended two SCLC meetings. There was much discussion about Rev. Abernathy's proposed resignation, where SCLC was headed, and how they had come to this dead end. It is because they missed the unity of theory and practice, philosophy and revolution. The present difficulties are not only the lack of funds, but the lack of a unifying philosophy.

Its origins were in Rev. King's trying to express a philosophy of freedom in restricted terms by raising the tactic of non-violence to a fetish, an overriding principle that could not be tampered with—even though all his actions, because they were mass actions, and had such great enemies as the Bull Connors, surely contradicted his principle of non-violence.

Rev. King did try to bring in a humanist philosophy. It was not Marx's humanism, but it was total. He used the saying of the great Jewish philosopher Martin Buber in answering those clergymen who were critical of him in Birmingham, Alabama when he said that everything depended on knowing that human relations are "I-Thou," not "I-It."

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Facing violence daily, UFW vows to win

Delano, Cal. — It's Saturday afternoon, Aug. 11, in Memorial Park in Delano, and a young Chicano and his wife, both members of the United Farm Workers Union, have just been paid their money by the union for picket duty against scab farm workers during the long week.

"You think that now that we've been paid our \$75 for picketing that we can maybe go out and relax and go to a restaurant or a dance and enjoy ourselves," says the young man, but then shakes his head. "But we can't. We can't because the Teamster goons and sheriff's deputies know most of us who have been picketing. And when they see us, they will pick a fight. It always ends the same way, with the pickets beat up and thrown in jail."

TWO PICKETS ARE SHOT

He continued, "It's the same thing in the fields. Like yesterday, when two pickets were shot. They weren't killed. One got shot in the head and had 12 stitches. The other was shot in the leg. But the thing is that just before the shootings, we saw the deputies talking to the growers and scab workers.

"When the deputies left, the shooting began. After it was over, the deputies suddenly were back to beat up and arrest the pickets for trespassing. And it's the same thing with the Teamster goons. When they're beating us up, the deputies are never around. When the beatings are over, they come around and arrest us."

Two young Chicanos invite us to visit a farm worker camp owned by DiGiorgio. It's a cluster of about a dozen closely set bare boxes that measure about 10 feet wide by 30 feet long, have a couple of small windows and one electrical outlet. Not even a light bulb is supplied. For this the workers are forced to pay \$50 a month.

10¢

NEWS & LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

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AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1973

Chrysler Mack wildcatters occupy plant; reject work conditions and UAW leaders



—News & Letters photo

Riot squad removes sit-downers from Chrysler Mack plant.

We are happy to turn over the lead article this month to a Chrysler Mack wildcatter, not only because NEWS & LETTERS is the form for workers to speak for themselves, but also because it is one more expression that true theory is rooted in the movement from practice. As against a mere criticism of the phony slogans of the UAW leadership, the Chrysler workers' wildcats challenged the basis of production and changed everything.—ed.

by Wildcatter

This morning, Tuesday, August 14th, at 6:30, I witnessed the most beautiful revolutionary action by some production workers that was ever demonstrated in the thirty years that I have worked in this plant. I wish that every older worker, especially those that were militant in the plant in opposition to the labor bureaucrats, could have seen it, too.

Some five workers were fired in the past week for not keeping up with production standards. On Tuesday morning, several of these discharged workers sneaked into the plant and went to their jobs, saying no one was going to do their operation; no one else was going to take their jobs away. They stopped the production line and then sat on their stools. Their foreman rushed up, and when he was told what was happening, he ran into the Superintendent's office and they called the plant guards.

PRINCE HATED BY ALL

They soon had to call the captain of the guards, who is a Black with completely "white" thinking. This guard's name is Prince, and the great majority of the 5,000 workers at Mack know his name and hate him, because of his past actions and attitudes against workers. He is responsible for more workers getting fired and disciplined than practically all the foremen.

Prince rushed up and collared one of the workers and started to drag him. Another worker swung an iron pipe up against his head and he went down in a puddle of his own blood. Another guard rushed in and he was likewise put down with a pipe.

Then the news began to spread to other departments and other floors all over the plant, and workers began rushing protection into 9780 to protect the fired workers and others. Management was so frightened that they began rushing all over the place and saying that a bomb was planted in the shop and was supposed to go off in thirty minutes, so you better get out quickly.

Workers in Department 9780, where the rebellion began, were saying that they were staying there and taking the plant over. They were yelling for their Chief Steward and Committeeman, but none of them would come. But the police came into 9780 and saw there were more than 100 workers, Black and white, who were protecting the ones that were fired. The police looked at them and then just left. They were scared too.

Most of us in the plant know that it did not just begin on Tuesday morning. For more than a month there have been serious complaints over working conditions, speed-ups and foremen riding roughshod over production workers. And there is not one damn thing our union Steward or Committeeman will say or do about it.

WORKERS CHASED FOREMAN

Several weeks ago, the news reported that our local president, Hank Ghant, burst into the national negotiations, and was yelling at Doug Fraser, telling him that if something was not done over the conditions at the Mack plant, they were in for serious trouble. It was because a white woman worker had chased a Black

(Continued on Page 3)

Sterilization of Blacks both racist and sexist

by Debbie Brown

Black women lack control over their bodies. The involuntary sterilization of two Black girls, ages 12 and 14, painfully illustrates this fact. Before the girls were sterilized they were treated with some dangerous birth control shots because county officials said that they were incompetent to take a pill every day.

The girls were sterilized, without their parent's consent, because the county did not want to risk any future additions to the welfare rolls. Although this is a particularly horrifying case because the girls are so young and have no children, there are many other cases where welfare women with children are coerced into being sterilized to stay on welfare.



Life in South teaches history and philosophy

I got an idea of history in part in relationship to what I read and saw and heard Rev. King do in opposing Gov. Wallace in the very state in which I lived. It was clear that even when you have as much power as Gov. Wallace, even when you're as stubborn as he in standing in the schoolhouse door, and even when you have all the police on your side, you can be forced to do other things. It's true Gov. Wallace never admitted that the action Rev. King led influenced him, but he was compelled to back down a little on the question of segregation.

To break up something, to fragment, is a big word and a lot of college people who use it don't really understand it. I want to give you examples from my own life as to what this means. I worked in a laundry in Dothan, Ala., in 1967. Most of the women that worked there lived around the man that owned it. He would charge them for bringing them back and forth. He only paid 75c an hour and didn't pay with a check.

If you needed money, he would loan it to you, charging interest. He then told his secretary to automatically take it out of your wages, and some times she would take it out twice. My mother confronted her with this, and she said she hadn't made any mistake. The boss tried to cover it up by paying my mother out of his pocket and saying she shouldn't tell the others. But she did, and they began to open their eyes as to how he had been cheating them all this time.

The point about this work and the White man's cheating is that it's just one tiny example of what it means as late as 1967 to be Black, to be a woman, to be in the South. You can see from this that the words "to fragment," to break up something into little pieces, is no so-called philosophy, but actual life.

Yet it is philosophy too, because it means thinking; it means opposing those people who misuse you so; it means looking for a different way out. When I met the people from News & Letters Committees, I found that way out, and it wasn't only because they understood me, but because they drew a link between Black struggles and white struggles.

I heard a lot here about how the unity of action is needed by a great many people. This is true and it gives each one a lot of strength. It puts an end to feeling alone, like a minority, without power. It makes you realize that you're not alone, that there are millions who feel like that.

I heard a lot, too, about "ideas." The idea of freedom. The fact that we all have ideas and that philosophy is not in school, but rather in our thought, and the fact that there are so many ideas of freedom.

The third thing is what is called "self-development." I never thought that I myself have something to give that is important to others, even as others have a great deal important to give to me. It's this feeling of growth that is really the greatest thing of all that any organization has to give, by just giving each one confidence in herself or himself.

—Tommie Hope

The reactions of officials and doctors involved in coerced sterilizations show that their only concern is money—if a person is on welfare they believe that the county has the right to control their lives completely.

Behind all of these excuses is an attempt to impose white cultural values and attitudes towards sex on all who live in the U.S.; in the Black culture, sex is just accepted as a natural part of life and children are children without any stigmas attached.

The lack of protest from the Women's Liberation Movement gives Black women increasing doubts about white feminists. The only publicized comment by feminists that I've heard was that they should have "done something" to the boys that were hanging around the young girls. Not only does this comment ignore the racism of the act but it also lacks a humanist feeling for the people involved. I'd feel just as outraged if they had done something to the boys or if the girls had been white. Nevertheless, the fact that they are Black is significant.

The solution is not to "do something" to the boys that hung around the girls but to give both male and female information about birth control and the freedom to choose when and how they want to use the information. Yet many Black men, including some in leadership roles, would rather deny all Black women the freedom to control their reproductive systems by declaring abortion to be genocide and birth control a racist plot.

Black women find themselves in a dilemma when they realize that there are plots to use birth control to keep the Black population down, yet it is impossible to have control over your body if you live completely without it. We resent those Black men who urge us to "breed" the next generation for the revolution. And we are in need of the women's liberation movement, yet reluctant to support something that doesn't seem to have our interests at heart.

