



(Reprinted here is the special introduction to the French edition)

by Raya Dunayevskaya

"Contemporary China is the focus of world contradictions... Since the past few months, the class struggle has entered a higher stage... It is to overthrow the newborn bourgeoisie and establish the People's Commune of China—a new society free from bureaucrats like the Paris Commune"—Whither China? (Sheng-wu-lien of Human Manifesto), 1968.

"The revolutionary movement which began in 1789 in Circle Social, which, in the middle of its course, had as its chief representatives Lecercler and Roux, and which was temporarily defeated with Babeuf's Conspiracy of the Equals, brought forth the communist idea which Babeuf's friend, Buonarrotti, reintroduced into France after the Revolution of 1830. This idea, consistently developed, is the idea of the new world system." —Karl Marx, 1844.

The revolutionary traditions in France are of such depth and magnitude that each succeeding social revolution as well as every philosophic revolution following the great French Revolution were, throughout Europe, grounded in the foundation laid in France. Because every great step forward in philosophic cognition flows from the discovery of a new way to make the plunge to freedom in actuality, the philosophic revolutions in Germany were directly related to the historic developments in France.

Thus, the Hegelian dialectic developed under the impact of the French Revolution. Or, more precisely put, it was the dialectic of the actions of men reshaping (Continued on Page 5)

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

# In auto, inflation is excuse for more speed-up

By Charles Denby, Editor

Some workers were discussing the headline in the Detroit Free Press the other day, where President Nixon said that the little money that General Motors agreed to pay workers over a period of three years is inflationary. One worker said, "That man is the biggest liar this country has ever had as its leader. Working people can not believe any politician; they are all fakers and liars. But Nixon—you can not believe one damn word he says!

"Before he had taken office, the President's salary was \$100,000 a year. He had his pay doubled to \$200,000. And, man, I know his expense money is double that of his salary. He never has to spend a dime of his salary. And General Motors and all the other big businesses can raise their prices all they want, from what working people produce for them. There is not a word from the Nixon administration about that causing inflation."

### NO HELP FROM WOODCOCK

Another worker said, "We are not getting that much out of this contract, and I was surprised at the meek answers that Woodcock, our International president, gave in reply to Nixon. Maybe it is because he is living up there in the big salary bracket and also living happily off his expense money.

"But you are correct, Slim, about how that man Nixon can lie. I believe that if he is elected for another term of four years, he will destroy the world or get it destroyed. I think that he hates two classes of people in

# 10¢ NEWS LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

VOL. 16—No. 1

27 Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

JANUARY, 1971

## Nixon sets new stage in Indochina war

by Eugene Walker

The massive American bombing of North Vietnam which began on Nov. 21, a few hours after the Sontay prison camp raid marks a new stage that has been established in the Indochina War. That action involved some 200 bombers and 50 support planes south of the nineteenth parallel, and rockets above the nineteenth parallel.

These raids, together with the invasion of Cambodia six months previously, speak more loudly than all the talk of "withdrawal" about the U.S. government's true thrust. Despite the withdrawal of some American troops, which the massive anti-war sentiment in the U.S. has forced, Nixon and his \$80 billion-a-year defense budget have continually sought new ways to stay in Vietnam. The Vietnam War has truly been expanded into Nixon's Indochina War.

This is the second time since coming to office that the Nixon administration has chosen to violate the bombing halt agreement banning strikes in the North. The last foray into the North on May 2 and 3 of this year, was undertaken in the southern portion of North Vietnam in concert with the Cambodian invasion. The latest missions hit both northern and central areas of North Vietnam. And reports also reveal that no less than 75 U.S. planes have by now been downed over Laos, and 51 over Cambodia.

### LYING A WAY OF LIFE

While not resuming the Johnson Administration's daily bombing of the North, Nixon has been continually changing the ground for the bombing halt he inherited. Nixon has made lying a way of life for his Administration.

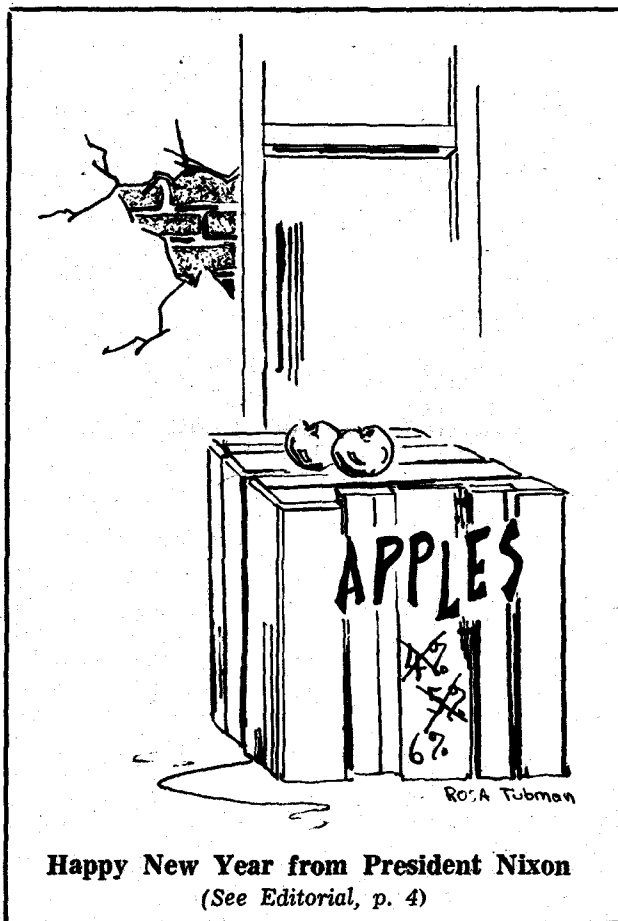
Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird admitted rocket attacks did occur above the nineteenth parallel only after the North Vietnamese had produced pictures of two Shrike-type rockets found far in the north. Even then, Laird still maintained that the rockets were fired only as "cover" for the prison raid.

Despite all rhetoric to the contrary, Nixon's Vietnamization program has failed completely. In May, the Cambodian invasion and the bombing of North Vietnam had as one of its purposes the halting of supplies before they reached South Vietnam. In his latest attempt to give some breathing room to the Vietnamization program, President Nixon waited until after the November elections so that the opposition to his policies would not be directly felt.

### MILITARY DOMINATES

The military now dominates the Administration's decisions. Nixon's military advisers have obviously served notice that they are not ready to have the U.S. get out of Indochina. Senate Foreign Relations Committee

(Continued on Page 8)



this country, the black people and the common working people. He said in his campaign that he could unite the people of this country, but he has divided them worse than any other president.

"Now he is saying that he wants a part of his salary paid to him after his term has expired. If General Motors had given all the wages and benefits that their employees will get over the next three years to some capitalist individual, there never would have been a word said about that causing inflation. But we know that GM's wealth, just as all these other corporations, came out of the sweat and death of working people. All this country's wealth came the same way, out of overworked and underpaid labor. Just to get enough to exist, we had to struggle through strikes and revolts.

### SPEED-UP IS SOURCE OF PROFITS

"General Motors raised the prices on their cars while the strike was in progress. After the strike they raised it again, and so did Chrysler. GM stated that the reason for their second raise was that the company could not see how workers could put out enough production to pay for what they had just agreed to in wages.

"What they are really saying is that no matter how much speed-up and intimidation they put on their employees, they do not see how it is possible for a human being to be speeded-up enough.

"This is a lie. Not that workers are not speeded-up (Continued on Page 2)

## ON THE INSIDE

Nixon deepens recession

..... page 4

Black sheriff elected in Alabama

..... page 2

Adventurism won't solve youth isolation

..... page 6

## Black sheriff elected in Lowndes County, Ala.

(Editor's Note: The following is an interview with John Hulett, the newly elected sheriff of Lowndes County, Alabama).

The reason I ran for sheriff of Lowndes County was simply that we had to have a winner. It was 1966 when the black people in our county first began to register to vote. That year we ran a black man for sheriff, and he lost by 680 votes. In 1968 a couple of us ran and lost. We felt we had to win in 1970.

We organized a political action committee to go into the community and seek people who could possibly win. I was asked by the committee to run for sheriff. Blacks also ran for coroner, Circuit Court clerk, and member of the state House of Representatives. We won the first three positions. Our candidate for the House carried Lowndes County by a large margin but lost because of the vote in the neighboring county.

### UNBELIEVABLE VICTORY

During the campaign, many of the people we talked to about going out to vote said that their vote did not count, that the election would be taken by the white power structure. They felt we should not be running for office time after time unless we were going to win. We assured them that if they would go out to the polls on Nov. 3, we would win this election.

We were faced with several other problems. We didn't have any money, so we organized local community groups to go out and fund-raise. We got funds from these groups, and from our friends in California, Washington, D.C., Virginia, and Detroit, from a group of people there from Lowndes County called the Michigan Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights.

