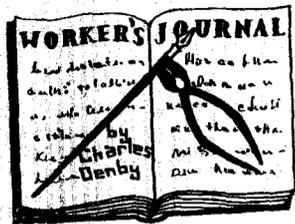


ON THE INSIDE

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Senseless massacre at Attica

By Charles Denby, Editor

The news of the Attica, N.Y., massacre of some 10 prison guards held as hostages and the 30 or more prisoners, should have been the most shocking thing that the majority of right-thinking people in this country had ever heard. It was a clear demonstration of complete disregard for the lives of the poor, helpless people of America.

Many believe that Governor Rockefeller, who was supposed to be one of the few liberal Republicans, received his orders from President Nixon to conduct the massacre.

THE SECOND WAR

We have heard about, read, and seen the massacring of women, children and old men in Vietnam and Laos. They tell us that this is war. Well, Nixon has two wars going on—one in Southeast Asia, and one here at home.

There is no way to find out the truth about what happens in either war. Take the murder of those Black Panthers in Chicago almost two years ago, ordered by the state's attorney and Mayor Daley, while those young Black people were asleep in bed.

We are just now beginning to learn what really happened. After the killing the police drove nail holes through the door of the Panther apartment and claimed that they were shotgun holes which proved that the Panthers were shooting at the police.

ATTICA LIES

In Attica, all newsmen, lawyers and investigators were barred from the prison until the lawyers got a court order to be admitted. That day, a worker said to me, "That is the capitalists' method of operation. They said that the hostages had had their throats cut because they know that the first news that comes out is generally accepted by people. If and when you begin to hear different, the public is confused by the lies."

The following day when it was reported that all the hostages were shot to death, this worker yelled, "What did I tell you? Now I am sure the real reason they are barring reporters and lawyers is they have much more to hide. They must fix the blame on someone, anyone, to cover up their senseless and inhuman murdering of the prisoners and guards."

He said, "I was in the armed forces. I know that the gas they covered the prison with would have enabled

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NEWS LETTERS

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OCTOBER, 1971

EDITORIAL ARTICLE

Nixon declares war on labor and Blacks with wage freeze and anti-busing stand

By O. Domanski

The thousands who turned out to picket President Nixon's speech to the Economic Club in Detroit on Sept. 23 gave dramatic evidence of the multitude of the forces aligned against Nixon's never-ending wars at home and abroad. They were young and old, Black and white and Chicano, workers and students, welfare mothers and Women's Liberation activists, hardhats and teachers and veterans.

Despite Leonard Woodcock's directive that UAW workers not join the AFL-CIO pickets, thousands of workers showed up as early as 5 p.m. to demonstrate. They were joined by anti-war and New Left groups over the next four hours.

And they carried hundreds of different signs: "War Caused Inflation, Stop Both"; "Civil Rights Employees Oppose Nixon's Racist Policies"; "Profits from Bombs Are Not Frozen"; "End Unemployment"; "Free Hoffa"; "Free Angela."

NIXON'S HOAX

The hoax that Nixon attempted to pull on the American people on Aug. 15, when he dubbed his economic straitjacket for the American workers nothing less than a "Job Development Act of 1971," was followed by another hoax on Sept. 9, when he announced, "The 90-day freeze on wages and prices will not be extended beyond 90 days," only to reveal that what will follow will be more of the same, with a new name.

The only difference is that whereas he was practicing his favorite policy of "surprise politics" on Aug. 15, he expects to have won the help of the labor bureaucracy in putting over his hoax by Nov. 15. Unfortunately, he has good reason to hope so.

So raw was the attack on labor, and so blatant was the bonanza for big business in Nixon's Aug. 15 Wage-Price freeze—which failed to freeze profits—that even that arch-reactionary president of the AFL-CIO, George Meany, who spent last Labor Day dining in the White House, immediately declared that any workers whose benefits were denied should consider their contracts "nullified" and feel free to walk off the job. Leonard Woodcock (after thinking it all over) thundered, "If this Administration thinks that just by issuing an edict . . . they can tear up contracts, they are saying to us they want war. If they want war, they can have war."

LEADERS AND RANKS

Yet before the first week was up, both Meany and Woodcock were already talking only about what they would do after the 90 days was up. By the time Nixon finally summoned the union heads to come in and talk things over on Sept. 10, Woodcock was recanting his threats to void contracts and calling the Administration's explanations "helpful" and "useful," while Meany had gone so far as to suggest that the trade unions would agree to a "no-strike" pledge, provided labor had a part in setting up the rules for after Nov. 14.

The mood of the workers they were supposedly speaking "for," on the other hand, was seen in the fact that of the 150,000 workers involved in more than 350 official strikes across the country—including the West Coast longshoremen and the New York telephone workers—120,000 were still on strike Sept. 1, and still others

(Continued on Page 4)



Signs of the times — thousands of banners at Detroit Cobo Hall protest tell the tale.

Open letter to Shirley Chisholm

Dear Congresswoman Chisholm:

We are extremely glad you have chosen to run for President. In doing so, you are throwing off thousands of years of oppression—oppression epitomized by the special, double oppression of Black women. In doing so, you are saying for all women, for all Blacks, for all people everywhere who have been called dumb or frivolous or emotional or weak in character, that a new day is coming.

For if the lowest of the low, a Black woman, dares to demand entrance to that most sacred bastion of power, the Presidency of the United States, who knows what will happen next?

We would support you for the symbolism of your act alone. But you are more than just the opposite of all that a Black woman is "supposed" to be. There are other Blacks and women (though few Black women) who have "made it" as you have, and few of them deserve praise.

FROM CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

You, however, were a part of the civil rights movement, and sit in Congress because of it; you have been a loud and eloquent part of the new Women's Liberation movement. And you stand on the shoulders of those great masses of people fighting for freedom. It is they who led you to this bold act and made you not merely a symbol, but an uncompromising fighter on every issue of the day.

Thus your anti-war stand is as loud as your pro-women one. You, in fact, represent the coming together of the many movements to change society, which have yet to come together in actuality.

One can contrast, for example, your continual opposition to every force of reaction in this country, to the majority of the anti-war movement, which has been un-

willing to expand beyond a single issue. Only the Vietnam Veterans Against the War have cared to join with other movements by supporting the Blacks in Cairo, Ill., and picketing with Women's Liberation at the Miss America pageant.

NEED FOR REVOLUTION

As Marxist-Humanist revolutionaries, we know that only in the coming together of the forces fighting for freedom can this society finally be overthrown, and a new one built on new foundations; we do not believe in playing bourgeois politics. Moreover, we have seen what few good politicians there are, change their positions when the need for money arose.

And we know the political system is so deeply male-chauvinist, that even the Black dissidents who met recently to talk about running a Black for President showed no interest in you. Or more precisely, at a meeting one of us attended, the women liked the idea, but the men who were running things gave it no consideration.

WOMEN EXCLUDED FROM POLITICS

It is possible that if you run, some Black bureaucrats in the political and labor movements may be forced by their constituents to support you, but the electoral system as a whole cannot possibly accommodate a woman in the Presidential role—after all, women only won the vote 50 years ago, and it took over 80 years of struggle to do that! Bourgeois politics has excluded women so very nearly completely for so long, that it is a new stage in the women's rights movement for a woman to seriously run for President.

And of course, when our "liberal" politicians cannot conceive of a Black Vice-President, it is shocking to speak of the Presidency.

And what a time you have chosen to do it. Just

(Continued on Page 2)

Open letter to S. Chisholm

(Continued from Page 1)

when racism and a callous disregard for human life have reached new depths: in Attica, in bombing school buses, in Vietnam. One of us heard you speak at a women's conference nearly two years ago. You said that while you deplore the stereotyping of women, still, if women are supposed to be kind, patient, compassionate, etc., that is precisely the kind of leaders we need, instead of the men we have with their "masculine" qualities of aggression, ruthlessness, etc. We are reminded of those words very often lately.

Shirley Chisholm for President!

—Charles Denby, Editor,
NEWS & LETTERS
—Molly Jackson, News
& Letters Women's Liberation

'Women's work' world-wide

I appreciated the facts given in the article on women in East Europe in the last issue. What struck me was the similarity between conditions here and under "socialism," for workers in general and for women in particular.

In the recent furor about China, I saw a picture of the machinery in a textile mill in a Chinese city, and it reminded me of the description of the antiquated machinery in the East European article.

I worked in a shop in Detroit that made solder irons that had a number of textile-type machines. I couldn't believe they were as old as they looked, so one day I climbed all over one to find the nameplate. It was dated in the 1880's! Now this was not strictly a textile mill; it was a "modern" industry, so I assume these were the newest machines going.

I am not too surprised that the machinery is alike the world around; however, that they all appear to have been invented around the time of the Industrial Revolution itself, is fantastic!

24 HOURS A DAY

Women work two jobs, and the waste of time in the factory is double for women. It is not just the time devoted to work, but the type of thinking a woman always has to do. The writer of the article said, "In Poland, home and wage labor of an employed woman takes between 15 and 17 hours a day." I would add that if she has children, she doesn't have the other seven hours for herself, but gives a total 24 hours a day.

I don't think most men would understand, but a woman's life is so full of things that she has to do, that even when she sleeps she is thinking about them.

—Angela Terrano, New York

WAY OF THE WORLD

Chisholm for President

By Ethel Dunbar

Shirley Chisholm announced recently that she would be a candidate for President of this country. I was very happy to read her announcement. Besides being a Congresswoman, she is a Black woman, and no one can convince me that she wouldn't make a better President than we have now!