(See "Women's Liberation, in fact and in philosophy," p. 5)

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 below.

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

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MONTREAL: Le Comite Humaniste-Marxiste de Montreal, PO Box 134, Montreal 600, Quebec
SACRAMENTO: PO Box 41322, Sacramento, Cal. 95841

WAY OF THE WORLD

Retirees starve under Nixon

by Ethel Dunbar

I cannot understand how it is possible for people in this country to exist that only get a social security check once a month, with food prices continuing to skyrocket every week. Many get less than \$150 a month, and there are also those that are unemployed. At the same time, this deceitful, lying President Nixon is saying that the American people never had it so good.

My husband gets a pension check from thirty years of work in an auto shop, plus his social security. We can barely exist on both of them, with just two in our family. Every month when I go to a grocery store and look at what little money is left, my deepest feeling goes towards those that only get half of what our check is.

The news has reported how many billions of dollars were spent on the Indochina War: how many tons of bombs were dropped—triple as many as in all of World War II—and how many dollars were spent to pay the soldiers. I feel sure the amount they gave out would be enough to supply every needy family in this country with enough food for the rest of their lives, even at the price food is today.

Many retirees that went to Florida, hoping to live better in the sunshine, are practically starving. They say older people are on fixed incomes, but there is no such thing. Our income has been cut back a third of what it was since my husband retired two years ago.

Yet there are some who say Nixon is not too bad. There is not a President in my lifetime, and none that I ever read of, as bad as Nixon. He is telling the housewives to quit yelling over the high food prices, or just to go to hell. How is it possible that people in small business, the middle-income, and any working people can say this President is not too bad, now with the exposure of his lies and conspiracies? I seriously wonder if we can make it for three more years of this Tricky Dick.

SF dockers debate contract

San Francisco, Calif.—The two-year longshore contract was accepted by a large vote, 5,901 to 1,359, and brought about some discussion on the docks among those who had opposed it. Quite a few brothers think the vote may be explained by the improved "Guarantee Plan," a clause that provides some pay in return for the "progress" in the industry that has cut heavily into the amount of work available.

Also mentioned was that the ultimate alternative to acceptance was tying up the coast with the same officialdom that was in control at the time of the weakly-conducted strike of 1971-72 (134 days).

Voting in this industry is usually a poor gauge of what's going on in the minds of the longshoremen, partly because a large number of those who do much of the basic work and get most of the unemployment, the "B" men, are excluded from the voting. Even the "Guarantee" discriminates against them—providing only pay based on 18 hours as against pay based on 36 hours a week for "A" men.

The big catch in the "Guarantee Plan" appears to be that it doesn't apply if there's an "illegal work stoppage" in the port. How typical this is of the trade union bureaucracy as a whole, to attempt to prevent control of the on-the-job situation with some money gimmick.

—San Francisco docker

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—We have only been back from model change a few weeks at Fleetwood. So far we have been working four and five-hour days, but we can already feel the speed-up. It is worst on the fourth and fifth floors and in the body shop.

The UAW contract negotiations are going on now but no one pays them much attention. It is the Chrysler wildcats that everyone is talking about. One worker told me, "I can see how workers could pick up pipes and take over a plant just over the actions of one brutal foreman. We have a couple right here at Fleetwood who would fire you over one lousy job an hour. Jerry Hatfield is the worst and Shelton Dalton is no better. When a foreman gets so bad the workers have to revolt against him the company will say he overstepped his bounds, but it is the company who trained him to do these things in the first place."

The UAW knows this is all true, not just at Chrysler or here at Fleetwood but in every auto plant. A friend of mine works at Dodge Main. He told me that a few days after the Mack plant returned to work, the UAW sent its "flying squad" over to his plant. They were bureaucrats and goons armed with clubs. There wasn't even anything happening there.

—Fleetwood worker

Ford Rouge

The situation at the Rouge Plant is grim for the actual builders of the Ford Mustang. The change in the '74 Mustang brings with it changes in job conditions on the line, changes invoked upon auto workers by management and tolerated by union leaders. The change in output proposed is from 60 units an hour to an eventual 84 units an hour. Workers were added at a few locations for assembly of the autos to be possible.

It is perfectly clear what management is conniving. They are continuing their policy of increasing output, sales and profits by reducing the work force and thereby the quality of the cars. In so doing, pressure is applied to the workers, and instead of solving mental and physical hardships as some companies claim they do, they cause them. The consumers are provided with an often defective product. The company is the cause of the lemon.

That union incumbents remain aloof to the situation is no chance matter. Rather than concerning themselves with gaining worker control of production, they take the path of least resistance—collaboration. But for the worker on the line this decision means speed-up, overtime, layoffs. We must make our unions responsive to our needs by flushing them of anti-worker, pro-company elements.

—Rouge Worker, Dearborn Assembly Plant

ATTENTION DETROIT AREA SUBSCRIBERS:

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

will speak on

"The Black Movement as philosophy and revolution"

An in-person preview of Chapter 9: "New Passions and New Forces" from her forthcoming book, PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION.

Sponsored by Michigan-Lowndes County, Alabama Movement.

Time: 3 P.M. Date: September 9

Place: 8329 Grand River (formerly Detroit Council of Organizations)

Chrysler Mack wildcatters occupy plant

(Continued from Page 1)

foreman all around the department with a two by four, and other workers were trying to help her catch him. This foreman just runs over people. Everybody is wrong but him. They used to have 75 workers on clean-up. Now they have 35, and they are working them too hard. If this woman doesn't get him, someone else will.

What most people who don't work at Mack now don't know, is that the Mack plant is 80% Black. The company has put on many Black foremen to pacify Black workers, but we soon learned that there is not much difference in these foremen, only in skin color. Many Black foremen push workers harder than some of the whites. We have some S.O.B.'s and we have to deal with the Black part of management the same as we do with the white. You can see that workers in Mack are beginning to do just that.

SITDOWN BY 200 WORKERS

After the police left, some 200 workers sat down in the plant with the workers who were fired. The union and the company began to yell that they were all Communists. Some two or three workers said they are members of some P.L. party, but most of us never heard of P.L. or know anything about its philosophy. But we all know about the working conditions, and the safety and the speed-up in the Mack plant.

Doug Fraser went on T.V. and said it was all "outsiders" who were causing the trouble at Mack. This is ridiculous. Do you think that one or two men can control the thoughts and actions of 5,000 workers at Mack?

None of these union leaders would come to the plant this morning. Workers demanded that Hank Ghant come to the plant and discuss their grievances. After getting word that he was not coming, they formed a committee of their own and went to the union hall. They forced him to come to the plant with them to talk over their demands and grievances. I can tell you that these were Mack workers, and not students as the union leaders have said.

As everyone knows by now, the workers who sat down held the plant for thirty hours, and many of us who had left the plant were supporting them. Chrysler had said that they would not call in the police to take

them out. But Fraser and the rest of the International UAW leaders kept calling for the police to come in. Finally about nine the next morning we heard that Lynn Townsend, the head of Chrysler, made a call from Louisiana to have the workers in the plant driven out at any cost.

About 10:30 a.m. hundreds and hundreds of police began arriving, with paddy wagons. They stormed the plant and took the workers out, and they arrested two workers they said were the "masterminds."

There was a meeting at the union hall right after the workers were taken out of the plant, with about 250 Mack workers there. There was a lot of yelling at Ken Morris when he got to speak, and finally several workers took the microphone away and told the demands, of the strike. But what really finished these bureaucrats at the meeting was Joe Zappa, the vice-president of Local 212, our local. He said, "I heard you say that the leadership is nothing without the membership. Maybe so. But don't forget that in this UAW the membership is nothing without the leadership. You can't do anything without us." After that, there was nothing else the leaders could do because of the commotion. Every worker there voted to strike.

(For a report on what happened at Chrysler Mack after the strike vote, see story below.)

Bulletin!

As we go to press, the UAW Executive Board has just voted to make Chrysler the target company in the national negotiations. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the powerful and frightening effect the wave of Chrysler wildcats has had on the union bureaucracy. Despite the new and tough-sounding talk from Woodcock, there is still no cause for any illusions about the kind of settlement that they intend to make. It will be a sell-out. The pages of News & Letters are open to all workers to tell their stories and ideas in this critical time. Send in your story now!

UAW leaders join company retaliation at Mack

by a Mack Worker

Detroit, Mich.—On Thursday, August 16, our International union paid for all the T.V. spot announcements the company wanted, pleading with every Mack worker to return to work on the first shift. We were under the impression that we would be returning to the plant as we have after any of the dozens of wildcats over the last 30 years.

But when we got there, we found lines of city police,

Striking Forge workers tell Fraser off at meeting

Detroit, Mich.—I went to the union meeting of the striking Chrysler Detroit Forge workers. The tension at the meeting was so sharp between workers and the officials you could practically touch it.