Most important, we were able to bring people together in our own area who were willing to go out and do the leg work that was needed in our county. Before the election we had a hundred people working full-time in the community, especially at night time, holding meetings, giving educational classes, conducting voting education projects to try to muscle up enough strength to win the election. We were able to arouse some of our students, who encouraged our adults to go to the polls on election day. We organized car pools to carry people, babysitters, and people who stayed at home to make telephone calls.

Now that we have won the election, the people who supported us are looking for changes, especially in law enforcement. I feel that we will have to produce, in order for the black people and especially the white people to continue to support the black leadership. We plan to integrate our staff; we seek people who will abide by the law first themselves, and will do everything in their power to see that justice is given to every man and every woman, regardless of race, creed or color.

### WHITES: BAD AND GOOD

We are expecting to have problems with the Board of Revenue, which must provide funds for hiring deputies and everything else. The Board of Revenue presently has five members, and they are all white. We have discussed among the people of our county what to do if the Board does not give us the necessary funds—we will go out into the community to raise funds to get the necessary things to do an effective job. In 1972, we will try to change the Board to at least three blacks so that we can have true representation and the funds we need.

As for the reaction of the white community during our campaign, most of them were sure that whites would

win. But there were a few whites who felt that so many injustices were placed upon the black people that it was really time for a change. There were a few threats, but you always have this when black people run for public office in the South.

There are going to be some changes as far as the black coroner is concerned. I can remember a few incidents where we knew people had died accidental deaths, but the coroner refused to sign the papers that they were accidental. We think he was tied in with the insurance companies. Now families will get the benefit of the insurance. We are going to be truthful about it; that is the most important thing.

### THE COUNTY COURT HOUSE

As for the clerk of the Circuit Court, black people don't have too much contact with the court, but I feel just the idea of having black people in the courthouse is going to make a change. Blacks will feel freer about coming to use it. And the white courthouse personnel will realize they have to change their treatment of blacks or risk not being reelected.

We have a new political party which most of our candidates were elected under. It is the NDPA, the National Democratic Party of Alabama. The eagle is our emblem. We hope to bring together the blacks who would not follow the black leaders of Alabama in the past. It's pathetic, but most of the black leaders in Alabama have somehow deceived the people, and this is the cause of many of our problems. Now we feel the NDPA represents the people, regardless of their race, creed, or color, whether they're rich or poor.

A great number of our people are illiterate. If you vote for the NDPA in a general election, you can vote the straight ticket under the emblem of the eagle. I feel that a real change will come about in 1972.

## Phone company harasses minority group employees

Los Angeles, Calif.—One of us came to work for the Telephone Company in 1966. At that time the company employed few blacks or Mexican-Americans. Some of the workers complained among themselves about this.

Then between 1967-69 the company seemed to change its policy. The majority of new employees were black, and an increase was noticeable in the number of Mexican-Americans being hired. By 1969 up to 45 percent of our fellow workers were black, and up to 30 percent more came from other minority groups. Thus within two years the entire make-up of our office was radically changed. The blacks and Mexicans together constituted an overwhelming majority.

### NEW BREED OF BLACK AND CHICANO

Management did not foresee that the people they hired came from a new breed of blacks and Chicanos. They were shocked to find that the minority groups believed that it was their right to hold jobs on an equal basis with whites. Where management had expected to find gratitude for a chance to work, they found a militant demand for more and more change. The people they hoped would be humble and satisfied were proud and ambitious instead.

The few changes that have resulted from the workers' new attitude toward management appear to be appeasement designed to block the demand changes. And management has just received a new weapon with which to fight: the slowdown of the economy and rise in unemployment.

An area of unofficial regulations is dress code. Supervisors have the power to send you home without pay to change if they or some other high level person wishes. If you take this or anything else to the union for a grievance, management puts on the pressure. You are automatically pegged a troublemaker. Co-workers are intimidated if seen talking to you.

We refuse to be dehumanized by them.

—Two women telephone workers



## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

to their full capacity, but that they don't pay for everything GM and the other auto companies pay them. And GM still makes a giant profit out of the sweat of workers, extracting the maximum and paying the minimum.

"Since the contract was agreed on with GM, some workers at the Cadillac plant said they were doing 60 bodies an hour and the company said they will be speeded-up to 70 an hour as soon as production reaches normal. Another GM worker said that, for the first time since the union was organized, a foreman stood at the man's rest room door and used his time watch on a worker. We haven't seen this at Chrysler as yet, but it could happen because we have seen foremen going into the workers' rest room and calling for workers. The tension and the speed-up on many jobs is as bad as GM or any other place of work in this country."

### WORKING CONDITIONS WORSE EVERY YEAR

Big Bill, the third worker, said, "Just before the contract ran out, the union sent out questionnaires with all the different things they were bargaining for, and they ask you what is number one, two, three, and so forth. The big majority in this plant for the past five contracts have said working conditions are number one. But after every contract the conditions of work get worse and the union never mentions them again until it is time to go into discussions at the end of the contract.

"I feel sure each contract in the past ten years has been settled on the basis of how much speed-up the company can use against workers. The company, knowing that its profits come out of production, agrees to the contract and puts in more speed-up. A foreman, breathing down a worker's neck for the entire day, can make the company far more in profit than the worker will get paid. They do it every day."

## N. Y. taxi drivers strike to save union, fight pay cut

New York, N.Y.—Three weeks after the original strike deadline had passed, New York City's 35,000 union taxi drivers went out on strike. The fleet owners, claiming they are losing \$7 million a year, went to the Mayor and got him to agree to raise the fare 40 percent. Then they told the drivers and the union to take a cut in their share of the meter "take" (from 49 to 46 percent).

Drivers at my garage say the owners are "a bunch of rotten liars!" They aren't losing money; if they were, the value of the medallion (the operator's license) would have dropped, but it is still \$28,000.

They got the City to raise the rates, and now they want to take back from us what we have slaved for over the years. They also want to break the union by proposing that drivers under ten years seniority take a percentage cut of the meter take. The last time they raised the rates we didn't get a cent. We lost so much on tips and fewer passengers that we ended up behind the "8 ball" and that's where they want to put us now.

### ANGRY AT UNION, TOO

It isn't just the bosses the men are angry at. Why did the union wait three weeks to strike? It's almost Christmas and here we are outside when it's the only time of year to make money.

Our President, Harry van Arsdale, would have settled if those 200 drivers hadn't busted up his meeting yelling "No more Sunnyside" (the place where the last contract was signed). "No sell-out." If it weren't for some garages wildcatting last week, we would be finished.

What burns us up most is all the newspapers and TV saying we make \$150 a week salary. The only way you can make \$150 is to work 12 hours a day. We work in all kinds of weather; any punk can blow our heads off any time he likes; we take all kinds of abuse; we work anywhere from 40 to 60 hours a week . . . for what? A lousy 150 bucks?

This time we don't care what TV, radio, newspapers, the Mayor or anyone says. We're not coming up short.

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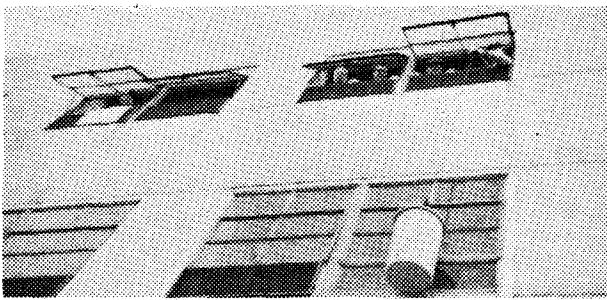
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# Windsor Star workers on sit-in strike



News & Letters photo  
Sit-in strikers haul up food

Windsor, Ontario—"Our contract ran out last Feb. 29. We've been working without a contract ever since. We had to do something," a worker on the night shift told me. The entire day shift has been sitting in and refusing to work at the Windsor Star newspaper since Dec. 2, while the night and swing shifts are locked out. The workers sat in to prevent the company from bringing in scabs.

All the workers told the same story. Ferrell, the publisher, had been agreeing to something one day and reneging at the next negotiating session. Tuesday night, Dec. 1, the union broke off negotiations. The sit-in started Wednesday morning. It includes typographers, pressmen and stereotypers.

"We tried all sorts of things to make Ferrell bargain in good faith" another worker said. "We held chapel meetings. About two weeks ago we started slowing down on the ads, and practically all the advertisers cancelled their ads, but Ferrell still thought that he could monkey around with our lives."

## WE ALL DECIDED TO SIT-IN

"After the talks fell apart, we called a meeting. All three shifts were there and we all decided on this action. The day shift stereotypers, typographers and pressmen walked into the shop but didn't work. When we reported to work we were all locked out. But we're all in this together. The boys on the day shift won't leave without a contract and there's always a few of

us who were locked out here. We pass food up in the bucket and make sure that everything is all right."