It is long past time that a woman should have been President. Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell have led this country to hate, unemployment and chaotic conditions. The national debt is so high that the average person can't even pronounce the figure! All because of the Vietnam War and other military spending.

CAN WOMAN BEAT NIXON?

A woman would add something new to American politics and a new trend to people's thinking. Women have been discriminated against from the very beginning in this society. They have been relegated to the home; for Black women, it has been the home and the corn and cotton fields of the South.

When we realize that it wasn't until 1920 that women got the right to vote, then we can see how long women were disenfranchised by their white husbands and the white power structure.

Shirley Chisholm has everything anyone could ask for in a good and sincere President. I do believe she is capable of turning this country off its path of destruction, and uniting the people. Her concern would be for the interests of all the people, not just the rich capitalists.

WE MUST TURN FROM WAR

Egyptian President Sadat says he is ready to sacrifice a million Egyptian lives, if necessary, to liberate Israeli occupied territory. To me this is madness. But I am sure he is talking about poor people's lives, not his own or any other rich leader's. This article also said Israel is prepared to do the same.

I wonder if wars and the threat of wars will become the natural way of life for our children and grandchildren. I think it will not, if the men of this country can forget some of their prejudices against women, and go out and work to get votes for Shirley Chisholm.



WL is more than the abortion issue

I was very disappointed to see the results of the women's conference for repeal of abortion laws held in New York in July. I feel that a movement with real potential was badly split as a result of certain political groups trying to dominate the whole conference.

Some women who attended even appeared on television to say how disgusted they were and to let people know that they would not be led around by some group, in particular the SWP (Socialist Workers Party).

By seizing upon the single issue of abortion law repeal, these groups hope to attract women followers while refusing to even discuss other issues such as free abortion and free birth control information.

What good will it do to repeal the laws if the majority of women who need help will still be unable to afford it? And after the abortion laws are repealed, will a woman have "control over her own body"? What about working and living conditions in our factories and cities?

Legalizing abortions is very important, but if we stress just this one issue the whole movement will soon die as the majority of women find that it does not represent their total needs. We want to work for freedom in more than one area and we shouldn't let one issue make us lose sight of our larger goal.

—Supporter, New York

5,000 Dane domestics strike

The Domestic Workers Association in Denmark is now fighting for better contracts for its members, most of whom are women. They have the hardest physical work in homes, institutions, and hospitals; yet they are paid D.Kr. 9.88 per hour, as compared with D.Kr. 13.91 for unskilled male domestic workers.

Five thousand union members are fighting for better pay by striking municipal institutions. On Aug. 12, women from Women's Liberation demonstrated in support of the domestic workers outside the negotiations.



Perspectives Report to the National Editorial Board Meeting of News & Letters Committees

NIXON AND MAO

AIM TO THROTTLE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Chairman, News & Letters Committees

- I—By Way of Introduction
- II—World Crises (Real and Induced): the Ground for the Nixon-Mao Meeting
- III—Nixon's Greatest Hoax, "Jobs Development Act for 1971," is Same as Move Against Black Dimension
- IV—What to Do

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Colt speeds up; union ignores firing of worker

Hartford, Conn. — In the early part of the week of Aug. 31, I was informed by a fellow-worker that the supervisor in Dept. 126 was doing bargaining-unit work. I informed the steward. After reminding the supervisor that according to the agreement between the company and the union he should not be doing bargaining-unit work, he replied: "I'll think about it." When the Chief Steward was informed, he stated that he had had a talk with the foreman, and a promise was made that this would no longer happen. Therefore, he felt that there was no need for filing a grievance.

Approximately 40 members of the Local Unit were discharged for so-called "misconduct" during an unauthorized strike. The cause of that strike was the same situation: the Company supervisors were doing bargaining-unit work.

I requested to see the Shop Chairman. Had I not chanced to meet him the next afternoon on the way to the cafeteria for lunch, I might still be waiting. He was, as could be expected, courteous, kind, considerate, and totally condescending. He told me, "I'll speak to the Chief Steward and get the story and let you know." I would probably have had to wait until Hell froze over before receiving his answer except that the Company released me from my agony with a discharge notice. A sweetheart deal has been made, and I was in the way.

NO REPRESENTATION

The reason given for my discharge was that I was unable to perform additional work. Recently I lost two weeks work due to a back injury I sustained over five years ago in previous employment, from which I recovered. The Management at Colts has cut back the work force substantially, causing more work to be done by the worker at less cost.

They asked me to do some extra lifting of parts from the line, work normally done by Miscellaneous Labor personnel or Truckers. I refused.

My supervisor told me to go to personnel, where I was told that I had no bumping rights to a non-lifting job, hence I would be discharged. Neither at this point nor at any time during this instance was I allowed Union representation. I expect to have to take my grievance through the Labor Dept.

What can be done to insure that the same thing doesn't happen to others? Under the present system of production for profit for the owners of the tools of production—instead of production for the needs of all the people—there is very little that can be done, and even that very little is quite impossible unless and until the workers come to control their Unions.

Woodcutters refuse pay cut

Laurel, Miss.—Woodcutters here charge that Masonite Corp. is making up for the price freeze by cutting their pay.

As a result, 200 members of the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association (GPA) have refused to deliver wood to Masonite's sprawling hardboard plant since Sept. 1.

The GPA represents thousands of woodcutters and owners of land from which wood is cut for paper and hardboard plants across the South. About 60 per cent of the men are Black.

One of the woodcutters declared: "Masonite went to using 7,100 pounds to determine a unit of wood, when it should be 5,200 pounds to determine a cord of wood. It means that each producer and land owner is suddenly losing \$15 and \$16 per load of wood. That takes groceries off our tables."

A spokesman for the workers explained that Masonite had been using a scaled stick to measure wood by the cubic foot, but on Sept. 1 the company put weight scales in its yard. The wood producers say this meant a cut of 20 to 25 per cent in their earnings because they had to supply 1,900 more pounds in each unit of wood. They are paid \$20 a unit, and often have as many as three and four units on a truck.

When the men protested about the new way to measure the units of wood, company officials ran them off the property.

The strikers formed a committee to seek support from workers in the Masonite plant, who are members of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA), an AFL-CIO union. Hundreds of these workers fought a long battle with Masonite after a strike that started in 1967. After the strike, there began a struggle for unity of Black and white workers which became an example for other workers in the South.

Clyde workers occupy shipyards to protect jobs

Glasgow, Scotland — The occupation of the Upper Clydeside Shipyards by workers who refused to be laid off and have been waging a "work-in," has been going on since the beginning of August. On Aug. 18, Glasgow had the largest demonstration for the workers in many years. Thousands of workers threw down their tools. There were contingents from London, Blackpool and other parts of England, and three busloads of shipyard workers from Dundee.

A remarkable feature was the number of women and girls in the demonstration. It included about 250 women from the Wills cigarette factory. It was well organized and trade union officials noted for their mild approach were making militant speeches.

FREE LABOR POWER?

Every Marxist trend, however, has by now become very critical about what is happening. It is fantastic that workers who have been declared redundant (unemployed) are asked to give their Labour Power, free of charge to the Liquidator.

The support given by other workers was tremendous but apart from calling for money, the action asked from other workers went no further than the one-day stop-

page. The fact that there are 135,000 unemployed workers in Scotland was overshadowed by the U.C.S. dispute which did hit the headlines.

Some prominent Communist Party people wanted to keep politics out of the agitation, but that became impossible. In fact, the campaign was tied up with the demand for the removal of the Tory Government. The big thing was the declaration that the workers would resist redundancy. The shop stewards, however, kept promising that if the yards were kept open they would work harder than ever before.

STRUGGLE NOT OVER

The Government intends to concentrate production in two yards with a much smaller labour force. They express the belief that the two yards which they want to close will be bought by some private concerns for purposes other than shipbuilding. The struggle is not over. Redundancies continue to pile up in the two yards. It does not seem likely that the "work in" can continue.

The solidarity shown by other workers has been great, but the C.P. shop stewards kept the issue narrowed down. They talked of paying the men who took part in the "work in" the wages they would earn on a 40 hour week, but ended up by dealing only with cases of hardship. The men are working under the same supervision as before they were laid off.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

them to walk in five minutes later and take every hostage and prisoner alive."

COPS, NOT INMATES, WANT BLOOD

One hostage was led out cursing Rockefeller and Correction Commissioner Oswald. He said he would never work for those murdering bastards again. He said that the prisoners had only used the hostages as a bargaining point; that they had been treated well; and that he never believed the prisoners intended to kill them. But the blood-thirsty state troopers did, as well as the other guards and police.

The lawyer Kunstler had pleaded for more time. The prisoners were not going anywhere, and what is time compared to human lives? We must understand that the politics of Nixon is suddenness.