Those workers had been on strike for nearly a week against safety and health conditions in the plant. Half a dozen workers had received serious injuries. When the strike began, union leaders rushed in, yelling for the strikers to go back to work, claiming they were being led by agitators and Communists.

But, after workers showed solid support for the strike, the leaders changed their song and said the workers were justified. They went into the plants to investigate, then came out saying that they would authorize a strike action—but only if workers would go back in.

One worker really put Doug Fraser on the spot by saying that everyone wanted to hear from him first. Fraser was the only one who knew the result of the federal court order which banned union members from continuing the work stoppage. With that statement, Fraser began his plea to workers to return to work and to follow the rules.

Every worker that spoke was applauded heavily. The most effective speaker was a Black worker who was fired three days after the walkout. He talked about the need for unity between Black and white workers, saying that is the only way to make gains in the shop.

He told Fraser, "This union was organized for the same reasons we are striking now—because of inhuman working conditions, speedup and safety. Now all you can say to us is follow some rules. When a worker gets injured, those foremen just say, 'Well, you will get some money while you're out of work.' When a worker gets killed, they say, 'Well, his wife will get \$10,000.'

"You talked about how many rights workers have under this law which says you can strike over unsafe conditions, if it's authorized. I never heard of that rule before, and I'm sure that if workers begin to use it and refuse to work on a dangerous job, you, the company, and that Federal Judge will find some way to stop up that loop hole in the law which favors workers."

It was one of the best speeches I have ever heard.

over 1,000 union representatives and officers, and some 100 or more hoodlums who I'm sure never worked in any plant. All of them had small baseball bats or police billyclubs. They forced the strike pickets some four or five blocks away from the plant entrances. Some Mack workers even had to go through a screening test by the company and the union before entering the plant.

Our union had abolished the flying squadron about 16 years ago. They said it wasn't needed because the company and the union could work out their differences. In the early days these flying squadrons were organized to protect workers against company-hired scabs and gangsters. Today the UAW is hiring those same types for the protection of the company against workers.

The workers who were fired and some others were out there passing out a leaflet. Some of these union-hired hoodlums went over to them and began beating them up. It was really sickening to see five or six big men beating a smaller worker. A woman went to try to stop them and she kicked them. They tore most of the top of her blouse off. Some of our local leaders just stood there and watched the beating.

I was going to work, but after I saw this I turned away and went home and many others did the same. The big lie the union told on the TV news of 90% attendance in the plant on Thursday was unbelievable.

Since we returned to work, the retaliation by the company against workers has been very severe. They have fired practically every worker that sat in the plant last Tuesday night. Now they are firing many that were on the picket line outside the gate, and some who were not picketing but just looking on out of curiosity.

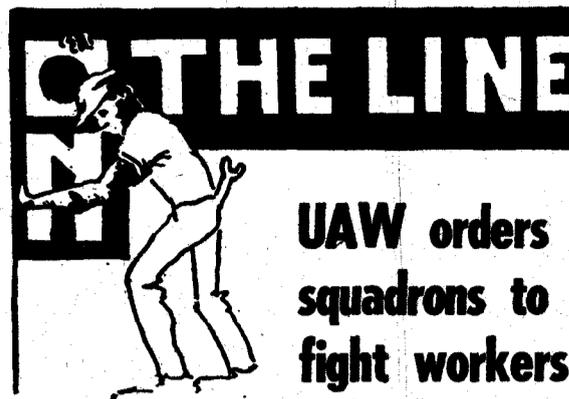
They are even trying to force workers to squeal on other workers that Chrysler can't recognize from the pictures that were taken around the plant when the strike was on.

Today they fired a woman with two years seniority, and she cried that she has four children to support and she took no part in the strike. She said she came by the plant on Tuesday to see what was happening and her picture was taken. The company seems to be telling us that the union is now completely on their side, and you workers who have complained of unjust treatment, we will show you what unjust treatment really is.

Many of us are also mad as hell with this young peoples organization called W.A.M. or P.L. We do have many serious grievances, and we have always had wildcat strikes at Mack, but for this W.A.M. to say that it was all their doing—their plan—and then rush in there to be the leaders of workers and to run up to TV cameras and reporters, this was a death blow to the strike. It took the union and the company off the spot.

Now the union will say that instead of fighting our grievances they will fight to get back workers who were fired. But I don't think you will see any fired workers with less than 10 years seniority coming back. The union is glad they are gone.

For us, I feel the immediate task is to get rid of these union leaders who have stolen the UAW, from the local level up to the International.



UAW orders squadrons to fight workers

By John Allison

The UAW acted as Chrysler's bully-boy at the Mack Plant in the recent wildcat. The President of Local 212 had earlier broken into negotiations and asked for help because of the unrest over the bad health and safety conditions in the Mack plant. They paid no attention to him. The only way the workers got any attention was to take matters into their own hands.

Young militant workers closed the Mack plant and secured it by sitting in. Management went to the Courts and the Police Department for help. The city's Top Cop, Commissioner Nichols, was on the scene playing the part of the bully-boy first.

The very next day the International officers, Local 212 and other local Flying Squadrons were at all the gates spilling for a fight. It is the first time in UAW history that the famed Flying Squadrons, which were organized to protect strikers against company scabs and goon squads, were used against striking rank-and-file workers.

The UAW at this point was openly supporting management's efforts to open the plant. Workers have always said there were two kinds of "capitalists" they have to deal with: management, and the union bureaucrats. The old name game is being played again by the UAW officials and Chrysler. They do a good job of name-calling, and labeled the strikers as reds, communists, union busters—you name it.

In the meantime a trial balloon is being sent up to keep the lid on Chrysler's Eastside plants. Ken Morris is the regional director of all the Eastside plants. The rumor is when he retires, Marc Stepp, who is Black, will be named director. This is supposed to be the tranquilizing drug to quiet the Black workers down.

But this kind of bureaucratic politics won't be bought in this day and age by the rank-and-file, both Black and White. They see right through this kind of shenanigans. They demand fighting action to protect their rights. Right now, that means changing the conditions of work, and the workers exploding in wildcats and sit-ins mean to change them—with or without the official UAW.

GM workers discuss Chrysler: 'Wildcat is our only power'

by Felix Martin

Los Angeles, Calif.—A lot of workers at my GM plant have been talking about the wildcats at Chrysler back in Detroit. They are saying that we are working for the wrong corporation. If we worked at Chrysler, at least the workers there have enough guts to stand up for their rights.

When you have wildcats, it means that workers are taking the situation into their own hands. It means that the union is not backing the workers.

Look at UAW Vice President Fraser's attitude. Here the International is taking the dues of the workers and telling them to go back to work. Fraser is telling Chrysler to "sweat out the strike" against the workers. Imagine our union telling the company to hold tight against the workers! Today I am not surprised by such an attitude of a union official. But years ago such an attitude not only would have been a surprise, but the union would have to get rid of any official who spoke like Fraser has.

The shop floor, where these wildcats began, is the key. It is here where our power lies. It is this power that contract after contract has taken out of our hands. The wildcat is the only power we really have left. The wildcats should be a sign to the leadership.

If the union has any desire to wage a fight to improve or control work standards and working conditions; if the union desires to fight to preserve our job security; if the union wishes to eliminate racial and sexual discrimination by the company; it must start by eliminating paragraphs 8 and 117—the "company discipline" and "no strike" dictatorial rights clauses from our contract.

The 90 day probationary period must be abolished from our contract. The only purpose for it is to give management the right to intimidate the new hire, to break the spirit and to use the new hire to increase production above levels a seniority worker would stand. We must demand a one day probation, with his or her rights protected by the union.

To protect our rights every day on the shop floor, we must have full and adequate representation. No one committeeman can represent 200 or more workers by himself. Our contract must give us the right to establish a line steward for every foreman.

EDITORIAL**U.S., RUSSIA, CHINA: 'WAR IS PEACE'**

Two days after he was inaugurated as President of the U.S. in January, 1969, Nixon, we first now learn, ordered the secret bombing of Cambodia. So much for the "secret plan for peace" on which he was elected.

What followed, moreover, was government by criminal conspiracy to consciously deceive the American people, backed up by deliberate falsification of facts and denial of the truth.

CAPITALIST DEGENERACY

So degenerate is American capitalist society that it can no longer even pretend to represent the principles of open government — a degeneracy which infects both Republicans and Democrats. It is grotesque to hear Senator Barry Goldwater insisting that Nixon tell the truth about Watergate — the same senator who was informed of the secret and illegal bombing of Cambodia and conspired in the five-year deception of the American people.

But more ominous is Nixon's determination to pursue his neo-fascist goals for America and the world. This determination was terrifyingly revealed in Nixon's speech before the Veterans of Foreign Wars convention on Wednesday, Aug. 22, and in his public press interview the next day, where he vehemently defended his secret bombing order and deception of the American people.