Since the sit-in started, the green bucket which travels from the third floor window to the sidewalk has been the only means of communication the sit-in strikers have had for three days. At first the guards harrassed anyone who tried to put food or cigarets in the bucket, but late Wednesday, the Windsor police told the guards to stop because the sidewalk is public property. The heat was shut off for a few hours, but it was turned back on after the foremen, who are the only ones let in and out, reported that the workers were getting mad.

I asked one of the men whether the union or the workers had started the sit-in. He looked blank for a minute and said: "The Union? That's Us!" The major newspaper publishers have been trying to wipe out all unions in their shops. All three Toronto dailies have been running on scab labor for five years while the union men who have been on strike all that time are forgotten by almost everyone.

## WE HAVE THE POWER NOW

Another worker told me: "What happened in Toronto won't happen here because we have the power to stop it. We took the power by staying inside with some on the outside to help. They're in great spirits up there. I understand they're getting together a game of soccer. Ferrell says he won't talk till we all leave. Well, nothing but this (he was pointing to the strike emblem he wore) has been printed at the Windsor Star since Wednesday.

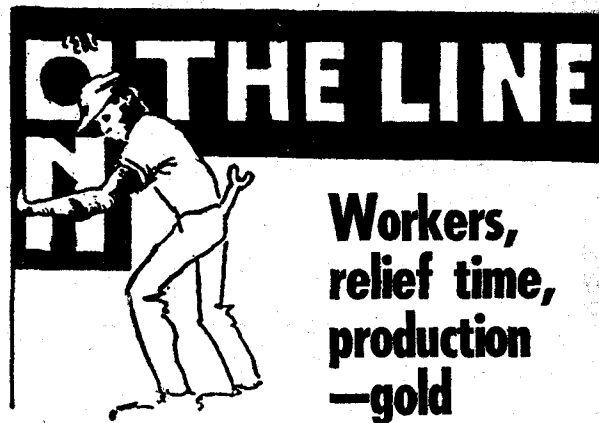


Strike Emblem

"When this is over I'm going to go down to the Detroit Free Press and News and thank the men there personally. They took up a collection for us and sent \$5 apiece out of their own pockets."

I asked how long the workers were planning to stay. He smiled and said, "We're sending out for a Christmas tree."

—Steve Fletcher



By JOHN ALLISON

A group of Ford workers invited this writer to sit in on one of their meetings. The topic of discussion was production and relief time, as it relates to the new contract.

These workers make frames for the Ford Motor Company. They are in a key position because they make frames for all Ford cars. The union and management have been on their backs to accept the new national contract and sign the local agreement. But they are holding out, as of this writing.

## CUT RELIEF TIME

They have not signed because Ford is trying to cut their relief time in half. This fight gave birth to the following phrase: "Time away from the machine is more precious than gold."

Welders in the Frame Plant, because of the nature of their work, receive 20 minutes relief in the morning and 20 minutes after lunch. The rest of the workers get 12 minutes and 12 minutes, as agreed in the contract. Ford Motor Company is trying to get back the money they gave the union for peace by cutting the relief time in half wherever they can get away with it.

For the workers the watch word is "Time away from the machine is more precious than gold." This is the management answer to the whole question of production. Whether it is GM, Ford, or Chrysler, at every contract signing, all you hear from the company is: more production. The fact is that the company can never get enough production out of the workers because it can never get enough profits. Workers know this, and that's what all of the fuss is about. The man on the production line has got to fight production. His life depends on it.

# Black steelworkers risk jobs to defend skilled work rights

Pittsburgh, Pa.—There have been some drastic layoffs in the mills, here. At Homestead they cut back to 1948 in Masonry, and several laborers in Masonry were transferred to General Service.

At the same time, they were enlarging and putting new machines in my shop. At one point they wanted to pour concrete for a new foundation. Usually concrete is poured by Masonry, and General Service is just called to finish the job off. This time the company wanted three black workers who had been kicked out of masonry and put in General Service to pour the concrete. They figured these men had enough technical know-how from their previous experience to do the work.

## WORKERS SET PRECEDENT

But the three black workers refused. They told the company to send for the bricklayers and give them the job. They said if they couldn't work with the concrete in their old department, they wouldn't do the job as General Service. The Superintendent sent them home.

The three went right to the Union Hall. They told the union that if the union didn't back them up they'd go all the way with their fight—that they would "take it downtown." The result was that they are to be paid for the day they were sent home, and most important of all, that they set a precedent for the future. From now on the bricklayers will do all the inside work.

The bricklayers, who are all white, get skilled workers' pay. It runs from between \$70 to \$80 more each payday than General Service gets. The black workers were really doing them a favor, but the sad part of the story is that they got no support from the bricklayers in this whole thing.

## FIGHT DISCRIMINATION

Some of the black workers have also been fighting both the company and the union on discriminatory practices. Two complaints were filed, and the men said they had concrete evidence on discrimination in hiring practices and upgrading.

They finally got someone from Washington to come up to intercede, but the union wouldn't let them use the Union Hall for their meeting. They had to hold it in a bar.

These cases are still pending, but a hearing on the issue is coming up soon.



## Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—The workers who used to be in Dept. 10 before it was moved to Ohio are getting nothing but problems from the company, and the union isn't solving them. Many day shift workers from Dept. 10 are now working afternoons, even though they have more seniority than some workers on days.

In Section 9 in the contract it says that when a worker wants a shift change he has ten days to make a request. He is supposed to get the preference if he has more seniority. At Fleetwood this section does not seem to exist. You file, and nothing happens.

The women who were in Dept. 10 are getting a hard time. But GM wants them out of the plant, so there is no relief. They even laid-off some workers last week. And we are running faster now than before the strike. It doesn't make sense.

A lady on the sixth floor complained of heart pains. She thought she was going to fall out. The foreman said, "What do you want me to do about it? Go see a doctor!"

The people who run Local 15 act like they're looking for jobs with GM. At the ratification meeting they said everyone would get free turkeys for Thanksgiving and Christmas if we ratified the contract. When I went to get it, they gave me \$5 instead. And then they only gave \$32 instead of \$40 in strike benefits that week!

Second Shift worker, Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—In the body shop conditions are worse now than ever before. We are working nine and a half hours at killing speed. Since we came back from the strike they have many workers on five guns each. Last year they had two workers handling five guns. No one

can keep up. There is no more "going in the hole." You start in the hole and finish in the hole. If you are working five guns and mess up on one, you have to go catch it. Soon it's hopeless. The employee is not a robot.

The speed is so bad that accidents are coming more and more often. Any time a man has to work more than eight hours he is a safety hazard.

There are less workers in the body shop now than before the strike—even though the line is now 70 an hour. There is no time to move the guns out of the way because there aren't enough workers. Last week one worker was hit in the head with a gun reel for this reason. He could have been killed, and if things don't change someone will be.

We file grievances and not one gets solved. The local is asleep. Are they saving our grievances for the next contract?

—Body shop worker, Fleetwood

## Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—The last issue of N&L on the smoke and safety problems here really caused a lot of commotion. The union health and safety man, Benny Derus, was running all over trying to explain why he had done nothing about the second floor trim workers' problems. He said that Bill Hood, DAP union president, was the one who could solve our problems. The truth is that they are both guilty.

A few days after the story, Ford sent a special weekend crew into second floor trim to fix the smoke problem. They cleaned the pipes and things are better, but unless they clean them regularly we'll be back breathing that smoke. I don't want to die young because Ford is cheap and lazy.

Recently the company has quit sweeping the floor in the DAP and is using air hoses instead. This blows all the dirt and filth around. It gets into your clothes, your hair and your lunch. Many workers have had to throw their lunches away. When we complained, the company man said, "If you don't like it, go eat in the lunchroom." This is ridiculous, because there is not nearly enough room there for everyone.

The workers in white metal also have a problem with smoke. They don't have proper ventilation, and it's worse than second floor trim was. Eventually many workers will die of lung disease like coal miners. What we need is a written agreement in the DAP to stop airhosing, improper ventilation, and toxic fumes. If we don't get one, there will be trouble—and plenty of it.

—Production Worker, DAP

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**EDITORIAL****Nixon schemes to deepen recession in '71**

President Nixon's "inflation alert" was a warning to American workers to expect nothing in 1971 except a greater deepening of the recession that his Administration so carefully planned and now cannot control. It also revealed that the Administration has absolutely no intention of stopping the main cause of inflation—the Vietnam War. (See Lead, page 1.) Nixon intends, instead, to place the blame for inflation on the shoulders of the workers, who have been fighting desperately for wage increases, just to keep up with the rising prices that began their wild spiral in 1965, with the first escalation of the war.