Many are saying that the Attica massacre was racist, because the prisoners there were 85 percent Black and Puerto Rican, and there was not one Black or Puerto Rican guard. Of course it was racist, as is the whole prison system. We know that whites cannot truly relate to and fully understand the feelings of Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

PRISONERS ARE EXPENDABLE

But it is also important that no rich people go to prison. Three of the prisoners who were shot to death were white, and the dead guards were white. A state trooper said that all the inmates are "animals," white and Black, and that is why when the troopers mistook the

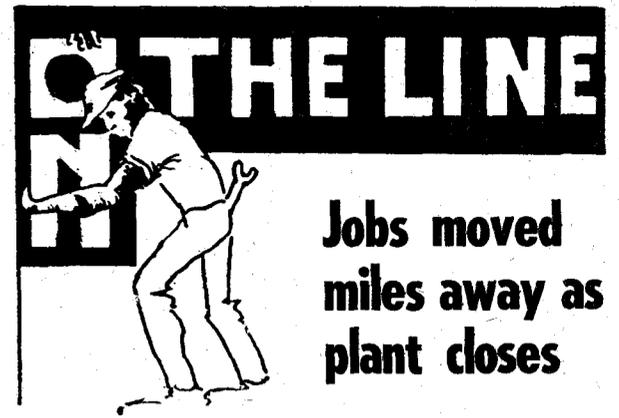
hostages for white prisoners, they thought nothing of killing them. In a word, he was saying, "so what?" He did not seem to understand that the inhuman treatment that prisoners receive in most of the "correctional institutions" throughout the United States makes them act the way they do.

One of the dead prisoners, Jose Santiago, was sentenced in 1968 to 10 months for burglary, and the court record shows no further convictions. The case of George Jackson, who was murdered in San Quentin in California, was similar: others who committed the same crime with him were released years ago, but they refused to release him, and as a result five other people died with him.

INMATES SPOKE FOR THEMSELVES

Now they are trying to fix the blame for the Attica uprising on Kunstler and Bobby Seale. They seem always to have their Uncle Tom ready and waiting: David Anderson, a Black from Rochester, is accusing Kunstler, and Rockefeller is accusing Seale. He says Seale's presence aroused the feelings of the inmates. If anyone saw and listened to the discussion between the Black prison leaders and Oswald, you could see these prisoners did not need anyone to speak for them!

A Black woman, the widow of one of the prisoners, spoke to an audience of Black and white in Buffalo, N.Y. She said there was no reason for any of those prisoners or guards to be dead, and she called on all common people, Black and white and all other nationalities, to unite in a struggle against the oppressors, to stop this senseless killing of human beings.



Jobs moved miles away as plant closes

By John Allison

During the last round of negotiations, one of the Chrysler plants in California was involved in disputes around safety and the closing down of the plant. The closing was delayed for a while but now they are in the process of closing the parts depot down. The assembly plant will continue to operate.

Under the last contract, the workers affected by closings were to be given the opportunity to take jobs in another plant in the same area. But in the case of the California plant, the people are being offered jobs in places as far away as Detroit. The closest place they are being offered is Kansas City, and the next closest is St. Louis.

In general the assembly plant is operated by younger workers. They are being allowed to stay in California, while the older workers—some with 22 years seniority—are being forced to pick up everything and leave.

The union had asked that the older workers be allowed to take the assembly jobs, since it is not quite so hard for younger workers to pick up stakes as for older people. But Chrysler refused. The problems are similar to what we faced in Highland Park, Mich., except that there were no other plants in California for those workers to go to.

WHITE HOUSE FRIENDS

It appears that Chrysler wants to show the UAW that the capitalists have friends in the White House. Many workers think that the company knew that a wage-freeze and crackdown on labor was coming, and that the UAW has money-problems, and just decided that this was the time to show the workers who is boss. They seem confident the Union won't do anything, so even on ordinary problems that negotiation would usually have taken care of, the company is just going ahead and doing what it pleases.

NO FREEZE FOR MANAGEMENT

All the big companies—from Michigan Bell to the auto companies — are using this 90-day period to tie management personnel closer to the company by quietly seeing to it that management people continue to get their pay increases, while the workers are denied theirs. The office people wouldn't even have got any increases to begin with if it hadn't been for the hourly workers. The office workers get the benefits of whatever the workers win the hard way.

No wonder Meany has been hollering so loud. Nixon really stuck him in the heart. As for Woodcock, it appears that Nixon must have promised him something to keep him quiet. But the workers have no faith in these "private arrangements." No labor leader can ever get enough for workers that way. It takes the action of thousands and thousands of workers to ever win anything real.

Whatever Woodcock has arranged, you can be sure it was just for his own people. But most workers don't want a few pennies in their own pockets, at the expense of all the other workers. Workers look at all of labor.

And when they look now, they see exactly what the class struggle means: it means that the capitalists have friends in the White House, but the workers have only themselves to depend on.

"The United States masses are quicker and have greater political means in their hands to resent the form of a progress accomplished at their expense," wrote Marx . . . In their attitude to Automation, the American workers are concretizing this for America. —Marxism and Freedom, p. 148

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FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Here at Fleetwood we would like to know just why it is that the company doesn't supply us with uniforms. You can't help but get the feeling that it is very intentional on the part of the management.

We went to the union and asked the committeemen to look into why the company doesn't supply them. They went to management and were told that we have to supply our own uniforms.

Since it's in our contract that the company has to supply us with uniforms, we want to know why the union won't make the company continue to supply them as they used to. Instead of pressing the company on this point, all our committeemen do is lie around in their air conditioned office doing nothing.

If we can't get any response to our grievances from the local, maybe we should go down to Solidarity House. Let them know down there about the type of results we are getting from our local officers.

Black Production Worker, Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—Since the changeover, Fleetwood has come up with some new ways to make you work harder and save money for them. Many jobs used to have self-tapping screws before changeover; now you have to drill the holes and shoot the screws. It's harder and takes longer.

They cut corners all the time and some of it gets ridiculous. The company has standardized the screw sizes throughout Fleetwood, so some are too long and take more time to put in. Each little problem is hell when you're working at 72 jobs an hour.

On the fourth floor, the repair job is really the worst. There used to be nine guys on it, and they took

every ninth job, and still had to run to keep up. Now there are only four men and it's impossible to get every fourth job. They filed a grievance, but all they got from the foreman, Dave West, was a lot of doubletalk.

A lot of guys have said to me: "Where is the union?" I would like to tell the names of the committeemen who aren't doing their jobs, but I would run out of space. It's the same problem all over the plant.

—Afternoon Shift Worker, Fleetwood

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—We have signs at the Mack Plant stating "Equal Employment Opportunity." We tear these signs down the first chance we get. Mr. George Rybicki, the labor relations man, continues to violate every sign on the boards, which come under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Executive Order 11246, as amended.

Our Uncle Tom representatives know it, too. We are the victims of racist employment tactics. Mr. Bill Stanley, who does the hiring, is working close with Mr. Rybicki to keep as many Black people as he can out of the skilled trades. That's where the money is, baby.

To get any fair employment practices at the Chrysler Mack Plant, we, the people at the plant, have got to take some actions to achieve these goals. Let's launch an all-out assault on the racist problem at Mack Stamping Plant. Let's smash it any way we can. Let's reject the Uncle Toms and the racists.

Let's not wait for a better tomorrow. Let's fight for a better today. We need more committeemen like Harold Echlos, who has the guts to speak out on these things. Let's unite together and fight these racist practices at the Mack Plant. A Union Brother

Nixon declares war on labor and Blacks with wage freeze, anti-busing stand

(Continued from Page 1)

had gone out as well, in defiance of the Administration's threat to end strikes during the 90 days.

LABOR PRODUCTIVITY THE KEY

The bonanzas for big business at the expense of the workers permeated every single plank of Nixon's "New Economic Policy." Aside from the obvious fact that it is far easier to control wages than to control prices; and that the very items that were exempted because their prices "fluctuated"—food and clothing—were those that hit the consumer hardest; the refusal to freeze profits predominated over all. In addition, the protectionism given big business against foreign trade through the 10 percent surcharge on imports, meant—to the consumer—that he would no longer be able to buy the less expensive foreign goods in the stores and auto showrooms.

But the most crucial attack was not on the consumer, but on labor, which has been told that the only way it will be able to increase wages from here on in, is to increase labor productivity. And despite Nixon's attempt to convince the workers in his Labor Day speech that "productivity really means getting more out of your work," every worker knows that it means getting more work out of you.

Labor productivity—the exploitation of Labor by Capital—is the very motive force of capitalism: the extraction of ever greater amounts of unpaid hours of labor through ever more automated speed demons called machines. That is what is at the heart of the "ten percent investment credit" to Big Business, which has been told exactly what to use the so-called "job development credit" for—"new machinery and equipment." This, despite the fact that industry is operating at only 73% of its capacity right now.

There is not a worker anywhere who cannot testify that far from reducing unemployment, all automation has done is to create a permanent army of unemployed, at the same time that it has made the jobs of those still working more intolerable than ever.

It takes unmitigated gall for Nixon to talk so piously about "the work ethic" which is supposedly being threatened by the "lazy" and "slothful," when the unemployment rolls show every major city in the U.S. on the critical list of unemployment. The national level of unemployment has hovered at six percent for almost

a year. Unemployment in Detroit has reached as high as 14.3 percent, and for Blacks is somewhere between 35 and 50 percent. Unemployment for returning veterans is so staggering recent figures have not even been released.

The truth is that while every single one of Nixon's measures may prove to be a temporary boon to the U.S. capitalists, not a single one can reverse the chronic world crisis. The whole world economic development, whether private capitalist or state-capitalist (which calls itself Communist) is in chronic stagnation. The only source of value is living labor. Yet, capitalist production calls for ever greater use of machines (which Marx called "dead labor") and ever fewer workers. Thus, no matter how great the mass of profits, capitalism is faced with a constant drop in the rate of profit, at the same time that the workers are faced with ever growing unemployment.