This stand, far from signaling peace for Indochina, sets a new stage in the global power struggle between the U.S., Russia and China for world domination. Though forced to halt the saturation bombing of Cambodia, Nixon knows that the U.S. presence in Indochina is assured because he can use Thailand as an "open" option to re-enter the Southeast Asian war at any time and any place.

STAGGERING COST OF WAR

The cost of the senseless Indochina war has been staggering. Over 55,000 Americans have been killed in South Vietnam, North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, while more than 500,000 were wounded or listed as miss-

ing in action. Nearly 200,000 South Vietnamese were reported killed, along with some 932,800 Viet Cong and North Vietnamese. There are no figures available on the number of Laotians or Cambodians killed. The cost in U.S. dollars totaled more than \$108 billion, which helped to pay for 3,100,000 tons of bombs dropped on South Vietnam; 2,080,000 tons dropped on Laos; 841,600 tons on North Vietnam; 545,000 tons on Cambodia — and the loss of 8,579 planes and helicopters.

And the result, far from ensuring peace, instead guarantees that war will continue by other means as the three super powers maneuver to fan national animosities between North and South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. They will sabotage any effort to unify the Indochinese peninsula. To point to either China or Russia as "better" than the U.S. in this situation is to sow pure illusion. Neither super power will support the aspirations of the Indochinese masses for peace and freedom from all imperialism, any more than they will support genuine freedom movements anywhere in the world.

On top of the Big Power deceptions comes Prince Sihanouk who played the neutral to the point of looking the other way when the U.S. bombed "North Vietnamese sanctuaries" in Cambodia. Now he is playing Mao's game in the Sino-Soviet conflict, not so much against Russia as against North Vietnam. (See "Our Life and Times," p. 8).

SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT AIDS IMPERIALISM

U.S. imperialism is the main enemy responsible for starting and maintaining the horrors of the Indochina war. But it is the Sino-Soviet conflict that permits the continuation of the U.S. imperialist influence in Southeast Asia, as well as in Europe. No less a personage than China's Premier Chou En-lai has told West Germany that it needs the American presence — obviously to confront Russia there, as well as in the Middle East, as well as in Indochina, and anywhere else that China can promote a confrontation between the U.S. and Russia.

Equally obvious is that both the U.S. and Russia are jockeying for world domination no less than is China,

each playing its game of nuclear confrontation, with the global aims of each setting the battle-lines-to-be throughout the world. Significantly, it is the Sino-Soviet conflict which has also completely disorganized the Left the world over that clings to a state power and cannot see the answer to a new world in the spontaneous and growing revolts of the oppressed everywhere who are opposed to all state power.

The fact is that the three global giants jockeying for world domination have made real today the chilling stage envisioned by George Orwell in his book 1984 — that "war is peace."

Indeed, it is the irrepressible revolt of the masses in their own countries which strikes fear in all the totalitarian capitalist rulers — state or private. It is that mass revolt, that continuing mass pressure alone, which can stay the hands on the nuclear buttons of those totalitarian rulers seeking world domination, and can once and for all put an end to the nightmare of "war is peace" and bring true peace to the world.

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WATERGATE: POLITICS OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The defense Ehrlichman is using is the same as that used by the German war criminals at the Nuremberg Trials, namely that anything is justifiable, permissible and legal if done in the name of the State, National Security, etc. It would allow the government to murder subversives legally as it has been doing illegally for years, and hundreds of other inhuman actions. If Roosevelt had taken such power during WWII it would have been perfectly legal for him to have ordered the mass murder of the thousands of Japanese-Americans held in concentration camps.

Alarmed
New York

It is appalling to see all those lawyers very carefully defend the rights of men who have admitted committing all kinds of crime, defend the rights of Nixon and other politicians against "hearsay testimony," but outrageously accept the attacks on the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, on all anti-war protestors and accept the implication that all protestors are terrorist.

One need not be a lawyer to know the difference between an "illegal" draft-card burner who openly puts his own life on the line and the "illegal" politicians who in the name of "patriotism" commit the most heinous of crimes.

I recently saw a woman, in an argument with a grocer over high prices, walk out of the store, giving the Nazi salute, yelling, "You know what Nixon is? He is Heil Hitler, that is what he is." She was more profound than the politicians sitting in Washington.

Angela Terrano
New York

The Nixon administration is playing for high stakes with its attempt to cover up all corruption and counter-revolutionary acts under the cover of "national security," and Ehrlichman daring to say that the Fourth Amendment has "eroded" in this country. His lawyer, showing his racism by calling Sen. Inouye "a little Jap" is actually displaying the deep racism and counter-revolution fighting to regain full steam ahead. We still have a lot of fighting to do, for

this aborted counter-revolution is still very much alive.

Revolutionary
Detroit

CHINA: 'MORNING DELUGE'

Raya Dunayevskaya's searching critique of *The Morning Deluge* by Han Suyin helps to redress the imbalance created by the highly favorable reviews the book received.

Intellectual
New York

No matter how many reports are brought back to us from China on how "great" everything is there, American workers would know in an instant what the situation is once they know what working conditions are like there. I saw a Chinese textile factory on TV, and I couldn't see any difference in either machines or workers from southern textile factories I've seen.

Working Woman
New York

Dunayevskaya's article on China in the recent issue of *New Politics* was tremendous. There is a typical irony in this age of state-capitalism that our counter-revolutionary Nixon finds his best friends to be the self-appointed leaders of the "Communist" world.

Secretary
New York

(Editor's Note: See ad p. 7)

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I definitely think that in high school you are conditioned to think that women are weak, stupid and helpless. I told my guidance counselor I wanted to be a lawyer. She said, "As long as it doesn't interfere with your natural career." I asked, "What's that?" She said, "Being a wife and mother, of course." I was absolutely shell-shocked!

Ever since then I have been involved in the Movement. . . . Now practically all men are afraid of me or try to change my thinking by saying, "It's white women's thing" or "You're already liberated, baby." Now how in the world can I be liberated when Black women are the lowest paid work force?

We have to re-educate males as well

as females to women's roles in society. . . . especially women my age (I'm 16) must change. "As long as I live I'm going to try to change. Change is an indication of life."

Young Black Woman
Massachusetts

The tragic sterilization of the two young girls in Alabama points up again how the government tries to take away every right of a person on welfare, especially if she is Black and a woman.

This made clear to me that the issue for women's liberation is not just one of legal abortion but of control of our own lives. It seems clear too that we must join together to take that right for ourselves because the government has no intention of giving it to us.

White Woman
Detroit

(Editor's Note: See Debbie Brown, p. 2)

WAR AND PEACE

Thousands of American "civilian" advisors remain in South Vietnam. The present Cambodian legislation does not prevent the U. S. from transferring Thai mercenaries into Cambodia as has been done in Laos. The only prohibitions are that U. S. troops cannot be used after August 15. The war is not over for the Indochinese people.

It is extremely important to keep the pressure on Congress to end all military activity by the U. S. in Indochina, and to work for the release of the 200,000 Saigon political prisoners and for economic aid to reconstruct all of Indochina.

War Resisters League
339 Lafayette St.
New York, N. Y. 10012

Thanks for your report of the Amnesty action conference. There is one correction on the figures of those needing amnesty. There are more than half a million vets with less-than-honorable discharges, but nobody has ever said there were more than 100,000 in exile at any one time, and we estimate there

Readers

are now between 30,000 and 40,000. Around 20,000 have immigrant status in Canada, and another 10 to 15,000 live here illegally. Pentagon figures show 134,000 deserters and AWOLs still at large and at least 40,000 draft law violators subject to prosecution. The great majority of them are underground in the U. S. This figure does not include activists who have been charged for anti-war activities other than draft refusal and desertion, for which the number could be very high.

AMEX
Toronto, Canada

There is to be another world conference in Moscow in October on "Peace." It is being really worked up by the C. P. at the Trades Council here. The real purpose is to give support to Russia at the European Security Conference. I attacked the idea that diplomats could solve the problem of war and peace, and went to town about the Hitler-Stalin Pact, Yalta and Potsdam.

Meantime there is Helsinki. I have watched the Russian publications closely. She has two main aims. First, she wants recognition of her possession of the Baltic States. Secondly, she wants Europe deprived of American nuclear support. The fate of Europe is being decided by the two great powers. This will give rise to greater European jingoism. All this makes the situation acute.

We have the situation that the arch-reactionary, Douglas Home, has been able to strike a heavy blow at the Russian bureaucrats by arguing for free association between the peoples, and for a common press. He knows the weakness of the Russians in this regard.

If war comes it will be a nuclear war. America's replacement of ground troops by bombs in Vietnam pointed the way. We cannot wait until the bombs begin to fall. Philosophy and Revolution will be timely. It comes when the issues are becoming clear enough for everyone to see.

Harry McShane
Glasgow

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

Excerpts from an abbreviated summary of a speech delivered at UCLA's Women's Week, in April.