It was the wage increases, not the price increases, that Nixon singled out as the "major concern". He chose the recent GM wage settlement for special attack. So blatant was Nixon's attack on labor that even that arch-conservative, AFL-CIO President George Meany, had to strike back. He warned that Nixon's "alert" was something "workers won't buy"—especially when Nixon was so solicitous about the profits of business and failed to mention a word about soaring bank profits. The government's own statistics show that despite the fact that the average weekly wage rose from \$95 to \$121 over the past five years, it actually buys less. The buying power of the average worker has declined two percent in just the past year alone.

**NIXON'S PLANS FOR 1972**

The Administration's concerted attack on labor is surprising only because it is clear that Nixon has no plans of being a "one-term President", and the November elections revealed that he is in deep trouble with the voters. His advisors have, apparently, thereupon come up with a new "plan"; since Nixon is not going to stop the war, and since his real interest is 1972, not 1971, he should not worry too much about how much deeper unemployment will grow in the coming year, so long as they have a whole year to try to get the economy to "expand". That is what all the aims for a growth rate of eight percent by the middle of 1972 boil down to.

The very day that Nixon spoke to the National Association of Manufacturers about these plans to move the economy "up to its full potential for growth", new unemployment data was released, showing that unemployment is now officially at 5.8 percent, the highest rate in seven and a half years. This means that 4.6 million

workers are now unemployed—and that figure does not include those who have been unemployed so long they are no longer on the active rolls, nor the families dependent on the unemployed "breadwinner".

Unemployment among combined blue-collar and white-collar workers has increased by about 75 percent just since last November. Among professional and technical workers it has increased a full 118 percent. Women have been especially hard hit in all classifications. The black unemployment rate of 8.8 percent is still considerably higher than the white—though white unemployment is rising so fast that black is no longer double the white rate, as it has been for years. Unemployment among returning GIs is now 20 percent.

It is little wonder that Nixon rushed to try to reverse the Senate vote that halted the building of the supersonic transport (SST), which has been called an "environmental disaster". The new census figures show California now to be the most populous state in the union, and Nixon is anxious to win it in 1972.

The end of the SST project there would mean that thousands of workers, many of them highly paid white-collar employees, would be added to the unemployment rolls. In Seattle, Wash. the unemployment rate is already over 12 percent, more than double the national average. Nixon could scarcely hope that a "law and order" campaign in 1972 would be more important to white collar voters than their economic disaster.

**SHARPENING CLASS BATTLES AHEAD**

The truth is that there are totally new and crucial factors in the present recession:

- Since World War II, this country has experienced one recession after another, each more ominous than the last. But of all of them, this is the first that is occurring while a war is in progress. Even the arms industry has been unable to stop the fall in the capitalist "rate of profit."

- It is the first time that there is planned unemployment and unplanned galloping inflation, both at the same time. And because the U.S. is a world economic giant, it affects all other countries. Even those who do not have an ongoing war are presently suffering from inflation.

So decadent is the present stage of world capitalism that both poles—state-capitalist Russia, and private-capitalist U.S., alike—are in deep economic crisis. In

Russia the stagnation of the economy is such that they are trying to repeal one of the few labor laws protecting labor still left on the books—the 1928 law that made it obligatory for factory managers to find new employment for workers laid off. Nothing can solve the crisis of capitalism in this age of Automation, which needs ever fewer living laborers—the only source of creating value—to operate the wheels of industry. Nothing—except the abolition of value and surplus-value production, and the creation of a new society based on human foundations.

All the workers can expect from Nixon in 1971 is a deepening of the crisis. The steel workers, whose contract expires this year, can expect a hard battle. The poor, whose services have been cut so drastically already, can expect even more severe slashes in any kind of aid.

But if the Administration expects the working people—employed or unemployed—to wait quietly until 1972 for some kind of promised "expansion of the economy", they are in for a rude awakening. What lies ahead in 1971 is, clearly, a sharp lining up of class forces for the battles yet to come.

**News & Letters**

Vol. 16, No. 1

January, 1971

News & Letters is published every month except during the summer months when issues appear June-July, August-September, by News & Letters, 415 Brainard, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Telephone: 833-1989. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

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**A NEW YEAR APPEAL**

CAN YOU MAKE A SPECIAL CONTRIBUTION TO N&L TO HELP INSURE THAT OUR WORK WILL GO ON IN THE NEW YEAR?

Like all organizations working for a better world, we are hard-pressed for money. We know you are, too—with unemployment and inflation growing worse every day. We ask only that you contribute what you can to help us continue the fight together.

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**A LOOK AT 1971**

1971 can be more than another year. Harsh and bending circumstances are helping to quicken and encourage the socially useful in the great liberation war of humanity, so rich with remembrance and anticipation.

*For Labor's cause, in black defeat and sorrow,*

*With days so dark; the future overcast,*

*We still, in faith, look for a radiant tomorrow.*

*It's well we know that slavery cannot last.*

*What tho the grave has closed above our dearest,*

*And "friends" have often played their Judas part,*

*There still are those who sense and think the clearest*

*And march to fight and Victory with a Rebel Heart.*

—Con Dogan  
Reader  
Detroit

Twenty-five Kent students and teachers have been indicted by a special Ohio Grand Jury. Several of those wounded by the National Guard last May are now threatened with years of prison! Kent State is Nixon-Agnew's laboratory to see if they can crush the campus movement. The Kent victims need our help now.

The Kent State Legal Defense Committee, Inc. (KLDf), consisting of students, teachers and lawyers has been

organized to defend those indicted. They have speakers to send to campuses, films of the events, and literature. You can help by writing the KLDf and arranging for a speaker or film to come to your campus to help raise funds and spread the word. For information write:

Kent Legal Defense Fund, Inc.  
401 Dodge Street  
Kent, Ohio 44240

Nixon's wars at home and abroad just keep on escalating, but the daily papers and TV don't make us conscious that the bombing goes on daily. In 1959 the U2 incident was a great embarrassment to the U.S., but today Nixon calmly justifies the bombing of North Vietnam as retaliation for shooting down our reconnaissance planes.

It is sickening that a year after the My Lai expose it looks like the murderers will get off. Calley gets \$50,000 from Look magazine for his story and then pleads "adverse publicity" at his trial. The photographer who first told the story gets \$35,000 for his pictures; but nothing will be done about the massacre.

Worst of all, the army brass is willing to throw Mitchell and Calley to the wolves while the American war machine and the real culprits—the Administration and the Army—continue on their way.

Concerned  
New York

The initiatives taken by the Workers Defense League on behalf of household workers are producing significant results. Several hundred workers have been signed up. These workers remain among the lowest paid in the country, remain outside the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act, State Workman's Compensation programs, State Unemployment Insurance programs, and in many cases, Social Security. The exclusion of household workers from benefits which unionized workers take for granted is a by-product of their low income and powerlessness.

WDL believes that the union movement alone has the resources and the structure to organize household workers, and provide the stability and permanence of effort needed. . . We are gratified that our proposal and missionary

efforts are being so well received by prominent unionists, community agencies, and informed, interested individuals. For information write:

Workers Defense League  
112 East 19th St.  
New York, N.Y. 10003

Perhaps the best measure of the anti-war movement is the spontaneous opposition to the war which has been steadily developing since 1965 inside the army.

Increasingly GIs are speaking out against fighting, getting wounded and dying in a war against the Vietnamese people. Since protesting the war—even just distributing a leaflet or speaking to other GIs on the base—means almost certain arrest, followed by frame-up court martials and long sentences in army jails, the struggle against the war inside the army is also a struggle for elementary human rights.

The most vocal opponents of the army and the war are, almost without exception, in army jails where they continue the fight despite the inhuman conditions and the daily brutality they are forced to suffer in the jails.

Anti War  
New York City

I have talked with some women in my neighborhood about Women's Liberation. After 19 year old Debra Jean Sweet told President Nixon what she thought of him on nation-wide TV, many of them called to say how glad they were she did it. She did a lot for the cause of Women's Liberation.

Everyone was watching when Nixon made his usual speech about the good silent majority and contrasted them to the bad "small minority" of young Americans who have lost faith in this country. Everybody was watching when Debra Jean Sweet looked him directly in the eye and said she found it hard to believe in his sincerity in giving her an award until he got us out of the war,

She told reporters she hadn't planned to do it, but when she saw Nixon using her, she refused to become a symbol. What made it even more important was that the man standing right beside Nixon when she said it, was FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, that racist who attacks everybody standing for justice and human rights.

Ethel Dunbar  
Detroit

I was at the Teach-In in Ann Arbor and the audience was mostly women students. I make this statement because Van Gelder's statement in your last issue that "many of the older and working women left" is untrue. It is true that a great many women left, but they were representative of the kinds of people who came.