ECONOMIC TAFT-HARTLEY

Nixon made no bones, in his Sept. 9 speech, that what he was defending was the "American system" against any and all who might claim that it is "an oppressor and exploiter of human beings." And his defense is not just talk, but the most concrete actions. The newest attack on Labor is nothing short of a 1971 economist version of the infamous Taft-Hartley act. It goes hand in hand with the attack he has been waging against every gain the Black masses have made in the whole past decade.

It has been 17 years since the 1954 Supreme Court ruling on desegregated schools. "All due deliberate speed" has proved less than a snail's pace. Yet on Aug. 3, Nixon made sure to throw the monkey wrench into whatever small gains might have been underway for this year by insisting that the Attorney General and the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare should work with Southern school districts "to hold bussing to the minimum required by law." Indeed, he backed up his directive by submitting an amendment to the Emergency School Assistance Act to stipulate that none of the act's \$1.5 billion in aid to desegregating school systems could be used to acquire buses.

RACISM, NORTH AND SOUTH

It was an open invitation to white racism to disrupt any bussing plans that had already received support. All that mattered to Nixon was that to win the 1972

election in the still unenfranchised South, he would have to out-Wallace Wallace.

The sad truth is that racism is so much the American way of life, South and North, that Mobile, Ala., succeeded in ignoring Wallace's rabble-rousing attempts to disrupt the bussing of its 42,000 white and 23,000 Black students better than did Pontiac, Mich., where the racist National Action Group (NAG) openly announced its intentions "to destroy" the 24,000-pupil Pontiac school system rather than allow it to integrate its 8,000 Black students via bussing.

Once Nixon had set the atmosphere, it was easy for the Ku Klux Klan—who, along with the American Nazi Party and a host of other right-wing organizations, openly supported NAG—to blow up ten school buses to the cheers of the white racists. It was no surprise that the Pontiac police department publicly donated a \$300 check to NAG. Unfortunately, it was not even a shock that 60 percent of the GM Fisher Body workers in Pontiac dared to "honor" a NAG picket line at their factory when, having failed to destroy the school system, NAG

(Continued on Page 8)

News & Letters

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NIXON'S GAME PLAN

I believe that parts of Nixon's program violate our constitutional rights, and that the President should be recalled. I believe that the UAW should lead all unions in taking a nation-wide strike vote against the action taken by the President.

All we have heard since the President's speech is a lot of noise from our labor representatives. It is time for action.

Remember Germany in the 1930's when dictatorship was taking over. Only people who are blind can fail to see what is happening in America now. Let us fight back before it is too late.

Auto Worker
California

The West Coast Longshoremens were on strike as all hell broke loose between the centralization and concentration of capital at the top, and the socialization and the revolt of labor at the bottom, i.e. the Nixon wage-freeze, and labor's response to it. The International Longshoremens' Association (all the East coast, Gulf coast and Great Lakes dock workers) are almost certain to strike when their contract expires on Oct. 1.

Nixon is doing, or trying to do, in labor relations, exactly what was done in all totalitarian state-capitalist countries: Italy, Germany, Russia, Spain, China. It isn't because he's "evil", but because anyone in his position, trying to stop the class war in order to continue a war in Southeast Asia, would be forced to do the same. But Nixon is now contending with the American working class in a head-on collision.

Harry Bridges has been silencing his critics within the ILWU, right and left, on political issues. You see what we in the ILWU are up against. He's giving the AFL-CIO and Teamster bureaucrats a kick in their pants to move them off their swivel chairs. In so doing

he has solidarized labor rank and file behind him to a man. Don't underestimate Bridges' tactics.

ILWU Member
San Francisco

Nixon talks about law and order, but he is responsible for a lot of the crime increase we are suffering since he is responsible for the growing unemployment in this country, and that is what results in crime.

Construction Worker
Michigan

ATTICA

The Attica massacre really brought home just how far the bourgeoisie is willing to go, not just to put down a prison riot, which certainly could have been done with less brutality, but to make sure America — and especially Black America — understands what's in store for anyone who dares to seriously challenge their rule. They are prepared to kill even their own guards to make an example of any who dare to declare their humanity. To have used any less brutal tactics would not have made it perfectly clear that Law and Order will prevail.

Not only that, they were very scared of the political level that the rebellion reached. Had it been just a riot, and not a thinking, directional rebellion, they would perhaps have used less brutal tactics. Perhaps.

Student
Connecticut

The total disregard for human life is unbelievable — until you realize that it has almost become the "American Way of Life". The slaughter in Vietnam, the slaughter in Attica, the inhumanity of this society permeates everything.

It is significant that the only human-



Reader's

ity that seems to have been practiced at Attica was the humanity the prisoners showed for the guards — and that was attested to by the hostages, themselves.

Mother
Pennsylvania

The Establishment made it quite clear last year in Marin County, California that they wouldn't let Blacks get away with anything — even at the expense of a judge and women hostages. That incident should have made it clear that no one's life is important. But I was still shocked at the bloodshed at Attica.

Two little words tell everything — the guards called their clubs "nigger sticks". Racism is so ingrained in the U.S. that it makes you feel numb.

White Working Woman
New York

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Notes on Women's Liberation was wonderful and I want to be sure to get any other literature you have. I have been an entertainer for many years and the oppression that women entertainers go through is unbelievable. I almost cracked up, fighting to maintain my integrity and self-respect. If you are interested, I'll send you my story.

New Reader
Chicago

Right on, power to the people, smash capitalism, etc. etc.? No, we can't dig your paper. Your coverage of feminism is at best token. At worst, a further degradation and misinterpretation of the most radical and continually undermined force in history — feminism.

Women are the revolution. The struggles of other peoples are against

VALUES that are indirectly indicative of a masculine-oriented, masculine-dominated WORLD-WIDE CULTURE. (Dig the emphasis, please.)

University Women's Group
Nebraska

The more I see of women like Irene McCabe and those other NAG mothers, the more disgusted I feel at some WL people who keep insisting that "all women are my sisters." Irene McCabe may be their "sister"—but she certainly isn't mine.

When I saw those hate-filled faces of the white mothers picketing the busses in Pontiac, I suddenly remembered all those pictures of hate-filled mothers jeering at the little black children in Little Rock way back in 1957. We certainly haven't moved very far from then. Just North. I remember a cartoon you ran way back then called "White Motherhood — Little Rock." You ought to run it again and call it "White Motherhood — Pontiac."

White Mother
Detroit

(EDITOR'S NOTE: See Page 2.)

QUEBEC

A lot of people are watching the school crisis at Sturgeon Falls in the Northern part of Ontario. The public high school is "bi-lingual" even though over three-fourths of the students are French-speaking. So now, students and parents are asking for a French-only school and have brought classes to a halt. The school board has refused their demand. The story isn't over yet.

Correspondent
Quebec

TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

Editor's Note: The review of MARXISM AND FREEDOM which appeared in LE MONDE, Sept. 3, 1971, was so scurrilous that Raya Dunayevskaya felt it necessary to concentrate her brief reply to the editor on the slander of associating her name with that of her enemy, James Burnham. We reprint below, first, excerpts from the review; her reply follows.

Two Revisionists": Karl Marx, by Karl Korsch; Marxism and Freedom by Raya Dunayevskaya

Two classic works, as famous as they are marginal, have just been translated into French: the critical study that Karl Korsch devoted to Marx, and *Marxism and Freedom* by Raya Dunayevskaya. Although their points of departure are very different—German ultra-Leftism on the one, a deviant Trotskyism eaten up with anti-Communism for the other—the two works join together in the end in their common desire to “de-Bolshevize,” or “de-Communist” Marxism . . .

A CLASSIC OF ANTI-COMMUNISM

It is from Hegel and from a fundamental hostility to Lenin that Raya Dunayevskaya draws the theoretical justification for her project. *Marxism and Freedom* proposes not only to “de-Bolshevize” Marxism, but to “de-Communist” it. This book is important for the problems it poses, but distressing in the manner in which it resolves them. Wishing to understand the unity of theory and practice in Marxism, Dunayevskaya offers us a classic of anti-Communism. It is not without interest to recall that in 1937-38 she was Trotsky's secretary in Mexico, and that he separated himself from her as soon as the Second World War broke out on account of her totally negative opinion of the Soviet system, in which she saw only a “state-capitalism”—a theory maintained by another notorious “Trotskyist” James Burnham.

If Raya Dunayevskaya is to be believed, it was through a series of aberrations that Marxism, a theory of liberation, came to be identified with “its opposite, Communism, the theory and practice of slavery.” *Marxism and Freedom* tries to reconstitute for us the very essence of Marxism: “Humanism,” through a critique of Lenin-Trotsky-Stalino-Maoism. Even more, it tries to show the American roots of Marxism. In fact, the shameful revision she offers us is, itself, very American.

The idea was nonetheless an interesting one: to

Slandorous book review nailed by author's reply

return to Marx and Hegel in order to understand the Stalinist caricature thereof. But the author's anti-Communist spite spares no analysis . . .

The most astonishing thing is that Dunayevskaya attempts to justify her anti-Communism through Marx himself . . . Dunayevskaya's book . . . bears witness to the impossibility of separating Marxism from those who transformed History in the name of Marxism.