OUR SECOND WOMEN'S movement has to realize both the continuity and the discontinuity from the first women's movement. The greatness of history is that in it you see your own age in a totally new light, and begin to know what to single out. For example, the greatest thing is the Black Dimension. The first women's movement arose from the anti-slavery movement. They were a different world from the slave society they were fighting against not only because so many of the Abolitionists were slaves who had followed the North Star to freedom, but because the entire relationship among the Abolitionists, their whole idea of freedom, was so different.

Take such a simple thing as one's name. We are all very conscious now of that, and a lot of us aren't using our husbands' or even our fathers' names. But way back in the early part of the 19th century, when one Black woman was asked her name she said, Sojourner Truth. They asked her how she ever got that name, and she said: I asked God and he said to sojourn, to travel all over the world and tell the story of how we are exploited, tell them about freedom, tell them the truth. So that is the name she took. Look at what a simple thing that is—a name. But it wasn't only that she didn't want to have anything to do with her slave name, or with slavery. She wanted the idea of freedom and travelling all over the world—"the world is my country." That kind of identification of national and international means that the name she created was not just a name.

Or take the white, middle-class women who were also an important part of the Abolitionist movement. All they were doing was preparing sandwiches and making picnics and raising money. Important as that might be, they began to see it wasn't the same as what

the Harriet Tubmans and Sojourner Truths were doing. They began to question why they shouldn't also be free. When the suffrage movement arose from within the Abolitionist movement it was on the basis of what they had seen women, Black women, could be—revolutionary force and Reason . . .

THE SECOND STAGE of the first women's rights movement was a very sad stage. Once the Civil War was over and the 14th Amendment was finally passed, women still had no suffrage or other legal rights. The weakness in the dialectics of liberation at this point however, was its isolation from the Blacks, and from the new kinds of struggles being fought by the working women who were going into the factories.

Susan B. Anthony had a paper called "Revolution" and the motto under it read: "Men can have all their rights and nothing more; women must have all their rights and nothing less." You would think that with such a vision and a philosophic view, they would have realized that isolating themselves from the Black and labor dimensions meant they were cutting their own throats. Lucy Stone was worse, and became an actual racist. She said she was not asking for freedom for the "dregs of society." She made such class and racial distinctions about who deserve freedom that, no matter how brave they were, it not only took all the way from 1868 to 1920 to get the vote, but when they got it, it didn't mean anything.

When an Idea's time has come, there are just as many contradictions and challenges as when the Idea was first thought of. In this country it is the Black dimension, the Black masses as vanguard, that is the crucial element. It is because it isn't just an idea, but a movement. It's going to act, to try to make the idea of freedom become real. And it is the kind of philosophy we have that will determine if we constantly check ourselves to see what has to be opened up, and enable us to see ourselves not as the fragmented people class society makes of us.

Otherwise you wind up with less than freedom.

You may not be limited to just making sandwiches, you may even be able to enter the arts. Isn't that great? The trouble is that you're not changing society at its roots, at its exploitative, male-dominated roots. For those who think it's enough to be for women's rights, to go out for any and all careers, and to keep away from a revolutionary organization, means that they not only exclude themselves from the most serious, total work of reorganizing society, but cut themselves off from the working women, who are the source of the very theory they need.

WHAT WE'VE BEEN looking at in studying the first women's movement was what was happening objectively in the world, objectively in this country. When we come down to our own age we have to ask what was happening objectively again, that suddenly the

(Continued on Page 7)

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

NEW VIETNAM?

There is a great need for communication in every possible direction, due to the great counter-revolutionary wave that will come out while the revolution goes on. The CIA was very active in the recent June 20th killings in Argentina. President Campora, even though a conservative old politician, had Cuba's Dorticos and Chile's Allende at the inauguration ceremony, because of the pressures exerted by the liberation movement. It was a bad sign for the imperialists; who plan to turn our continent into a new Vietnam — let's say Brazilians against Argentines.

Contracultura
Argentina

LEADERS VS. RANKS

Some might gather after hearing negotiators' comments that there can be auto settlements this year without any conflict. I cannot understand how union negotiators talk of such harmony when certain concessions from the Big Three 30 and out; no forced overtime; health and safety; work conditions) could be fought for and won in the '74 contract. The only solidarity and willingness to fight advocated is by militant auto-workers, who are the real leaders of the union. It is disgusting that the false leadership of unions (yet "official" and in financial control) does not support militant workers, but seeks as the companies, to harass and "discipline" the true leaders.

Auto Worker
Detroit

I can understand how voluntary overtime could be one of the important issues to the workers. But I keep thinking that even for those workers who could want the overtime, it isn't really voluntary" if you have to work it just in order to make enough to keep on eating.

Salaried Worker
Detroit

Where's the equality in this country? I know I make a better living than some, and some make a better living than me. That's not equality.

The union's not the answer anymore. They helped us get what we're getting now, but they'll never get us equality. Right in the union some make a lot more than others. I don't know what the answer is, but we'll have to work on it.

White Worker
New York City

The picket line at Safeway after the deaths of the UFW strikers last week was filled with Chicano strikers and their beautiful flags. Chavez has said that until the FBI is sent to protect the pickets at the fields, the strikers will be picketing in the city for consumer support. The wildcat strikers in the UAW would do well if they could connect with the miserably-paid workers in this country.

Picket-Marcher
Los Angeles

HUMAN VALUES IN QUEBEC

Recently, the Police Chief of St. Therese (Quebec) warned young people that "to pinch is to steal and to steal is a crime." At the same time, the infamous agent Goulet, who killed in cold blood a young boy of 16, was released without any process.

Do St. Therese authorities think to "pinch" trifles in a store is criminal, whereas to kill an adolescent is not? In this dehumanized society and for our shabby "elite" dirty governor, is money worth more than a human life?

Reader
Windsor, Canada

PRISON POLITICS

Governor Francis Sargent of Massachusetts has announced he is removing John Boone, the man who had radically shaken the state's correction system for the year and a half he was in charge,

and whom Sargent had publicly stood behind just a few months earlier.

The stated reason was Boone's inability to deal effectively with the inmate unrest at Walpole State Prison. But the tight clique of prison guards, state legislators and media were the real pressure that forced Sargent to change his position.

All the programs Boone pushed for—parole and work-study programs; increased visitor rights and greater citizen involvement; job training and readjustment programs — are in jeopardy.

State politics once again have ruled supreme over concern for our brothers, and the movement to truly uplift and restore dignity appears to be reversed to the hard core ways of old.

Reader
East Cambridge, Mass.

FOOD AND REVOLUTION

The House of Representatives has voted 213 to 203 to deny working people food stamps when they are forced to strike against a company that has been made rich by their labor. A corporation can write off a strike on its taxes, not only for the year the strike took place but for several years before and after. But a striking worker's family, though eligible for food stamps otherwise will not be able to obtain any government assistance from food stamps.

Already the head of HEW has ruled that welfare assistance can be denied by a state to striking workers. And now food stamps. I feel it's the worker's own money that is now being denied to him.

Auto Worker
Los Angeles

It really makes me angry to hear nutritionists shrug off the beef shortages saying that Americans eat too much meat anyway. They tell housewives to substitute — as if all the substitutes for meat haven't doubled in price too.

When I was young I was always told that America was the greatest, the best. Now we have Watergate making a shambles of "government by the people," more people than ever literally starving in our own country because of Nixon's wheat deal and price controls,

but we still haven't given up our precious space program. It reminds me of a line from a poem by a young revolutionary who was murdered by troops in Nicaragua: "Blessed be the poor, for they shall inherit the moon."

Suzanne Casey
Detroit

This morning standing at the dairy section at the grocery a woman with two children looked at me and wondered out loud if we are all being forced to starve to death.

I keep wondering if the majority of an entire generation of children are going to be growing up under-fed and poorly nourished, as has always been the case among so many Indians, Latin Americans, Appalachian and Black children? That's a much more subtle form of genocide than outright murder with arms.

Depressed
New York

Every revolution I have ever heard about has come up over food. It was so in the American, in the French, and in the 1930's when the government stopped the farmers from planting. Now we can't get food again. Food stamps are not only for welfare mothers. The retired have to use them and the low-paid workers. All Nixon is doing is looking for a way to starve us. It isn't only the tapes that he's sitting on. He's sitting on the food stamps, too. He should remember that's how revolutions begin.

Welfare Mother
Detroit

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

It is impressive to see the recognition N&L has of the tragic disparity between historic continuity of revolution and rebellion since 1953, and the disintegration and retrogression in the Left. They continue to thrive on illusions about Russia and China while their thought here at home is bankrupt. I am very anxious to have *Philosophy and Revolution* as soon as it comes off the press, and to begin thinking some new thoughts.

Correspondent
Oneida, N. Y.

(Editor's Note: See ad p. 8)

'Jail Nixon, Free Gainesville 8'

Gainesville, Fla.—The trial of the Gainesville 8 (seven members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War and one supporter) began on July 31 amid an air of government repression and judicial intransigence. The eight veterans are charged with conspiracy to incite riot at the Republican Convention last summer.