**A NOTE TO OUR READERS ON OUR MOTTO**

Consciousness of language has led many Women's Liberation activists to ask us to change our motto: "The root of mankind is man" — a quotation from Karl Marx, which for many years we felt summed up the Marxist-Humanist content of our philosophy. We will, in the months ahead, substitute on our front page other mottos as they are suggested to us, and ask our readers to help us decide on the best choice.

This month we carry a quote from Karl Marx. It is from Capital, Vol. III and reads in full: "Beyond (the realm of necessity) begins that development of human power, which is its own end, the true realm of necessity as its basis. The shortening of the working day is its fundamental premise."

**Reader's**

# TWO WORLDS French edition of *Marxism and Freedom*

(Continued from Page 1)

history that was transformed into philosophic method by the genius of G.W.F. Hegel.

Thus, the Marxian dialectic developed out of the creativity of the French masses in the 1848 revolution, and reached a new historic dimension as the Paris Communards in 1871 "stormed the heavens." In completing the French edition of his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, in 1872-75, Marx urged all to read it because "it possesses a scientific value independent of the original and should be consulted even by readers familiar with the German language."

Thus, Lenin, to lay the theoretic foundations for November, 1917, "rewrote" Marx's *Civil War in France as State and Revolution*. Indeed, what better way could there have been to express his new universal, "to a man" than to describe a new social order with "No police, no army, no officialdom. Every worker, every peasant, every toiler, every one who is exploited, the whole population to a man!"

THUS, EVEN WHEN REVOLUTIONARY events are not carried to a definitive conclusion, as was true in May, 1968, the near-revolution showed anew the power of the self-activity of the masses, who, at one and the same time undermined DeGaulle and the thought of all those who held that such things could not happen in a technologically advanced country. This near-revolution in industrialized France put an end to the self-paralyzing myth of "technological rationality" which had transformed the proletariat into one-dimensional creatures whose flesh and bones became, allegedly, part and parcel of the capitalistic system.

This revolution that had not come to full fruition had created a new form of relationship between young intellectuals and workers—Worker-Student Action Committees. Nor did these students who built the barricades and were the catalyst for the upgushing revolutionary situation have any illusions as to where power resided when a million workers downed tools and took to the streets, in all, involving 10 million in a general strike.

This Spring awakening in workers' self-activity created ways of keeping the Communist Party and its CGT at bay. The workers' occupation of the factories upset the bureaucrats' calculations and negotiations with the State on its capitalist grounds. They cooperated

with the students in creating new international relations as the movement in France broke through all bounds, going far in advance of all "real" vanguard parties.

NO ONE IN FRANCE in May, 1968, needs to be told about the counter-revolutionary work of the Communist Party which helped stifle the revolution-to-be. What does need re-evaluation is the attitude of the independent revolutionaries. Although they wished to go all the way to the overthrow of capitalism, and supported the workers in all their actions, they nevertheless felt that the unfolding of a new philosophic banner which would give these actions a direction was something they could pick up "enroute." Being, thus, theoretically unprepared to win the minds away from the opiate of Communism's ambiguity, clothed in Marxian language, they must first now rise to the challenge of the times and develop a theory based on the movement from practice and capable of uniting with it. Each, by itself, remains one-sided and, therefore, incapable of fruition.

On the other hand, cynics who claim that Gaullism without DeGaulle only "proves" that May, 1968, was "nothing," must explain why then is the frame of reference for anything and everything (and not only in France!) May, 1968, not DeGaulle, 1958-1968. This is not to say that there was a social revolution. Nor is it meant to cover up the unfinished character of revolutionary action. Rather, it is said in order to stress that new beginnings always start from the highest development of the last revolutionary situation. And not only on native grounds.

SPRING, 1968 WITNESSED explosion, not only in France, but also in Czechoslovakia. On the surface, it may have appeared that by Spring, 1968, "democratization" in Czechoslovakia could not compare with the near-revolution in France, and it certainly wasn't as startling as the new outburst in a Western land. But the tendencies of some West European revolutionaries to look only at the surface appearance as if Dubcek could forever keep confined within his reformism masses in motion, the free flow of ideas, the philosophers searching for new ways of approach to, and relations with, workers, only proves that the gulf which divides East from West exists not only among the ruling classes but also among revolutionaries.

The truth is that not only did the workers and student youth go far beyond the confines, but also the Communist Parties themselves were shaken up and produced new tendencies. On the one side were massed no less than 660,000 Russian soldiers (some thousands more than imperialist USA has in South Vietnam). On the other side, on that fateful August 20th when Russian tanks invaded Czechoslovakia, stood the unarmed Czech people resisting, to a man, the armed invaders. All this calls for more than a mere expression of international solidarity. (The French CP pretended that much.) No, what is demanded of us is the realization that international solidarity is not something we do "for" the Czechoslovak masses. Rather it is a way of learning something vital from them. As I wrote at the time:

*A spectre is haunting Communism as it has haunted private capitalism—the spectre of Marxist Humanism. It is this which has crossed over the boundaries between nationalities within a country and the borders between countries. It is this which transcended the boundaries that separate the generations and keeps workers and intellectuals apart; transcended, not as something super-human or supra-historical, but as the very stuff of which revolutions are made and remade. Its unifying vision of spontaneity and organization as a single force cannot be encapsulated in an elite party, but releases itself as a forward movement of the masses.*

*Czechoslovak Spring 1968 may not have reached the heights of Hungarian October 1956 with its Workers' Councils. But it has established new points of departure for unifying Marx's theory of liberation with its practice, and for this Czechoslovakia will forever remain enshrined in the hearts and minds of freedom fighters the world over. The Aug. 20 invasion by Russia and its satellites can no more erase the Czechoslovak experiment than it can stop history from dialectically developing to the end that something which is totally new: authentic Marxism, Marx's Humanism, which is no longer only what it was when Marx first proclaimed it in 1844, or even as recreated in 1956 in the Hungarian Revolution.*

*Czechoslovakia's greatest achievement is that it began anew the working out of a relationship between theory and practice, philosophy and revolution, freedom and reality. What it was prevented from completing, remains the task of revolutionaries the world over.*

IF THERE ARE ANY in France who are under the illusion that there is nothing new in the Czechoslovak (Continued on Page 7)

## Views

All kinds of women could see what was wrong with the Teach-In. Half of the women who came up on the stage left too.

An honest mistake was made at the Teach-In. No one wanted to be oppressed by a panel of "experts" any more. Women felt they must do something. Despite the confusion and disillusionment that was caused by women taking over the stage a very good point was made about the invalidity of a panel where each speaker gets five minutes and there is no interaction at all between women.

Activist  
Detroit

My husband works at Chrysler and says that everyone blames Nixon for all the workers being laid off. My son works at GM and he says the same thing.

The company is even more inhuman to their workers than ever since the last contract was signed. The company is laying off all the younger workers, and putting women on their jobs. These are the hardest jobs in the plant. Nobody believes that a woman can work ten years on these lines and live.

The production standards remain the same, even with the lay-offs. The workers are being forced on ten and eleven hour shifts. GM is getting back every dime and more they are paying out under the new contract. And Nixon has the guts to say workers are causing inflation!

Indignant Heart  
Detroit

My son has been back from Vietnam for three months, but he can't find any kind of a job anywhere. When Nixon took office I feared for my son's life because of the war. Now I am afraid because he can't find a job. It is frightening when he says he was better off

before he came home.

Mother  
New York

One thing a person on welfare better not do is get sick. I was at Lincoln Hospital the other day and saw the complaint table the community and the Young Lords had up there. They are trying to do what the hospital and the City isn't doing — give the people decent conditions. Lincoln Hospital is a hell-hole and the City Clinics aren't free anymore. What are we to do if we don't dare get sick?

Worried  
New York

I just got out of intensive care, but I almost when back in when they presented me with a ten-day bill. I went back on tranquilizers and all the other tests. So much for their lust for money, and intense interest in the patient.

Recuperating  
California

The national lettuce boycott called by the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee five months ago is progressing more rapidly than the grape boycott did, although there are still scab lettuce shipments coming into the stores.

In Detroit, approximately 35 per cent of the lettuce coming in is union. Wrigley's and Farmer Jack's have agreed to purchase only union lettuce. Kroger's and Great Scott have been purchasing union lettuce, but reports have indicated that they may be purchasing scab lettuce, too. So far only A&P has refused the farm-workers and is purchasing scab lettuce. UFWOC has been organizing picketing and a boycott of A&P stores, until they agree to stock only union brands.

Remember, buy only lettuce that has the label, the Union Eagle. And don't patronize A&P and other scab stores!