—Jean-Michel Palmier
Sept. 13, 1971

Editor, *Le Monde*:

I was shocked to find, in a review of my work, *Marxism and Freedom*, by Jean-Michel Palmier (*Le Monde*, Sept. 3), a manifestation of a rather subtle form of amalgam-building between myself and “another notorious ‘Trotskyist,’ . . . James Burnham.” Mr. Palmier introduced the name James Burnham on the alleged ground that my analysis of state-capitalism is a thesis “defended by . . . James Burnham.” James Burnham, however, far from being an exponent of the theory of state-capitalism, is the originator of the theory of “managerial society.” Moreover, this generation knows him better as the arch-conservative he now is than as the dissident Trotskyist of the 1930's. Pray tell, what possible reason could Mr. Palmier have for dragging in the name of an American neo-fascist when reviewing the work of an American revolutionary Marxist? Mr. Palmier did not deign to explain, proceeding unabashedly onward. In a tone of finality, as if that, in itself, were sufficient to condemn *Marxism and Freedom* till kingdom come, he assessed my work as “very American.”

I DO plead guilty to attempting to demonstrate the American roots of Marxism. It was Marx, however, not I, who wrote that, just as the American Revolution of 1776 “sounded the tocsin” for the French Revolution of 1789, so the American Civil War sounded it for the working-class revolutions of the mid-nineteenth century. All I did was to show how, under the impact of the Civil War in the United States, Marx restructured the whole of Capital, and how, under the impact of the Paris Commune, Marx deepened his analysis of the fetishism of commodities as well as the law of motion of capitalism in the stage of concentration and centralization of capital “in the hands either of a single capitalist or a single capitalist corporation,” Marx's own projection of state-capitalism.

Interestingly enough, American reviewers in the

McCarthyite 1950's criticized me as sharply as does this French reviewer in 1971, for carrying through the American roots of Marxism, from Marx's day and his defense of the Abolitionists, to my heralding of the Black revolution initiated in our epoch by the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955-56. Permit me to quote from my comments when I contrasted the scepticism which greeted my projection of the Black revolution to the treatment of the same revolution as a veritable cliché by the mid-1960's: “Yet the fact that a revolution can be treated as a mere journalistic phrase only further reveals the failure to grapple with the truth that the American Negro has always been the touchstone of American civilization which had an ever expanding frontier but no unifying philosophy.” (p. 12) Evidently, Mr. Palmier considered the American roots of Marxism so outlandish that, instead of citing any, he busied himself with the contention that I was out to “de-Bolshevize” Marxism. Where did he read that? Not in my work. I was too preoccupied proving that Stalin completed the total “de-Bolshevization” of Marxism—or to put it more precisely in my own terminology, the vitiation of Marxism and Leninism as well as the transformation of the first workers' state into its absolute opposite, state-capitalism, which Stalinism (be it Russian or of any other nationality) calls Communism.

THE REVIEWER, not I, linked into a single unit (all duly hyphenated) “Lenino-Trotsky-Stalino-Maoism.” I, on the contrary, not only made the gulf between Stalin and Lenin unbridgeable, but also demonstrated that it was Lenin who saved Marxism when World War I caused the collapse of the then-established Marxism, the Second International. If the reviewer stopped reading before he reached page 168, the section entitled “Lenin and the Dialectic: A Mind in Action,” he certainly had read the third paragraph of my special preface to the French edition, which states: “Thus, Lenin, to lay the theoretic foundations for November, 1917, ‘rewrote’ Marx's *Civil War in France as State and Revolution* . . . ‘Every worker, every peasant, every toiler, every one who is exploited, the whole population to a man!’”

Since Mr. Palmier considered my personal past as Trotsky's secretary “not without interest,” may I recommend to him the documented archives (“Raya Dunayevskaya Collection”), “Marxist-Humanism: Its Origin and Development in America, 1941-1969,” available on microfilm through the Wayne State University Labor Library in Detroit, Michigan?

—Raya Dunayevskaya

Views

NIXON-MAO MEET

I thought the August-September issue was the greatest! I made every Maoist-pologist I know read it while I watched. It was wonderful to see them squirm.

Student
San Francisco

Until I read your last issue I think I underrated the importance of Daniel Ellsberg's great doing in releasing the Pentagon Papers. I hope it is true that they “killed the myth of capitalist truth.” But I fear that myths are not that easily destroyed.

Reader
Nebraska

I know you couldn't have known about Nixon's surprise “economic bombshell” when you wrote your article on the Nixon-Mao meeting—but there it all was, all the background and reasons why Nixon would no such a thing.

What struck me most was how your article ended. It is not enough to “die for the cause”. We have to LIVE for the cause, with new ideas of Freedom.

Supporter
New York

NORTHERN IRELAND

We send this appeal at the height of the greatest crisis which has faced the Irish nation since the War of Independence, 1918-21.

The true violence in Northern Ireland today is the denial of jobs to 52,000 citizens, the denial of homes to Protestant and Catholic workers while the privileged few reside on large estates, profitably acquired from the Irish people without compensation. Such economic oppression is being met with increasing resistance by the people. Mr. Faulkner's solution to the problems of his people

is to smash their homes, use British troops to terrorize them, and now, finally, to lock them up in concentration camps, without charge or trial.

Funds are desperately needed now to assist the families of the 1,500 prisoners currently interned and to provide legal defense for the internees. Checks can be made payable to Robert Emmet Club, marked “Prisoner's Emergency Fund”, and sent to: Robert Emmet Club, c/o Naughton, 2785 Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11235.

Irish Republican Club
New York

Why doesn't the British anti-war movement raise a demand to “Bring the British troops home now!” From North Ireland. I wonder how many realize that there are the same number of British troops there, proportionate to the population of North Ireland, as there are American troops in Vietnam.

Anti-War Activist
Detroit

There is a district of Belfast called Bunker Hill in honor of the battle during the American Revolution, in which the majority of the American forces were composed of Ulstermen. The war for independence had a great following in Ulster for the simple reason that so many “Scotch-Irish” were involved in the struggle. It is a useful reminder of when Ulster Presbyterians fought for freedom.

Observer
Ireland

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A demonstration to protest the occupation of Czechoslovakia and the war in Vietnam was held in Seattle on Aug. 21, the anniversary of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. It was

sponsored by the Student Peace Union, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the YPSL.

We were seeking to point out the similarities between the U.S. invasion of Vietnam and the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, and to protest violence, militarism and oppression both West and East, both right and left, wherever they occur.

In order to placate world public opinion, both Russia and the U.S. claim to be withdrawing their troops. Brezhnev calls it “Normalization.” Nixon calls it “Vietnamization.” In both cases, we consider it to be deceptive, since some troops have been withdrawn, while many troops remain. In both cases, it is designed to continue the present denial of self-determination to the people.

SPU, FOR, YPSL
Seattle

BLACK CHRONOLOGY

I think your readers would like to know that *The Chronological History of the Negro in America* compiled by Peter Bergman—which is the single total chronology available anywhere—and which was too expensive in hardcover for almost anyone to afford, is now out in paperback for only \$1.50 from Mentor Press.

Reader
New York

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

Most kids in this country feel there is something basically wrong with the system we are living under. Most workers, I am sure feel the same. We have to have something different, and soon, or we are going to have a police state.

SDS was an unbelievably promising thing at one time, but it turned into its opposite because it didn't have a theory that led them anywhere. I don't question people's motives—it's just that it is very difficult for someone growing up in a middle-class life to see what the real

contradictions in this society are, and what you can do about them.

Marxist-Humanism has to be able to explain things to people who are looking for answers. Nobody else is doing it.

High School Student
Los Angeles

I think it is very important to look at the totality of every situation. We have to stop being “pragmatic,” and we can't be abstract either.

For example, the NLF is certainly one of the forces of self-determination in Vietnam, the one that is fighting U.S. imperialism more than anyone else. But what about building a new society? The Saigon students are demonstrating against the government in the middle of the war. There have also been many strikes by the labor unions. The Buddhists have also consistently opposed the government. Ho Chi Minh's regime was not a very great example of a new human society; there was a large Trotskyist movement there before he took power, which he crushed—not that you would know that from reading the Trotskyist paper now. The NLF is a part, not the whole of the picture.

Instructor
Los Angeles

KERR CO. REVIVAL

America's oldest socialist publisher, Charles H. Kerr & Co., has been revived after several years of virtual inactivity. The company was founded in 1886 and during its 85 year history has published an extraordinary number of writers, including the first American edition of the 3 volumes of Karl Marx's *Capital*.

Present plans are to use the income from sales of old titles, many of which are now rare collector's items, to finance new publications, as well as reprints of out-of-print titles. For further information, write:

Virgil J. Vogel
Charles H. Kerr & Co.
431 S. Dearborn St., Rm. 829
Chicago, Ill. 60605



YOUTH

5,000 protest STRESS

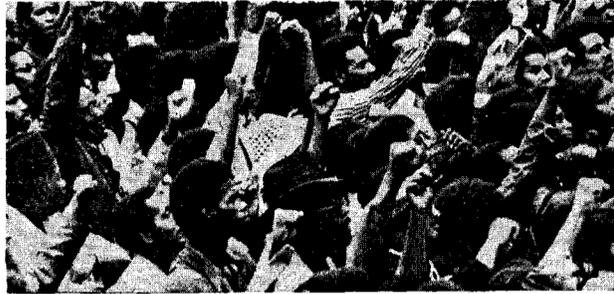
Detroit, Mich.—Thousands of angry people turned out for the protest march here after two Black teenagers were shot to death by a white policeman on Sept. 17. A "State of Emergency Committee" was organized to demand the end of STRESS — Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets (sic!) — a special unit of the Detroit Police Force, made up of plainclothes officers who are supposed to try to entice muggers, prostitutes, etc. They have killed ten people since they were formed in May, nine of them Black.