As the trial opened, the prosecution's strategy of depicting the defendants as "violence-prone crazies" was immediately spelled out, as were the presiding Judge

Nisei protests slur on Inouye

Los Angeles, Calif.—The vile mouthings of Mr. John Wilson, Erlichman and Haldeman's attorney at the Watergate Hearings, is a twisted vengeful act directed at Senator Inouye. But, in fact, it is a slur against Japanese Americans as well as all minorities and against the spirit of human dignity.

By calling Senator Inouye "a little Jap" he has used an epithet, derogatory in every sense. Mr. Wilson is well aware of the devastation of this description because he is aware of the indignities that occurred against Americans of Japanese ancestry during the Second World War.

It is a label that signifies the whole attitude of racism that caused the imprisonment of over 100 thousand American men, women and children in concentration camps without being convicted of any crime other than their being Oriental. Wilson said he wouldn't mind being called "a little American", so why should Inouye mind being called "a little Jap?" This is a kind of vicious racism, veiled in feigned innocence.

The slander by Wilson reveals the true stand of the White House. It is a stand steeped in aura of "overzealousness," violations against human dignity and down-right illegalities of which Watergate represents a minute portion. Mr. Nixon should be outraged at Wilson's calling Senator Inouye "a little Jap." But there will be no indignation on Nixon's part because it was he who sanctioned racism and gave license to the Jackson State killings, the innumerable atrocities against the Blacks, and the wholesale deportation of Mexicans.

To the Japanese-Americans the word "Jap" is more than an abbreviation. It brings to mind that chilly morning in March of 1942 when they were rounded up by U.S. Army troops and hauled to concentration camps composed of horse stables surrounded by barbed wires and armed guards! It infuriates all other minorities because it brings back the possibility of another wholesale evacuation of peoples whose only crime is that they are not white.

—Nisei

Movie Review

'State of Siege'

The film "State of Siege" shows several days of urban guerrilla warfare in Montevideo, Uruguay between the police state and the young Tupamaros guerrillas. The director, Costa-Gravas, known for his earlier works "Z" and "The Confession," has made a moving film of the 1970 events in Uruguay in which Dan Mitrione, an American police expert in torture and counter-insurgency, was kidnapped and then executed when the government refused to release political prisoners as demanded by the Tupamaros.

The courage, ideals, and organization of the young urban guerillas is breathtaking to behold, especially when their interrogation gets Mitrione to admit that he was sent all over Latin America to instruct local police in orture and whatever other ruthless means were needed to crush radical and democratic movements.

Unfortunately, the film stops there and never asks if a tiny group like the Tupamaros could ever make a revolution and eliminate the society of privilege and police which Mitrione represents.

History has already provided some clues as the Uruguayan government has grown even more repressive, nearly wiping out the guerrillas. The latest turn of events, after an Allende-style, left coalition narrowly lost the elections in 1972, has President Bordaberry establishing a complete dictatorship in July of this year. A general strike followed in Montevideo, but it was brutally and ruthlessly crushed.

It is there, only in the self-activity of the workers, the unemployed, and the peasants that we must look for revolution in Latin America. What made the Cuban revolution was not Castro's and Che's band of guerrillas, but the mass uprising which toppled Batista. In Santo Domingo, the next high point, there was no guerrilla movement in advance of the great upheaval, yet only when 20,000 U.S. Marines were flown in could the revolution be stopped.

A strategy of guerrilla warfare, whether urban or rural, is no substitute for the self-activity of the masses. Nor does it do anything to develop the breakthrough in revolutionary philosophy which must accompany the new waves of mass revolt if they are to be successful.

—Jack MacBride

Arnow's pro-Government sympathies. Judge Arnow slapped a strict "gag" rule on all the local and national media covering the trial, saying that any publicity which did not follow only that testimony admitted as Court evidence would lead to contempt citations.

FBI WIRE-TAPS

Furthermore, Judge Arnow refused to admit into evidence the question of FBI surveillance and wire-tapping even after the defense proved that two FBI agents had been listening in on crucial defense meetings by sitting in a broom closet next door to the Gainesville 8 defense office with listening devices in hand.

The statements of the Gainesville defendants are the best "evidence" of what is at issue in this trial: "The evidence will show a direct correlation between the escalation of murder in Vietnam, the escalation of our attempts to bring the truth out, and the escalation of attacks by the government against VVAW." (Scott Camil)

As John Kniffin said in his opening statement: "My co-defendants and I participated in one of the most violent wars in the history of our nation. We know better than anyone else what we did on behalf of this government and the people of this country."

VETS EXPOSE NIXON

"It is for this reason that we are a constant source of embarrassment to the Nixon administration . . . (we) are living testimony to the lies this government has tried to shove down our throats. This, not activities around the conventions, is why we are here."

"The facts will show," said Scott Camil, "if ever there was a conspiracy, it was a conspiracy on the part of the government to maliciously attack and destroy an organization known as VVAW."

A woman who attended one of the many marches in support of the Vets puts it similarly: "I feel very strongly about the trial. I absolutely agree with them. My first husband was killed in Vietnam . . . 'Jail Nixon, Free the Gainesville 8!'"

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TO TELL? SEND IT IN!**

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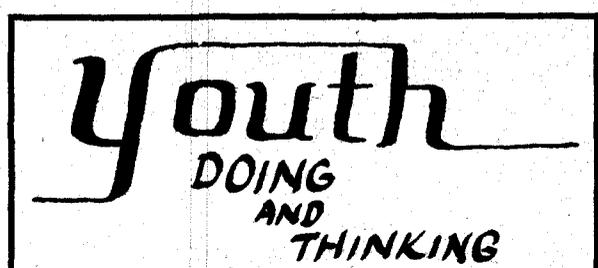
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Police attack youth, workers in France

by Paul Renaix

Paris, France — Everyone recognizes that things have never been the same in France ever since '68. Since then, every strike has been accompanied by the occupation of the factory by the workers—very often, if not always, despite the union's attempts to the contrary. The Lip watch factory in Besancon was not only occupied; the workers have hidden 25,000 watches to ensure that there will be no firings when the strike is finally settled; and they are now operating the factory themselves, selling watches directly to the purchaser, including some businesses. This is the first "working strike" in French labor history, I'm told. The strike occurred because the company was going to lay off about 400 workers.

There are, I believe, about 2½ million immigrant workers in France. They are for the most part North African (Algerian, Tunisian, and others) with a large number of Portuguese, and some from Iran, Italy and other countries. Naturally, they are given the hot, heavy, dirty, and under paid jobs and wretched housing conditions. There have been some demonstrations and a few important hunger strikes recently over working papers.

IMMIGRANT WORKERS STRIKE

On June 11, at Grasse, a town in southern France, several hundred immigrant workers decided to go on unlimited strike, calling for working papers, raises, decent lodging, and regular medical care. Their slogan was, "liberty, papers, equality." The next day, 300 of them were dispersed by fire hoses from in front of the city hall.

The openness of police repression in France really surprised me. They patrol the Quartier Latin, the student area, in semi-armored buses full of cops and their riot gear, with steel grilles over all windows, lights and radiator. In the evening, they park on the Boulevard St. Germain, in the heart of the Quarter; there are usually 3 or 4 buses and a few trucks or paddy wagons, just waiting for any action. Meanwhile, cops patrol the small streets in groups.

POLICE REPRESS YOUTH

On Friday and Saturday nights, when the various radical groups are in those streets selling their papers, the cops are in patrols of 10 or 12 abreast. Any group of young people that starts to form, whether it be around someone selling papers or someone playing a guitar, or just people talking, is told to move on after being surrounded by 10 or 20 or more cops.

I talked to a student from Iran. He has been in France 3 years, and says the open racism, such as that of Ordre Nouveau and the police has been increasing in the last 3 months, but there is also the hidden racism which many French people don't even realize they have. In his class of 600, he can only get really close to the foreign students, but he said, "Most poor people are not really racist. There are causes for it, such as fear of losing their job to an immigrant."

Towards the end of the street fighting I saw a middle-aged white worker mocking a battle-dressed squad of CRS standing guard. He was calling them SS, saying we hadn't seen this since the Nazis. They finally told him to move along.

In MSU strike

Students didn't scab

East Lansing, Mich. — 1,200 maintenance workers, cooks, food service employees and truck drivers along with 225 skilled tradesmen at Michigan State University held a two-week long strike here in July. The workers are members of AFSCME Locals 1585 and 999 and they had been working several weeks without a contract before they voted their strike.

The University had been boasting that hardly any services were affected by the strike. But that was false. I am a student cafeteria employee and I know that the quality of food and maintenance declined.

Many strikers felt that if all the student workers walked out, negotiations would have gone faster. But the student employees have no union. Our last unionization effort was frustrated by the University. Also, many students are working so that they can afford school in the Fall. They just couldn't quit, yet they sympathized with the strikers. Three student workers, though not where I work, did boycott their jobs in protest and got fired. But the campus paper reported that they later got "rehired." I was never asked to scab. If I had been asked, I would have quit.