UFWOC  
3419 Michigan Ave.  
Detroit, Mich. 48216

### ... AND ABROAD

Did you know that strikes are so numerous in Italy by now that they have installed a Dial-a-Strike system, whereby an Italian citizen can call a number (like we do to get the weather or the time) and find out what places are on strike that day? The only trouble is that recently when people called the number, all they got was a busy signal all day. It seems that the Dial-a-Strike people had gone on strike themselves!

Reader  
New York

Two years ago our attention was riveted on the revolts of the peoples of France and Czechoslovakia. Italy has also attracted a great deal of attention. Now it is the struggle in Spain.

The latest attack on the workers and students in Madrid was the reply of those in power to the demand that some 500 prisoners be set free. About 15,000 workers were on strike. The strikes were called by the Worker Commissions, an underground movement made up of people of various political and religious affiliations. The workers at the Perkins diesel factory, on the outskirts of the capital, boycotted the company buses and marched into the city.

The Spanish security police used their batons against the many thousands of demonstrators who raised the cry of "Freedom." This demonstration is only

one act of hostility to the regime out of many over a considerable time. It is estimated that in addition to the 500 political prisoners held in jail there are more than 1000 other people accused of political offenses pending trial. Some have been in prison more than three years.

This is a struggle that may set Europe alight. We must see the importance of becoming involved with others on a wider scale. Bernadette Devlin was right when she emphasized the international aspects of the struggle.

Scottish Marxist-Humanist  
Glasgow

The chasm between non-members and members of the Communist Party that has been caused by the present "screening" of everyone, is deeper than ever before. The wavering ones have turned to the Party as the power group, and those outside have taken a definite stand against it.

Correspondent  
Prague

### HELP US KEEP GOING

Here is a little something for your appeal. I appreciate your paper very much. Keep up the good work for the sake of the people of the world, we need you.

Reader  
San Francisco

### WHAT IS NEWS & LETTERS? A unique combination of workers and intellectuals.

**ORGANIZATION**—We are an organization of Marxist Humanists—blacks and whites who are seeking to change our conditions of life in the shops, the schools, the society as a whole. To do this we feel that all of us—workers in the factories, students in the universities and high schools—must come together and talk about how we can end speed up and racism in the plants, miseducation in the school; how we can build different human relations, by abolishing the division between mental and manual labor.

**PAPER**—This is the only paper of its kind, anywhere, edited by a black worker, Charles Denby, who works in an auto plant. The only paper written by working people, youth and black people fighting for freedom, in the U.S.A. and in other countries.

The only paper that features a regular column, "Two Worlds," by Raya Dunayevskaya, chairman of the National Editorial Board, and author of *Marxism and Freedom*.

We invite you to write for the paper, and to join our organization.



# YOUTH

## Adventurism won't solve isolation

(Editor's Note: The following are excerpts from the Youth Report given to the National Convention of News & Letters Committees, September 6, 1970, by Eugene Walker.)

The college student outpouring over both the invasion of Cambodia and the massacre at Kent State was certainly an important sign of the dissatisfaction of much of the student population with what the U.S. is doing both abroad and at home.

While the spontaneity of opposition to the war from a multitude of campuses—college and high school—was certainly an indication of the revulsion felt by the youth, the failure and disarray of the left, old and new, was also evident. Their failure to present a real alternative is an indication of the problems we face.

### DISARRAY OF THE NEW LEFT

This disarray of the new left has been strikingly evident since the split and dissolving of SDS in June of 1969. Waving the red book, wargasms and bombing of public buildings were not any alternative for the anti-war protestors who may have been anti what the U.S. government was doing, but were not willing to embrace the thought of Mao, or the picking up of a gun against any cop.

If American youth haven't been embracing alternatives among the fragmented left, then what have they been doing? There has been the rise of a youth culture in an attempt to find new values. Certainly this move is healthy and exposed much of the hypocritical values of America.

But have these alternatives been the ground upon which a new society can be built? Solutions of liberated areas—if the governmental authorities would ever tolerate that in any meaningful form—are not this new ground. Rather, in some ways it has led to an isolation of some youth from other segments of society who feel oppression and are searching for something different, but who cannot drop out as easily as many white college students can.

Another segment feels that the street politics of confrontation is the answer. A number of leaders of the youth culture—such as Jerry Rubin and Tom Hayden—agree that youth need not concern themselves with working class Americans, for they are "bought off." To these leaders, the generation gap, not any economic classes is the crucial question. All of this leads to further isolation from those who could help to form a basis for a new society.

There is much more to the youth than would-be leftists, liberals and youth culture adherents. There are segments that none have touched. One is the white youth who do not go to college; who go into the factory and the military and that is a very large group.

### YOUTH IN MILITARY AND SHOPS

One of the most significant developments among young people in the past two years has been the resistance within the Army. In California there is the Movement for a Democratic Military. Other areas also have movements. But they are all made up of young soldiers who are opposing from within the armed forces.

And what of the youth who do find a job? Are they suddenly no longer youth? Our experience in the shops indicates that they are on the move. The wildcat of Teamsters in Los Angeles certainly had a lot of young Teamsters sparking it.

Some elements of the youth culture are part of these young workers' lives, but that is far from overcoming the isolation within the age group that some like Hayden want to lump together. We cannot sow illusions about unity when the daily practice of capitalism is constantly keeping and building divisions.

What of another section of the youth—black and brown? Neither are part of the youth culture as either a Hayden or a Rubin see it. They live in Oakland ghettos, not in liberated zones of Berkeley. They are in barrios of East Los Angeles, not head shops of Sunset Strip. All Hayden or Rubin can say is that white youth should get together like the black people have, and form a white alternative like the Panthers. But have they even bothered to look at the black movement?

Black youth are attracted to the Black Panthers. But here also enters a series of conflicting currents. What alternatives do the Panthers present for youth? Huey Newton proclaims that the Panthers will send a contingent of members to fight with the National Liberation Front in Vietnam. China and North Korea are halted. What alternatives are these for black youth wanting freedom in the U.S.?

So much emphasis is placed on the heroic act. Thus, a revolutionary black high school student is murdered as he tries to free his brothers from a courthouse, and

a young black revolutionary intellectual, Angela Davis, has to disappear. Activism, no matter how individually heroic, is not revolutionary if it does not have a relationship to the present historic stage, and if it does not help the objective situation and the subjective forces coalesce as they must for revolution to occur. Martyr-making acts will only lead to new divisions and isolation of revolutionary forces, not to new ground for building a society.

This isolation of revolutionary elements whether it is between students and workers or within the youth movement itself is a manifestation of capitalism. It creates these divisions and isolations. Those on the left who continue these divisions by saying a youth culture will solve the question and feel they do not need other potential revolutionary elements are still trapped within a capitalist mentality.

On the other side, merely saying blacks, workers, women and youth are all together in a common fight is just sloganeering. There are some socialists who speak of a common fight for a new society, but what they mean is that all these movements are good if, in the end, they subordinate themselves to an abstract concept of socialist revolution. Each movement is thus used to advance the cause of socialism. And socialism becomes defined not by the context of the concrete fights of the day, but by a Party's definition of socialism.

The basis for overcoming the isolation of revolutionary forces which capitalism imposes upon us is neither the abstractions of a youth culture which seeks its unity on false ground nor is it the surface linking of forces which does not take into consideration the creativeness of the forces it wishes to link together . . .

## High school pamphlet reveals new forces

(Editor's Note: The following are excerpts from the Youth Report given to the National Convention of News & Letters Committee, September 6, 1970, by Bernard Wendell.)

Most News & Letters youth activity in Los Angeles over the past year has been related to the Radical Student Union (RSU), an organization which developed out of high school SDS.

Late in December 1969, high school SDS set up a convention. The Maoist theory and undemocratic practices of the leadership had kept the organization from going anywhere, and had prevented it from reaching new students. As a result we overthrew the old leadership and reconstituted the organization as a Radical Student Union which was committed to organizing students as an independent force.

The RSU never emerged as a significant force in the high schools because the new leadership was so loose and non-theoretical that it was unable to act in a coordinated manner and really organize students. However, one idea which we presented at RSU did bear fruit—the idea of a high school pamphlet.

### HIGH SCHOOL PAMPHLET

We conceived of the high school pamphlet as a collection of articles in which students would discuss their concrete activities on their individual campuses, as well as develop their ideas about the school system as a whole and how it fits into this society. We also felt that it was necessary that black and Chicano students were represented in the pamphlet.

The pamphlet, 8 to 3: High School Prison Notes, is an attempt to practice our belief as Marxist-Humanists that the new forces of liberation must be allowed to speak for themselves. It's very significant that no other organization, including those with many more high school members than ours, has ever produced such a pamphlet. We were the ones to come out with such a pamphlet because only we believe that the thoughts of the student participants are more important than the abstract theories of the "leaders."