The two teenagers who were shot down had been working at the Northland Family Center. Their deaths aroused the community so much that even the Black policemen's organization, the Guardians, joined the call for the demonstration.

As soon as we got to the park where the march was to start, it was apparent that the crowd was made up largely of Black youth though there were many older people, as well. I would say that at least half of the 5,000 marchers were high-school students who had walked out of school to join the protest. Some workers had walked out of their shops, too. We walked from the park to the Wayne County Jail downtown, and the line was so big it took about an hour and a half to get there.

The Jail was surrounded by police. Everyone in the march raised their fists as they circled the jail, in defiance and in sympathy with the prisoners inside. It was as if everyone was speaking with one voice, and from inside we could hear the prisoners cheering us.

After we circled the jail for some time, the march moved back to Kennedy Square. The mothers of the



Marchers protest police killings.

two youth who had been killed thanked the crowd and asked us to keep up our solidarity.

A sister in the Wayne County jail had sent a letter describing the conditions inside. It was shocking to hear what was going on right in central Detroit. And these are not prisoners who have been convicted of any crimes. They are just awaiting trial.

They are not allowed more than two showers a week. They have almost no medical care, even though the jail is located right between two hospitals. The only medication they get are aspirins and barbiturates. There is one group of officers the prisoners call the Goon Squad, which was compared to Hitler's Stormtroopers.

The banners that the crowd carried showed everyone understood that what they were protesting was really just one part of the whole system of oppression against the poor and the Black. The signs linked up what is happening in Detroit with Attica, Angela Davis, Jackson State University, the Vietnam War, and Nixon's whole new game plan.

DOING AND THINKING

By Elliott Douglass

East Lansing, Mich.—With the new breed of 18-21 year-old voters cropping up in many college towns, older voters are asking, long before the '72 election, whether youth would make itself felt. East Lansing is no exception. Late this summer, a primary election was held to select candidates for seats on the city council to run in the November general election.

The array of student candidates was astounding, and so was the student voter turn-out. Registration for voting was so heavy that the hours had to be extended, the lines were so lengthy.

Despite this turnout of youth, their potential impact was overshadowed by an unusual turnout of older voters. The result was a resounding victory for the "Establishment" and the mayor, while student activist candidates lost. Scarcely had everyone recovered from this setback, when Attorney General Mitchell declared that it would not be right to allow college students to vote outside of their home precincts.

The strategy of changing society by "capturing" City Hall seems more hopeless than ever, and new alternatives for creating a youth impact are frantically being sought.

A more universal display of youth power was seen this year when a half-million youth tried to shut down the nation's capital and failed. In contrast only a few draw-

'Capturing' City Hall

bridge workers in New York City were able to put the town in shambles. The shock of recognition, that labor is pivotal, drew cries of disbelief and amazement from some in the New Left.

It was simply fantastic — and with no "Mao" or leader to direct them, just as the actuality of the civil rights movement seems equally amazing when looking back. One may criticize older people on tactics, but the miracle of the "Movement" to this day, is its working existence.

To those who see nothing but negativism in the youth movement of the '60s, we must say that it was the youths' daring and energy that propelled such heights in mass activity, whether it was the "Free Speech" Movement, "Freedom Rides" or "Black Power."

But the real requirement is not organization. There are enough groups now who glorify Malcolm X when among Blacks and then keep the "vanguard role" for themselves. What is hungered for now is a combination of theory and practice. It is not a matter of strategy, that is to say, "planning" action at the polls or in the streets, that will fully manifest youth as a dynamic force for revolution.

Nor will serious theory for such change spout from the heads of self-styled revolutionaries. The answer for youth is in utilizing its vitality in listening to voices of revolt and meeting the challenge. Only a philosophy that seeks a true transformation of social relationships can achieve this.

African youth urges unity in movement

(Reprinted from THE NATION, Aug. 14, 1971, People's Press, 3, Box Bar Road, Bathurst, The Gambia, West Africa.)

About eight years ago, there were signs of progressive and militant youth movements working for a better and lasting independent country. But in the intervening years, unchartered direction to no-where seems to be the outward sign of a youth movement that is in disarray.

Last year the dissatisfaction of youth . . . brought about open aggressive tendencies, not unexpectedly.

Because the youth had no original and definite aims but imitations of groups abroad, they could not build a movement with a base that was Gambian in origin. Unlike youth movements elsewhere present-day Gambian youth seem unable to hold fast to anything or endure hard struggle for the benefit of a large section or community. When therefore the youth rebelled against the present system, they appeared as Black Panthers, Scorpions and Vows with no coherent thought for action. The intervention of the Courts during their rebellion brought silence in

some quarters of the movement and in others complete disappearance . . . The youth must decide and very quickly whether they are going to take off where their predecessors left off or be indifferent.

If the grievances of the youth were genuine as expressed before youths were taken to the Magistrates Court, what are they now doing to put things right? The fact that the revolts and rebellions occurred in spite of political parties through whom their grievances could have been put, shows that they were not satisfied with their representatives or their MP's. If my assumption is right; that is to say, if youths are not satisfied with the performance of the existing political parties, then they must think of a good organization that would express their political views. They must begin to think of alternatives that would represent the youths . . .

. . . My fellow youth, The Gambia of tomorrow is ours! . . . Let us put aside envy and suspicion of each other and be resolved to be determined as militant youths taking active part in the progress of our country. Be not like most of our opportunist predecessors whom many of my fellow youths seem to follow. Be original militants whatever the situation.

Gambian Youth

Cultural revolution or workers' revolt?

By David Joven

THE GREENING OF AMERICA by Charles Reich, Random House, New York, 1970, \$7.95.

Revolution is the subject of a recent best selling book, *The Greening of America*. Author Charles Reich's revolution is cultural in content, and that is supposed to transform all other aspects of life as well. I'm not debating the necessity of a cultural revolution; rather the relationship of culture to the rest of society.

Culture is the entire way of life in a given society. For the most part, the advanced industrial world lives in a state capitalist culture. The crucial thing is not the way people dress or the music they listen to, but the relationship at the point of production. Reich is very good in recognizing the dull, dehumanizing nature of today's jobs. However, he can only come up with a "one-dimensional man" who will have to be reached by some advanced students.

The workers' own revolt is never measured, and so we are presented with a picture of an overwhelming technological monster that cannot be defeated by what Reich calls "traditional revolutionary means."

The author poses the question of social revolution as simply one of the overwhelming power of the state vs. the small arms fire of the revolutionaries. What about a general strike? Isn't that a more realistic way to defeat the machine than asking people to completely change the way they live without providing the material basis for that change?

Reich cannot be criticized for not recognizing that we're in an age that is not simply the imperialist stage of capitalism. In fact, it seems as though he's skipped completely over the state-capitalist phase and gone on to a society where the main spring is pure unadulterated organization. Hurray! We no longer have anyone to fight — the ruling class can't even control its own machine anymore!

SOCIETY TRANSFORMS ITSELF

And so, on the one hand Reich insists that society will be transformed by consciousness, and on the other, holds to the extreme determinist viewpoint that organization, technology, the machine, run everything. Consciousness supercedes the economic-political structure with Consciousness III being the highest form of life. If you have reached this level, then Reich assures you that you have little to worry about as long as you live a genuine life — that is, make your own individual revolution and watch it spread like wildfire.

There's no doubt that we are undergoing a period of rapidly changing consciousness, especially on the part of the young. However, that will never be enough in and of itself. The institutions and the insane production system must be changed, and the major force in making that change will be the working class.

ISOLATION NOT REVOLUTIONARY

Unfortunately, being a Yale professor can put one in a terribly isolated position from the rest of society. Viewed objectively, the subject of Reich's revolution (university students) are not in an objective position to destroy the present system.

Don't get me wrong — I would recommend the book to anyone. *The Greening of America* really does contain some great insights into just exactly the type of life that Consciousness II has to offer. Reich touches on just about every aspect of our culture, including alienation, the failure of reform, and television. Personally, I wish the prophecy of a new society through the magic power of consciousness alone was all true. It sure would make things a whole lot easier.

Quebecois battle Power

Montreal, Quebec—A battle is in the making right now against the Power Corporation, a \$3 billion holding firm which controls most of the media and transport in Quebec. This company is growing like a cancer!

First, the employees at the Voyageur Terminal in Montreal threatened to go on strike. They got some kind of temporary settlement at the last minute.

Right now a lock out and strike is on at LA PRESSE (what used to be the biggest French-language paper in North America) where the company is trying to replace 300 workers by automation. Scabs have even driven through picket lines. Management wants so much to win that the paper has now been reduced to a pitiful rag.

Next may be the turn of the taxis. Diamond Cab has used its cars to bring in strikebreakers. The big demonstration of taxis driving to Que' city against Bill 23 is also directed against Power.

Also a lot of municipal transport workers may lose their jobs if Murray Hill, which is in very close to Paul Desmarais, president of Power Corp., takes over some of the services in the city. Murray Hill pays \$1.25 per hr. to its employees.

This is a fight directly and consciously against Power Corp. itself, against automation, monopolization and the centralization of capital which is going on all over the world.

George Jackson, Soledad Brother

BLACK-RED VIEW

Prisoners massacred as jail rebellions sweep U. S.