—MSU student worker

BLACK-RED VIEW**Watergate exposes Nixon's war on Blacks**

by John Alan

The following are a few observations on the Senate Watergate hearings, as they relate to Black Americans. The revelations of these hearings have touched the consciousness, if not the lives, of everyone in the world with aspirations toward freedom.

The investigations of the Watergate scandal have revealed the distance which this country has traveled along the road toward neo-fascism, to a one-man rule type of government.

The battle that has been taking place on television is a closely confined one, within the arena of the representatives of the U.S. capitalist system, and the central issue is narrowed to the question of whether or not R. M. Nixon's gauleiters conspired to break into the Democratic National Headquarters, and if the subsequent attempt to cover-up this action was done with the knowledge and approval of the President.

POLICE POWER EXTENDED

This "simple issue" of "legalism", fought over by White House lawyers, eludes the question of what Nixonism is, at this "point in time", when there is discontinuity in American capitalism—as it changes from "democratic liberal capitalism" to a rigid form of state-capitalism. This requires, as a necessity to rule, the extension of police powers, not only to the no-knock laws and preventive detention which are examples of the type of rule advocated by former Attorney General John Mitchell, but even to extraordinary police powers, as manifested in the White House "Plumbers" (in the name of "national security").

The moves of Nixonism against the Democratic Party, a fellow capitalist "enemy", which still has a lot of political clout, is only a continuation of the counter-revolutionary offensive the Republican Administration initiated over five years ago against the Black revolution, couched in the infamous policy of "benign neglect". This policy was not so benign, however, since its purposes were to bring about sharp radical divisions and to roll back any economic and political gains Blacks had achieved through a decade of struggle.

The administration tried to do this by penetrating Black organizations with police agents, by actively fostering the myth (as in the New Orleans shoot-out with young sailor Essex) of a "Black Conspiracy" and by using entrapment and frameups against justice-seeking Black

Racist cop riot in London

London, England—Recently, there has been growing friction between the police, many of whom are openly racist, and black youth, who are subjected to overcrowded slum housing conditions, poor education and recreational facilities, and high unemployment. The reactionary media has blamed the recent wave of muggings on black youth, with judges handing out sentences of 20 and 30 years.

In South London this friction exploded into a riot when police officers tried to arrest a number of black youths after a fair. Following the riot a demonstration was held by black and working class organizations during which police cameramen filmed demonstrators dur-took the names of speakers with a view to prosecuting them for participating in an "illegal meeting."

This is yet another indication of the attack on socialists in particular and the working class in general. Elsewhere it is indicated by the continued detention of the Belfast 10, accused of the Old Bailey bomb attack, the trial of the 24 Shrewsbury building workers and the increased activity of the Special Patrol Group—an English version of the C.R.S.

The factional struggle in the Labor Party between Wilson and Benn is not as some think a struggle between capitalism and socialism, but between those who want to maintain the status quo and those who want to proceed via nationalization towards state capitalism as a method of solving the crisis—the logical outcome of the Fabian ideology of British Social Democracy.

—Terry Liddle

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By John Alan

militant organizations like the Black Panthers (who in the last election were busy registering Democrats).

WAR ON BLACK AMERICA

Having created the run-scared panic, they used the Safe Streets Act to provide millions of dollars to change local police departments into quasi-military organizations. This policy generated very little opposition from the Democratic Party who were beginning to feel that Black issues had become an albatross around their necks when it came to winning elections.

Even now, the extensive wiretapping of Black groups has aroused very little indignation even though it includes such a benign organization as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Reverend Ralph Abernathy said that the extensive wiretaps and tax audits have brought the movement to the brink of collapse.

Historically Blacks have been the touchstone of democracy—a gauge within the U.S. by which democracy could either justify itself, by pointing to a free and equal Black population, or stand exposed as a hoax perpetrated to hide the economic and political exploitation by the State. It is also a historical fact that when the rights of Blacks are compromised, it is only the prelude to the abrogation of the rights and freedoms of the majority—the workers, the dissenters, and in this case, even of another capitalist party.

If the Watergate hearings hold out the hope that legislation could stop the abuses of Nixonism, this is an illusion, because the retrograde policy of the Administration—that of one man controlling the economy, domestic and foreign policy—is not the simple egoism of the man in the Oval Room. It is the very nature of today's capitalism. And there certainly will be no haste to impeach Nixon, because to do so "with honor" the impeachers would also have to impeach themselves.

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

quiescent 50's, when the youth were supposed to be the "beat generation" burst out into the revolt of the 60's...

In the 60's we're once again back to the Black Dimension. People laughed uproariously at Marxism and Freedom, which had just been published, because I said the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1958 was an entirely new stage that was related to the new stage in the Workers' Councils of Hungary, where they had got rid of capitalism but wanted to be free from Communism, too, because it was just another form of state-capitalism. It became a world phenomenon, and a national phenomenon in 1960 when the Black youth in Greensboro, North Carolina refused to move until they were served at the lunch-counters.

The white students who were supposed to have been the beat generation went South—they thought they were going to do something for the civil rights movement of the Blacks. But when they got there they found that the Blacks who were asking them to set up schools had an idea of education that they had never dreamed of. Our education is factory-made, completely administered, designed to prepare those who will oppress others. But the Freedom Schools were asking totally different questions: they wanted an education so they could find out how to get rid of the Bull Connors for good. The white students suddenly realized that instead of helping the Blacks like social workers, they were learning a totally new dimension themselves. They came back North and realized that it wasn't only the worker who is alienated, but the comfortable, middle-class whites going to a "great university" like Berkeley were just numbers put into a computer.

IT WAS IN February of 1965, when L. B. Johnson first rained the bombs on Hanoi that, instead of having either just a Civil Rights movement, or a Free Speech movement, we suddenly had the birth of an entirely new generation of revolutionaries who were questioning everything in this society. The one thing, unfortunately, they still didn't question was philosophy. They were all very proud of their pragmatism—but it didn't help them too much.

It was at this point that the women began saying: "Now this is strange. I'm part of this great movement, and yet I'm cranking the mimeo machine instead of writing the leaflets." Nobody could accuse them of not being revolutionary. They were questioning whether something wasn't wrong with a movement that supposedly believed in a new society and yet practices the same division of labor as the one we live in. Not only that. Nobody could accuse them of being against Blacks. But when it came to the woman question there was Stokely Carmichael saying "the only position for women is prone." The women's questioning brought us to an entirely new stage.

We were moving to the high point of 1968, and it was a high-point internationally. In this country the anti-Vietnam war movement was still growing. And for the first time in an advanced country like France we had a near-revolution. It started as a student movement,

Aftermath of Wounded Knee

The following story was received from an Oglala Sioux woman who lives on the Pine Ridge Reservation, and who wrote about her participation in the Wounded Knee occupation in the May, 1973 NEWS & LETTERS.—Editor.

Wounded Knee definitely is not over! We still have brothers and sisters who are being busted over the Wounded Knee incident. Many of us—yes, me included—are wanted by the FBI.

For myself I feel we've done something for all people — Indian or minority and disadvantaged — who know that the words "justice for all;" "liberty and pursuit of happiness;" are just words created by mongers who put up a facade called "freedom" to smother the people who know what life, loving, and living are all about. I don't feel hate for them — only pity because when their dollar is worth nothing, when their generators for electricity quit, when dams crumble and their skyscrapers fall like dominoes, we will be there to save whom we can.

My Mother (Earth) is feeling the pain her children — the winged, the two legged, the four legged, the water people (fish and reptile) — are suffering and she is sending warnings; flood, famine, fire and earthquake and we, her children, cry and suffer with her. Only now (Wounded Knee) we have begun to speak in the only language that the establishment understands — VIOLENCE — we're speaking but who is listening?

We Indian people took from our Mother Earth only what we could use and returned to her to live again through recycling of life. We were nature people who lived in harmony until white people came and raped our Mother Earth. The establishment is still raping my Mother — strip mining, damming streams, killing for sport, the Alaska pipeline, etc.

Indian people are fighting for Mother Earth and we need the help of all who understand. If you cannot join us in person, please be with us in spirit. Together we can make this a better world.

WL: in fact and in philosophy

but they suddenly realized why Marx said the proletariat was the force for revolution. When you have 10,000 students in Paris on strike it looks very great, but if you have 10 million workers putting down their tools and stopping production, it is a very different situation.

WHY DID WE get only a near-revolution out of all this? Those who were concerned with where the philosophy was, were likely to be told, whether by Mario Savio or Cohn-Bendit, "We will pick it up en route." All they picked up was an aborted revolution...

SDS wound up in completely mindless activism. The women who had just begun the Women's Liberation movement wound up "following their men" in all of the splits and factions. But it isn't quite true they were just following their men. It was worse. They voted for the same resolutions the men did because that is what they really believed.

In a word, once you do not have a total philosophy of liberation, once you do not see that the dialectics of liberation are forces and reason, then there is no place to go but the so-called male-dominated, pragmatic, revolutionary groups that thought they could pick up philosophy "en route."