### 8 TO 3: HIGH SCHOOL

### PRISON NOTES

12 articles from black, Chicano and white students in Los Angeles

Order from: News & Letters, P.O. Box 24265  
Los Angeles, Cal. 90024—ONLY 25c

### In San Francisco

## 15,000 protest Ky

San Francisco, Cal.—The Bay Area was drenched with a week of severe storms, but the sun shone for an hour on top of San Francisco's Nob Hill, The Fairmont Hotel and about 15,000 mostly youthful demonstrators against South Vietnam's Vice-President Nguyen Ky—a guest of the Commonwealth Club on Dec. 1.

Hundreds of police and the former "tac" squad were present, in vehicles and on horseback, to assure disturbances among the peaceful marchers. Mounted police charged into a group of youth who were flying Viet Cong flags in the isolated Huntington Park nearby.

Rocks were thrown and billy clubs used unsparingly, and 29 people were arrested, including a thirteen-year-old girl, "for assault."

In his half-hour speech, Ky proved worthy of the elite company he had visited and just as expert in oppression, hypocrisy, ruthlessness and greed. His speech contained such gems as "you must demand that the Communists respect the basic principles of democracy . . ." "make them understand that aggression cannot succeed, that violence will not pay . . ." and "the Vietnam Press has more freedom than the press here—more than they deserve in wartime . . ."

This verbal swill was too much for Richard Lipman of San Francisco State College, who had managed to get past all the security and into the balcony with the press. He stood up and shouted loud and clear. "This man is telling you lies!" As he was dragged away the cultured audience expressed its true feelings with shouts of "Castrate him!"

Of the few young demonstrators who did not stay peaceful, the spokesman for the anti-war coalition said, ". . . they were a reflection of the frustration felt by many youth who are considered draft-bait, but not worthy to be listened to by the Nixon administration."

## Plymouth Rock protest

Plymouth Rock, Mass.—About 500 Indians from all over the United States and parts of Canada showed up here on Thanksgiving Day. It was a National Day of Mourning for all Indians, sponsored by the local tribes, Wampanoag and Naragansette, and represented by Indians of all tribes.

The demonstration started at the statue of the Wampanoag chief Massasoit, who through too much kindness inadvertently sold his people out by saving the pilgrims from starvation throughout two winters. Russel Means, a Sioux from Pine Ridge, South Dakota, spoke first, giving thanks to European civilization on behalf of all Indians for the destruction of the Indian way of life, for poverty, syphilis, smog, water pollution, black lung and the general rape of the Earth.

After the Plymouth Rock was buried in sand, they stormed the Mayflower, and as young Indian men climbed the rigging to throw down the British flags, the older leaders of the demonstration spoke to the disillusioned tourists on the pier, whose Thanksgiving visit to Plymouth was being changed radically.

Although the demonstration had its moments of confusion, overall it was characterized by a feeling of unity, and though the words were angry, there was a definite attempt on the part of the speakers to reach out to white people. They were not merely decrying American civilization, but warning white people of the political dangers facing their freedom and the natural dangers threatening their very survival.

## Huey Newton at MSU

East Lansing, Mich.—Black Panther Party founder and minister of defense Huey Newton was the keynote speaker at a Black Moratorium here called to protest the judicial and law enforcement agencies' treatment of blacks in this country. Newton spoke in support of the League of Black Revolutionary Workers, saying that the apparent contradiction between them and the Panthers is not real. Newton also said that the world proletariat doesn't have the potential for revolutionary action as a class.

Although there was an overflow crowd of both blacks and whites who eagerly welcomed the Panthers, many of them were not attracted to what Huey was saying and walked out.

Huey Newton has been the most controversial speaker to lecture here this year. But I feel he represents a trend, like Jane Fonda who spoke here later, on the part of youth to grasp at whatever straws or shortcuts that will lead them "right on" with "power to the people."

—Elliott Douglass, black student

# French edition of *Marxism and Freedom* is published

(Continued from Page 5)

rediscovery of Marx's Humanism in 1968, that they had re-discovered that authentic core of Marxism back in the immediate post-World War II world, this only proves that workers and intellectuals inhabit two different worlds in every country. In the mid-1940's, the three-cornered debate between existentialists, communists, and capitalists as to who were the true inheritors of the humanism of Marxism was discussed on an intellectual level only. None of them fought Communism as the State Capitalism it represents. No one questioned its role in World War II, either during the Hitler-Stalin Pact or after, much less raised the question of any collusion in the nuclear holocaust that American imperialism rained on Japan.

History will never absolve American imperialism for this wanton, inhuman, nuclear holocaust. Neither will it forget the de-humanization of international Communism as the bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, August 6th and August 9th, 1945. Listen to what dares call itself L'Humanite, on August 8, the day between the atomic explosions:

*"The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima seems to have caused considerable destruction. American reports suggest nothing less than the disappearance from the face of the earth of a town of 300,000 inhabitants. The effect of the discovery is considerable. Nevertheless, the Vatican has been pleased to disapprove of it! May we be permitted to express our surprise, because when the Nazis had the privilege of waging total war with a total cruelty the Holy See was not equally indignant."*

The Italian Communist paper, L'Unita on August 10, 1945:

*"The news that an atomic bomb was dropped by the American Air force has made an enormous impression throughout the whole world and has been received on all sides with a sense of panic and words of condemnation."*

## Black-Red view: Prisons intensify inhumanity

by John Alan

A few months ago this writer had the chilling experience of visiting behind the grim walls of San Quentin prison in California. Two thoughts flashed through my mind: this institution is so obviously barbarous that it should be torn down immediately; and, how could men, the Administrators, "correctional" officers, and guards, in any sense of good conscience make their profession the caging of other men?

At the end of November this year, the chief Protestant Chaplain of San Quentin resigned in disgust, after two decades of service there. The prison, he said, "... is nothing but a 'super ghetto,' stuffed with people who come from ghettos, the people who have been voiceless and impotent across the years, the recipients of persecution and abuse, the scapegoats of our culture."

In his book, "Soledad Brother—The Prison Letters of George Jackson" (published by Bantam Books) we get the brutal truth of what it is like to be Black and caught in the web of the California prison system—purported to be one of the best in the nation.

We know that Jackson is giving us the truth because the reader soon becomes aware that every incident of brutality, every insult to his human dignity, has long been burned into his mind and his body, and has become an integral part of George Jackson, Soledad Brother.

Jackson, in his letters, tells how racism is encouraged within Soledad prison by racist-sadistic guards, most of whom are recruited from the South. White prisoners are allowed to throw human feces at Black prisoners. An endless racial conflict goes on in the maximum security block, cold bloodedly designed to break the spirit of Black prisoners.

### PRISON MURDERS

The tense racial situation engendered at Soledad subsequently led to a scuffle between Black and white prisoners in the recreation yard. A white guard, O.G. Miller, fired shots at prisoners during the scuffle, killing three Blacks and injuring one white. The Grand Jury later ruled that Miller's action was 'justifiable homicide.'

Several days later a white guard whose name was Mills, was beaten to death within the prison. For this murder, George Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo and John Clutchette, all Black, were charged.

These three prisoners have steadfastly denied this murder charge and stated that they were selected by the prison authorities as suspects because of their militancy in defending their rights.

The prison powers certainly did not like these Soledad Brothers. Jackson is an outspoken "revolutionary" militant. In prison, he states, "I met Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Engels and Mao... they redeemed me." And of ten years in prison, between San Quentin and Soledad, seven were in solitary.

Fleeta Drumgo spent eleven months in maximum security because he tacked up pictures of Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown on his cell wall, thereby being labeled a militant. Clutchette, age 24, was sentenced to three years for innocently buying a stolen TV set, and sent to prison without a chance to find the thief.

Jackson, in his letters to Greg, his editor, gives a vivid picture of what it is like to be a Black kid in the

*This shows, it seems to us, a curious psychological perversion and a doctrinaire obedience to a form of abstract humanitarianism... We do not share the sense of terror which has been expressed in certain press comments because we bear in mind the concrete use which was made of the fearful engine of destruction."*

And, finally The Daily Worker of Great Britain on August 14, the day before Japan surrendered unconditionally:

*"There was no official hint of the length of delay that the Japanese are to be allowed before the full force of Allied power—including the atom bomb—is loosed against them in a blow intended to be final."*

EVER SINCE THE DEATH of Stalin, followed, first, by the workers' revolt in East Germany on June 17, 1953 and within a few weeks, by an uprising in the Vorkuta forced labor camps in Russia itself, the movement from practice has been the challenge the movement from theory did not meet, certainly not in the "West." In East Europe where the confrontation with totalitarian Communism reached open revolution in Hungary, 1956, workers practiced Marx's Humanism by the formation of Workers' Councils, by defining freedom as freedom from Communism, by trying to establish workers' power on totally new human foundations, where the freedom of each is the basis of the freedom of all.