By John Alan

George Jackson, Soledad Brother, is dead! Killed Aug. 21 by two expertly fired rifle shots in the hands of San Quentin guards, during, if you can believe the officials, an incredible escape attempt from maximum security row. Lester Jackson, his father, on Aug. 25 called for a probe of his son's death, to "investigate the conflicting stories . . . we have only the officials' story . . . we've started a nationwide campaign because Governor Reagan won't do anything."

We may never know the truth of the bizarre day. Defense lawyers claim that Drumgo and Clutchette have been beaten repeatedly and are in fear of their lives; Allen Mancino, who was with Jackson at the time he was

Attica-fruit of racist prison system in U.S.

NEW YORK, N.Y.—" . . . the entire incident at Attica . . . is a result of the unmitigated oppression brought by the racist administration network of the prison. We are men; not beasts. We will not be beaten or driven as such."

The speaker was a black inmate on the first day of the prisoner rebellion at the State Correctional Facility in Attica, N.Y. From Thursday, Sept. 9 until Monday, Sept. 13, 1,500 inmates held a huge portion of that prison as well as 38 hostages in a desperate attempt to gain recognition of 28 demands which had long been ignored by the Corrections Department.

Negotiations for a peaceful settlement had gone smoothly until the final issue: amnesty for all participants in the riot. Gov. Rockefeller refused to go to Attica to discuss the point, ostensibly because the issue was "settled" for him when a guard, William Quinn, died on Saturday as a result of injuries sustained on the first day of the revolt. Quinn had been murdered, so amnesty was out of the question. But how was Quinn murdered?

"Those niggers threw him out a window!"
There are no unbarred windows at Attica.
"I mean, they threw him off a tier!"
There are no tiers at Attica.

RACIST LIES

Indeed, hundreds of sloppy fabrications were created at the lower levels by petty racists. Not only were these vicious lies publicized by N.Y. State authorities, but they were encouraged and endorsed by the official racists—up to and including Richard Nixon.

Maryann is a young woman whose fiance was recently sent to Attica for a crime that four psychiatrists testified he didn't remember committing. "You can't tell me that they're going to get prosecuted for this when they get away with killing nice, young college students," she said. "These are cons that they killed, and expendable guards. That's what's freaky—the guards just didn't matter. Rockefeller was amazed that they were able to save anybody, which is like saying, 'We thought we'd kill 'em all'. What did they prove? All they proved was that the prisoners were not blood-thirsty murderers."

The amnesty/no amnesty issue was summed up by David Rothenberg of the Fortune Society, who stated simply that, "Human dignity is a non-negotiable demand."

FORTUNE SOCIETY

The Fortune Society is an organization of ex-convicts who have dedicated their lives to helping men and women in and just coming out of prisons to get a better break than they did. After Attica broke, they took on the task of forcing the Prisons Department to release the names of the dead, injured and transferred, and then to break the news of the dead to 30 anxious, frightened families. They are also helping with funeral and transportation costs.

One of the central tragedies of Attica was that of the families of slain inmates. While families of hostages killed by the same bloody authorities got all attention and sympathies, the families of inmates were shoved aside and officially ignored. The responsibility of notifying families was relegated by default to the Fortune Society. It was five days before a list of the dead was almost complete; a full week later, the wounded list was grievously incomplete; ditto with the list of those transferred to other prisons in the wake of the rebellion.

Twice on the day that this correspondent was in the Fortune office in Manhattan, mothers called and asked the receptionists, "Do you have any information about my son?"

Their names were on the dead list.

"The degree of civilization in a society can be judged by entering its prisons." So wrote Fyodor Dostoevski in *The House of the Dead*. If what happened at Attica State Correctional Facility is any indication, then, truly, we are living in a very barbaric society.

shot, claims that Captain Moody, commander of guards at Soledad, "asked me if I would kill Jackson." Mancino is now in "protective custody." California's attorney general states "our criminal justice system isn't working." In the interim, the State Board of Corrections held an illegal secret meeting on the San Quentin slayings, and only made public their request for another \$2 million for more guards and electronic devices.

PREDICTED "CLOSED FUTURE"

George Lester Jackson was not a "free" man, but most aware of himself as a Black man, and as a prisoner. From his letter on "Outlaws" he starts out prophetically, ". . . I'm in a very unique political position. I have a very nearly closed future, and . . . get disturbed over organized injustices . . . One can be executed only once and in representing my party they can always explain me away with the fact of my 11 years . . ."

Governor Reagan's labelling of Jackson as a "savage" moved a former cellmate, now paroled and a student, to write: "in 6½ years of prison, I shared—prejudice, harassment, solitary confinement and physical abuse from officers . . . these experiences create monsters out of human beings . . . the prison system is designed to strip individuality, and humanity, the prisoner who refuses to cease being a man is punished—breeding hatred and violence, an attitude accepted on the inside. Such behavior is in the conditions they allow to exist—barrios, ghettos, poverty—as long as these continue, tragic events will take place not only behind prison walls, but in the streets . . ."

GOVERNMENT SENDS "ALERT"

The U.S. Justice Department sent a rare "alert" to all Prison Bureaus, warning of possible violence from the 200,000 prisoners now incarcerated within U.S. and State prisons!

And hear George Jackson, interviewed last March: "There's really conflict within the pig infrastructure. Assistant Warden James Park would like to convey that things are alright here . . . then there is the other element, the hard-liners, out and out fascists, who identify with John Birch and fascist ideology, they're the Lieutenants . . . the hard liners took over from Park and used the right wing convicts (who call themselves the Nazis)—one word from them can start a debacle."

What Jackson wrote in March became a news item in mid-September. Park was just replaced as Prison Information Officer and relieved of two other functions, visiting and inmate mail. In the same interview, Jackson told of the growing unity between Black, Chicano and white convicts who were "All equally repressed by the administration," and dealt with the relationship between the prison movement and the outside movement: ". . . I feel that the building of revolutionary consciousness of the prisoner class is paramount in the over-all development of a hard left revolutionary cadre—repeat, cadre. Of course the revolution has to be carried out by the masses."

Attica—rebellion, unity, massacre

George Jackson had been dead less than three weeks when the prisoners at Attica seized hostages and presented 30 demands to be negotiated. Of these, 28 were considered valid by the observers' committee of attorneys like Kunstler, and noted N.Y. Times columnist Tom Wicker. The massacre that followed, on orders of Gov. Rockefeller with the approval of President Nixon, has brought another shameful horror and expose of the magnitude of the racist poison in the minds of correctional officials.

Commissioner Oswald, an advocate of prison reform, was accused of "coddling prisoners" when he noted that a large majority (85 percent) of the inmates at Attica were Black or Puerto Rican and said, "Nothing is more powerful than an idea, and they have the idea they are victims of a racist society."

Confirmation of this idea came clearly from a prison employee who publicly stated, "I don't want to work there so long as this state is run by the Oswalds, the Dunbars and the niggers" thus reflecting the general opinion of the all white inhabitants of Attica who chose to believe their relatives were killed by cutthroat prisoners instead of by the gunfire of the state police and guards.

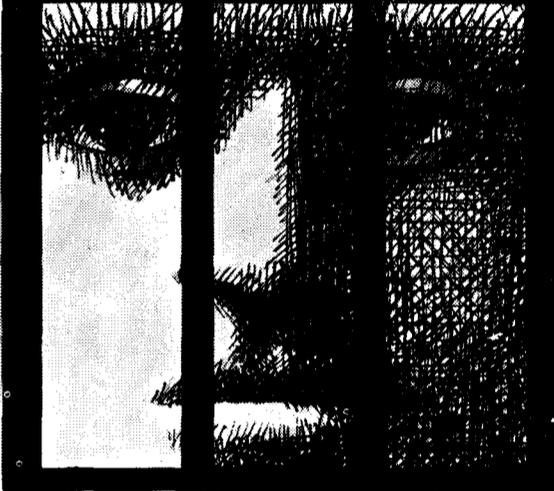
Forty dead, hundreds wounded, and now after the massacre three inquiry panels to gather information for governmental sources, while simultaneously three busloads of prisoners are removed through a side entrance to be dispersed in other prisons!

"SOLUTION IS UNITY"

The amazing unity of the rebels, as testified to by Tom Wicker, succeeded in welding together in rebellion a most unbrotherly group of men. One Black youth shouted, "To oppressed people all over the world, we got the solution! The solution is Unity!"

Ideas spring from the very existence of man, and the idea of freedom is the most powerful and persistent among men. Maybe Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Mississippi civil rights leader, summed it up last week when she said: "I've passed equal rights, I'm fighting for human rights, for the liberation of all people, because nobody's free until everybody's free!"

men in prison
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By Eugene Walker

WORLD IN VIEW

Revolutionary and not-so-revolutionary fronts in Southeast Asia

If the Nixon-directed U.S. invasion of Cambodia united "all"—China and North Korea together with Indochina's four so-called revolutionary governments or movements (the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam; the National Union Government set up under the auspices of the United National Front of Cambodia; and the Patriotic Front of the Pathet Lao) in a way which none, Mao, Ho or Giap had been able to do in the post World War II world, then the China-U.S. "diplomatic breakthrough" has put this as well as many other "revolutionary fronts" in question.

It is not that the front spoke always with a unified voice, or was not being tugged at from a number of directions, but the possible Nixon-Mao meeting puts all parts of the front on the spot. It is not simply a question of whether Vietnam is settled through Paris or Peking, as central as that is. There is also the question of two Koreas; of China and Taiwan; of the growing American involvement in Cambodia and its continual bombing in Laos; of China's attempt to squeeze Russia out of any voice in Indochina. There is the role that Japan is to play in Asia.