We have to realize that even though we have an independent movement; even though we are not in isolation from the men or from the children, for that matter; even though we are not isolated from the other movements, it takes a great deal more than just activity. It takes the kind of unity of objective and subjective where you suddenly see that you cannot have a successful revolution without having the underlying philosophy that is the liberation of humanity...

Just Off The Press

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By Raya Dunayevskaya

Included in the Spring 1973 issue of

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A review-essay of Dr. Han Suyin's, "The Morning Deluge"

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory

Nixon-Mao use Sihanouk to keep Indochina divided

The deception involved in the 14-month bombing campaign in Cambodia is without parallel in U.S. history. The secret decision to bomb Cambodia was made in mid-March 1969 in Nixon's office with Messrs. Clean—Kissinger, Rogers, Laird, C.I.A. Director Helms and General Wheeler—present. The decision was unanimous as was the decision to take special security measures to keep it secret even from sections of the Army command.

Over the period during which 104,000 tons of bombs were dropped in 3,620 missions, Secretary of State Rogers told Congress, "Cambodia is one country where we can say with complete assurance that our hands are clean and our heart is pure."

It is this type of lying that tops anything revealed during the Watergate Hearings about the corruption, lying, burglarizing, and a whole host of "Watergate horrors", because Rogers reveals what passes for pure capitalist truth. There seems to be no end to the corruption of a President who said he had a "secret plan" to end the Vietnam War—

which turned out to be its extension to Indochina War II. Two short days after inauguration he ordered the secret attack on Laos, for the first time ever ordering a ground attack. Of the 1,500 Marines who crossed the border no less than half were killed or wounded.

There is no doubt that this exploitative, racist, lying system must be uprooted. But what is one to think of Price Sihanouk who evidently gave tacit approval to the bombing of his own country? At least he was in power then and did not reveal it. What is one to think of a ruler who so opposed the Cambodians who opposed his rule, the Khmer, and the Vietnamese, that he would conspire in such an act? And what about his present offer to give America "peace with honor" if only all aid to Nixon's corrupt protege, Lon Nol, ends?

It is true that supposedly the Khmer Republic and the Prince are united in the struggle against American imperialism, but isn't Mao's China busy

using the Prince to make sure that the Vietnamese will not re-establish what was the Indochina peninsula as a unity?

For one solitary moment it did look as if the U.S. would finally stop its imperialistic adventures when Congresswoman Holtzman filed a suit for immediate cessation of the bombing of Cambodia, and Supreme Court Justice Douglas upheld her. When he issued the judgment, "in the name of humanity," he cited as one of the reasons the fact that people could die while the U.S. courts droned on. Although Douglas was overruled, he was proven right when, in the following two days, over 500 and possibly 700 innocent villagers were killed by "mistake" in U.S. bombing raids. Over 110 U.S. flyers have been killed in the raids and their families told that they died in Vietnam.

With lying as a way of life for the Nixon Administration, can we believe the August 15th Congressional vote to end the bombing will actually clear the U.S. out of Southeast Asia?

Guyana

Guyana, since it broke from direct British rule, has been governed alternately by Dr. Jagan (Peoples Progressive Party) who calls himself a "Marxist-Leninist," and Forbes Burnham (Peoples National Congress) who is now Prime Minister.

Both leaders maintain a racial base for their politics—Jagan the East Indian population and Burnham the Black population. Burnham generously keeps the Jagan opposition on the payroll when they are out of office and expects reciprocity if he should get bounced. Neither has done a very good job of providing a better way of life for the people.

The African World carries a report by Eusi Kwayana that Dr. Jagan controls the Guyana Import-Export Agency (GIMPEX) which is a big capitalist firm whose control is concealed from Jagan's P.P.P. members. Africans claim that those of them who accept Jagan's political line are accepted as "good Africans" while those who do not are called reactionaries.

Mr. Burnham, on the other hand, has created a Black elite which rules the country and does little for the Black masses.

ASCRIA, an independent Black organization which does not contend in the elections, is spearheading a movement for genuine Black liberation. They are moreover, calling for the African and East Indian workers to rebel against the system

of feudal-capitalism which still permits over 200,000 acres of the best land to be controlled by the Foreign Sugar Companies, just as they were under British imperialism.

Neither Jagan nor Burnham have made meaningful efforts to end racial competition or to implement their mandates by seizing control of the sugar lands. The fact, however, that an independent movement is arising, which puts both the class and race forces for total liberation in place of only nominal freedom from British imperialism, is the greatest assurance that full freedom is sure to develop, from below.

Soviet borders

Tearing a page from the Israelis, the Soviet Union has offered special concessions to settlers who will occupy and farm the lands on the Chinese border. The effort to populate the border areas in Chita and Amur Provinces will be backed with construction loans up to \$8,000, long paid vacations, a guaranteed wage scale and other attractive concessions to live within 150 miles of the border.

The Decree, dated May 31, 1973 was published in a Collection of Decrees in a recent bulletin of executive edicts.

Similar efforts to populate Siberia have not been too successful. In the last 11 years only one out of 20 who arrived as immigrants has remained in Siberia. Russia is now asking both Japan and the

U.S. to help industrialize Siberia. At the same time Russia continues with its incessant militarization of the border facing China.

Libyan women

The efforts of Muammar el-Qaddafi to achieve instant unity with Egypt have suffered an irreparable blow at the hands of the women of Egypt. The Colonel who has oppressed the women of Libya, calling them "biologically inferior", sought to impress a meeting of liberated Egyptian women with his reactionary views and they booed him out of the hall.

The dictator controls untold oil wealth which has not filtered down to the poor people of the country. In the name of Islam he uses cutting off of hands, ears and eyes as forms of punishment for petty crimes. Inseparable from these forms of dehumanized behavior, he seeks a return to the worst of male supremacy which the people of Egypt find hard to swallow.

Although Colonel Qaddafi is only 31 years old he is certainly out of step with the youth of his own country who show every sign of resisting his reactionary ideas. As of this moment the biggest blow dealt him was by the Libyan women, whom he flew to Egypt to assure women there of the joys of "inferiority," but who, instead, asked the Egyptian women to help them escape the male chauvinism in Libya.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Rev. King said that in the concrete terms of his struggles against segregation, this meant we had to fight against segregation not as if it were a thing—a dead object. Instead, we must realize that to end segregation, meant to start a totally new human relation between you and me, white and Black, freedom against segregation.

MASS ACTIVITY

Because he held tight to that philosophy of human relations, even his raising non-violence to a fetish did not stop the movement's progress. They could continue their "march to freedom" until 1968. Then one had to end the contradiction between tactic and vision, for the counter-revolution of the whites would not permit any forward movement that would really get to uprooting all evils of the capitalist exploitative, racist, violent society. Rev. King's tragic assassination left the problem unresolved as far as the mass movement he led was concerned.

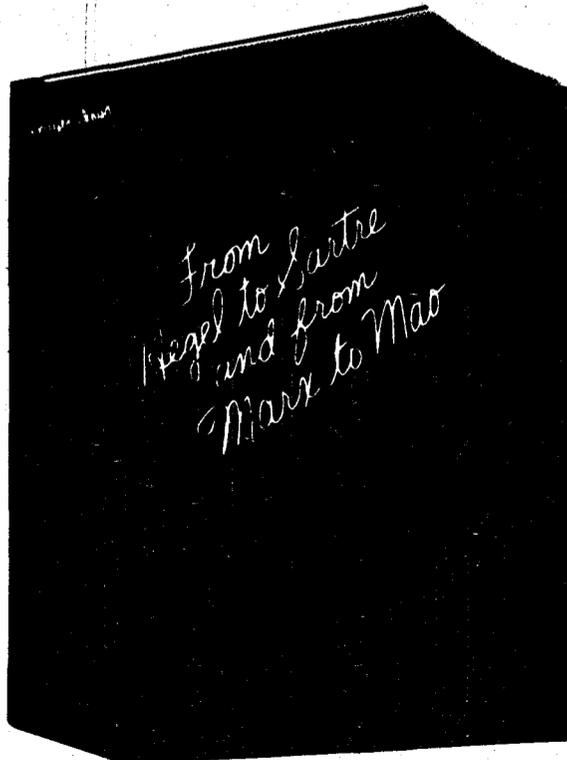
In some respects Rev. Abernathy has a better feeling for labor, for uniting the poor struggles, whether white or Black, and opposing so-called Black capitalism. This is where the first big break came between him and Rev. Jesse Jackson. The trouble is that where Rev. King could offer a total view, Abernathy offers each tactic piecemeal.

So there is no unifying philosophy, just at the very moment when the movement is looking for not only a new philosophy of freedom, but one whose principle would not be divided from its tactics. It would not be burdened with a single act as if it were the whole. The lack of vision accounts for the lack of funds.

Philosophy and revolution must be as one both in practice and in vision of the future. It is time now to look beyond what was, or the many fragments that are fighting for being top men or women, and work out, with all other revolutionary forces, a perspective that will uproot this system and start totally new human relations.

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