It thus becomes necessary to look at just how truly revolutionary are different aspects of the front.

South America

Peru's military government has been rearming its forces at a cost of between \$200 and \$300 million. While other countries along the Andes like Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia and Venezuela have not spent as much, they too have been engaged in armament programs. The industrialized countries of the West are delighted with the present boom in highly profitable arms sales to Latin America.

Some may hail these purchases made by supposedly leftist military regimes of Peru and the recently deposed one of Bolivia. A closer look at both regimes will demonstrate the limitations of change in any country where decisions by "a new breed of military man" are supposed to eliminate the necessity for class struggle.

Peru—The Peruvian tests of the military government reforms have shown the restrictiveness of those reforms. Workers in the sugar-producing cooperatives have been seeking genuine control over their cooperatives. In some cases this has led to strikes and to prison sentences for strike leaders. The military in power claims that their control with a bent toward the "left" would solve the economic and political problems and therefore eliminate class struggle in Peru. They view their role as mediator, as social mobilizer of both the Peruvian masses and the Peruvian landowners. But the class contradictions cannot be solved that easily, as the generals are finding. Predictably, their solution is a move toward the authoritarianism of the right-wing military of old.

Cambodia serves well to show both the obvious reactionary front of U.S. imperialism and the non-revolutionary nature of the "revolutionary front."

Cambodia—Vietnamese soldiers—both Hanoi's and Saigon's—have been unleashed in Cambodia. And it is not the first time that the Vietnamese have invaded Cambodia.

The U.S. has been subsidizing the South Vietnamese military operation in Cambodia. In addition they have paid for the training of thousands of Cambodian soldiers in Vietnam. They have supplied the Lon Nol regime in Cambodia with arms and massive bombing support. Money aid runs well over one billion dollars a year—more than the entire per capita income for the entire Cambodian nation.

In the Parrot's Beak of Svay Rieng the consequences of the two Cambodia's alliances with the two Vietnams can be seen. Observers tell of the partial accommodation between the North and South Vietnamese on one side and the government and Sihanouk armies on the other. The South Vietnamese tend to ravage the Khmer Rouge countryside while leaving the North Vietnamese alone. The North Vietnam troops steer clear of the South Vietnamese fire bases, but attack Cambodian government positions. Cambodians on both sides suffer the conse-

Bolivia—The overthrow of General Juan Jose Torres' left military government was accomplished swiftly. General Torres wanted a national revolutionary regime, but felt he could get it without a purge of the armed forces, and most importantly, without reviving the workers' militia, which had pushed through the original agricultural reforms and nationalization of the tin mines. But an armed militia would have put power in the hands of the Bolivian people, a push further than the Torres regime wanted.

Although an unofficial people's assembly of the mining unions and student organization was permitted, it was without arms. Only when the fall of the Torres government was in process were any arms given out. By then it was too late and the arms too inadequate to stand up to the tanks of a right-wing coup led by Colonel Hugo Banzer Suarez.

Europe

Yugoslavia—"Long live Communism—down with the Communists" is a slogan of students at Belgrade Faculty of Letters and at Ljubljana University in Slovenia. The students call themselves communists but disapprove of what the ruling party is doing. They demand recognition of their movement as a political force. They want socialism but do not look to any system in either the East or the West, and accuse their own government of betraying socialism by insistence on pragmatic solutions.

Who are these students? They are not Trotskyists, but they are about to bring out a book by Trotsky. They are not Maoists, but they read avidly every book they can on the Chinese Cultural Revolu-

quences of their alliances but benefit little from them.

In terms of the revolutionary front, is Cambodia just an unavoidable detour on North Vietnam's way to Saigon? And now with Nixon-Mao, is Vietnam just a stepping stone on China's way to big power politics?

China-Japan—For China the interests lie further than the Indochina peninsula. No doubt it wishes a united and friendly bloc in its southeast and is working as an Asian country against the West of the U.S. and Russia.

China is determined that there be no Soviet-American solution to the Indochinese conflict. The 17th parallel cannot simply be reestablished. The peninsula of 1971 is not the peninsula of 1954. But looming large in the picture of any Asian solution is Japan with its super-power economy, which is a threat to any China-dominated Asia. This becomes particularly important as Russia tries to interest Japan in taking part in the development of Siberia and at the same time takes an anti-Chinese and anti-Asian posture. China for its part may hope to split the American-Japanese partnership of the post-war period by showing that it would be in Washington's interest to restrain Japan's growing might.

They are not aligned with the pro-Soviet Yugoslav Cominformists, and support independence from the Soviet bloc.

They are interested in better living conditions. Some are fighting for the self-determination of nationalities within Yugoslavia. They are concerned about the fact that only 35 percent of university students are workers' sons, whereas workers and peasants make up 80 percent of the Slovenian population.

(The following letter was received from Scotland on the events in Ireland.)

Glasgow—Feeling is growing in Glasgow about Ireland. There will be a demonstration on Oct. 16. The demands will be: Withdrawal of British troops from Ulster, end of internment, and the right of the Irish people to decide their own future.

Meantime, the reactionaries in Belfast have put out a leaflet calling for loyalist elements to arm themselves. It declared "Our enemies are Romanism and Communism." The demand is also being made for the return of the B. Specials. It becomes obvious that the Irish problem is one of the people of Ireland as a whole and the sooner the British troops are withdrawn the better.

Here is an interesting development. The priests in two Catholic churches have banned the sale of the "Catholic Pictorial," a paper that circulates in the Liverpool Archdiocese. The paper, after criticizing both Irish Governments, called for Westminster to take control and for the I.R.A. to stop their activities. We can be sure that those at the top in the Catholic Church will be far from happy about this action.

—Harry McShane, Glasgow

Nixon declares war on labor and Blacks with wage freeze, anti-busing stand

(Continued from Page 4)

succeeded in showing the depth of American racism by shutting down the factory instead. But, if not a "shock," it was a tragedy—and a warning.

It is true that the UAW sent its officials to Pontiac to condemn the NAG picket line, just as they waged a much-belated campaign three years ago—under pressure from Black workers—to expose George Wallace's true labor record to white workers among whom he had been making alarming headway. It undoubtedly helped some of them to regain their good class sense in sufficient time by election day.

Yet just as the labor bureaucracy bore the responsibility for having helped to nurture Wallace, so it must bear its share of the responsibility today for what happened at the Pontiac Fisher Body plant—by its own utter failure to fight racism, beginning in its own house.

CLASS STRUGGLE AND BLACK REVOLT

It is more true today than ever that "American civilization has been on trial from the day of its birth. Its hollow slogans of democracy have been found wanting from the very start of the labor and Negro struggles at the beginning of the 19th century. The first appearance of trade unions and workingmen's parties in the U.S. paralleled the greatest of slave revolts and the emergence of the Abolitionist movement. This parallelism is the characteristic feature of American class struggle. Only when these two great movements coalesce do we reach decisive turning points in U.S. development." (From American Civilization on Trial, see ad page 7).

It is this intimate connection between capitalism and racism, and between class struggle and Black revolt, which the labor bureaucracy has concealed and which it cannot reveal so long as it remains tied to the capitalist organizations.

For white labor to win the battles that lie ahead with Nixon, it is necessary to recognize the vanguard role of the Black masses, both historically and today. It was Black union leaders from 25 racially mixed unions in 20 states—including United Steel workers and UAW as well as the Meatcutters and Allied Industrial Workers—who gathered in Chicago immediately after Nixon revealed his freeze to plan their counter-attack and announce "a revolt by Black union leaders started in the hope that white union leaders will follow suit."

"GENERATION OF PEACE"

It is the unity of all the forces aligned against him that Nixon fears the most, as he faces the totality of the world crises we have reached with a putrid, degenerate capitalism.

The Vietnam War is supposedly being ended. Yet, even as Nixon promises that we are entering "a generation of peace," no less than \$80 billion is being asked for the military. Indeed, the dollar that Nixon has just claimed to have rescued from being held hostage by the "international speculators" has actually been the hostage of the American military. It is the war that has brought on the inflation, not "higher wages."

Moreover, the U.S. has no intention of withdrawing all troops from Southeast Asia. The "residual force" it is talking of keeping in Vietnam consists of no less than

25,000 men. U.S. imperialism, out for world mastery, intends to be dominant in Asia. The only way all troops will be withdrawn, will be if the American people compel it.

In short, there is no solution to any of the problems of our decaying world, short of social revolution. That is what all of the rulers out for world mastery—whether they are in the U.S., in China, or in Russia—understand very clearly. That is why in every country, preparation for the Big War tomorrow, means war against the masses at home today.

UNITY OF FORCES NEEDED

That is why it is urgent not to separate the anti-Vietnam war movement from the class struggles or from the Black Revolt. Most important of all, these ceaseless struggles that are going on daily, cannot be separated from a total philosophy of freedom—independent of all existing state-powers.

The demonstration at Cobo Hall in Detroit is a sign of the kind of unity the struggle demands. Another is the host of labor organizations in Atlanta, Ga., which have joined the Atlanta Peace Coalition in opposition to the Nixon Administration's freeze, condemning it as a "crucial move by the government to force the American men and women to pay directly for a war that has been overwhelmingly rejected by the majority." They plan a mass demonstration on Nov. 6.

The months ahead will see many more protests—from the march in Washington, D.C. on Oct. 20, to the Peace moratorium in November—and a sharpening of the class struggles everywhere.