It was shortly after the Russian tanks, with Mao's encouragement, destroyed the proletarian revolution and dared call the re-birth of Marx's Humanism "revisionism," that I completed the writing of *Marxism and Freedom*. As against the beat American intellectuals who had declared the 1950s to be "the end of ideology," I had shown that the American workers, in their battles against Automation, first by a general strike in the mines, and then by wildcats throughout the auto indus-

ghettos of Chicago and Los Angeles. He details the mischief and the petty crimes of poverty that so many ghetto youths engage in, but for middle class white youth would be considered only as growing pains.

Of all the crimes he committed or was accused of, he "gained" less than one hundred dollars. For this he was given "one to life" on the legal indeterminate sentencing system practiced in California—he was eighteen years old at the time.

### JACKSON NOT BROKEN

Soledad and San Quentin, solitary confinement and society's bias did not break George Jackson. The back page of his Prison Letters tells it, like it is:

*"If I leave here alive, I'll leave nothing behind. They'll never count me among the broken men, but I can't say that I'm normal either. I've been hungry too long, I've gotten angry too often. I've been lied to and insulted too many times. They've pushed me over the line from which there can be no retreat. I know that they will not be satisfied until they've pushed me out of this existence. I've been the victim of so many racist attacks that I could never relax again. I can still smile now after ten years of blocking knife thrusts, and the pick handles of faceless sadistic pigs, of anticipating and reacting for ten years, seven of them in solitary. I can still smile sometimes, but by the time this thing is over I may not be a nice person... I'm going to lay down for two or three hours, perhaps I'll sleep."*

From Dachau, with love, George"

## Indians call Nixon land gift phony gesture; attack BIA

It is becoming more apparent every day that Nixon has recognized the revolutionary potential of the American Indian. The administration has, of late, been trying to buy off the American Indians by making minor concessions to them.

The most recent of these was the passing, by the Senate, on December 3, of the "Nixon-backed" bill granting the Taos Pueblo Indians "title" to 48,000 acres of their own land. This 48,000 acres is land that has been closely associated with the Taos Pueblo since the early 15th century. It is their burial grounds and hunting grounds. They have every right to this land and Nixon had really no choice but to give them title as even the relatively conservative National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) urged him to.

While this is a great victory for Native Americans in general and the Taos Pueblo in particular, the glory will be short-lived, as can be seen from the results of Nixon's other major concession to the Indians—the reorganization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

In the reorganization, the BIA was put under the leadership of several Indians, but they were given virtually no power. The BIA is a white organization with token Indian representation, nothing has changed.

There is no doubt that the Native Americans will be the next target of the rapier-like tongue of Sagnew, and thus be labeled as another force of the coming and needed American revolution.

Gary M. Wilson  
Lac du Flambeau Chippewa

try had raised the most profound philosophic problems when they asked: "What kind of labor should man do? Why is there such a gulf between thinking and doing?" (See Chapter XVI, "Automation and the New Humanism.")

The first edition of *Marxism and Freedom* (published in the United States and Italy) begins with the age of revolutions—industrial, political, social, and intellectual—that initiated the machine age, and ends with two new pages for freedom, the one in East Europe against Communism and the one in the United States against racism. I was criticized for placing the Montgomery, Alabama Bus Boycott of 1955-1956, on the same level as the Hungarian Revolution. With the birth of a new Third World, initiated by the African Revolutions, the color black, became a new force of revolution globally. It, too, however, has now reached an impasse—must one choose between existing world state power before one can achieve full freedom? For a while, it looked as if Mao's China was pointing to an independent road, different from the two contenders for world power—U.S. imperialism and Russian State Capitalism, calling itself Communism. But as the Vietnam War has proved all over again, the Sino-Soviet conflict subordinates freedom struggles to its respective power struggle.

IN PROVIDING AS EMPTY a shelter for mind, as the fall-out shelter is for the body, Communist State-Capitalism is giving full proof of the schisme Marx had long ago predicted for the decomposition of the capitalist system. This has never been truer than since the 1960's when Mao's China, at one and the same time, joined the exclusive nuclear club and unloosed its own barrage against the Humanism of Marxism. By the time of the so-called Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a new revolutionary opposition within China opposed to the re-establishment of the new monolithism has arisen. Calling themselves the Sheng-wu-lien of Hunan (Hunan Provincial Proletarian Revolutionaries Great Alliance), here is what it wrote in its Manifesto, "Whither China?":

*"Intoxicated by his victory of February-March, Chou En-lai—at present the general representative of China's Red Capitalist class—hurriedly tried to set up revolutionary committees in all parts of the country. If this bourgeois plan had been fulfilled, the proletariat would have retreated to his grave... The form of political power is superficially changed. The old provincial party committees and old military district command have become 'the revolutionary committee' or 'preparatory group for revolutionary committee.' However, old bureaucrats continue to play the leading role in the 'new political power'... as the masses have said, 'everything remains the same after so much ado.'"*

*"Victory of the Chinese proletariat and the broad masses of revolutionary people and the extinction of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie are likewise inevitable. The world-shaking great festival of the revolutionary people—the overthrow of the revolutionary committee and birth of the 'People's Commune of China'—will surely survive."*

This, too, was published in that remarkable year, 1968, Spring 1968.

Thus, as we see, new revolutionary forces have arisen everywhere to blow skyhigh the gory myth that revolutions are made for the purpose of establishing a party machine; party-monolithism is there to throttle the revolution, not to release the creativity as well as the energies of millions. Marxism is either a theory of liberation or it is nothing. In thought and in life, it lays the basis for achieving a new human dimension without which no new society has viability.

IN OUR AGE OF ABSOLUTES when revolution and counter-revolution are so interlocked, it is not only the intellectual "in general" who must leave his ivory towers; so must the Marxist theoretician. The ceaseless repetition for the need of a vanguard party "to lead" has blinded him to the fact to which the mass of people are not blind—that everyone is ready to lead them; nobody to listen to them. Yet the movement from practice during the past two decades has been ceaseless while the movement from theory has been at a near standstill.

To rise to the challenge of the times requires altogether new banners. Marx was the first to see this in its breadth and depth—as both a birth-time of history and the realization of philosophy. Because he had put the human being in the center of all his thoughts, he could unite theory and practice, idealism and materialism, and, unarmed, throw the gauntlet down to the armed bourgeoisie. When asked why he, a bourgeois intellectual had broken with his class and become a "radical," he replied that "To be a radical means to grasp something at its root. And the root of mankind, the highest being for man, is man himself." It still is.

The second edition of *Marxism and Freedom*, published simultaneously in the United States and Japan in 1964, included a new chapter, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" which traced the development of "Mao's Thought" from 1927 to the Sino-Soviet conflict in the early 1960's. For this special French edition, I am adding an Appendix on Mao's "Cultural Revolution."

I wish to dedicate this edition to the French workers and students, who made Spring, 1968 happen, thereby heralding the coming rebirth of a social revolution that would not separate itself from Marx's philosophy of liberation, thus making freedom a reality.

—Raya Dunayevskaya

Detroit, Michigan  
February, 1970.

By Eugene Walker

## WORLD IN REVOLUTION

## Quebec police-state continues attack on workers and youth

The counter-revolution continues in Quebec. Despite the fact that James Cross, the British Trade official kidnaped by the Front de Liberation de Quebec (FLQ), has been released, and his FLQ captors are now in Cuba, Prime Minister Trudeau has stated that he has no intention of loosening his police-state stranglehold over the people of Quebec.

The War Measures Act, invoked by the Trudeau government on Oct. 15 to deal with what it called "a state of apprehended insurrection" in Quebec, supposedly brought on by the FLQ kidnaping of both Cross and Quebec Minister of Labor Pierre LaPorte, has been replaced by a newly legislated emergency law. The new bill, Public Order (Temporary Measures) Act, 1970, is hardly distinguishable from the War Measures Act.

## NEW ACT IS SAME REPRESSION

Both bills suspend all civil liberties in Canada, both permit search and seizure without warrants and detention without hearing or bail. The new bill merely limits, slightly, the amount of time the police can detain those arrested without charging them—from 21 to 7 days. The only concession to civil liberties in the bill is that those arrested are now permitted to contact a lawyer!

This new law, coupled with the fact that high officials in both Quebec and the Federal government are openly discussing the use of identify cards, admittedly similar to those used in South Africa, indicates that Trudeau intends to maintain the police

state in Quebec indefinitely. In a recent interview, Trudeau promised a special attack on college and university campuses. He said, "We don't intend to let revolutions be fomented behind the screen of academic freedom."

Ten thousand troops remain in the Province, ostensibly justified by the fact that only one member of the FLQ cell which kidnaped and killed Pierre LaPorte has been found. Actually, the maintenance of both the troops and the emergency laws are for the purpose of suppressing any and all voices of revolt in Quebec, revolutionary and reformist, socialist and nationalist.

## ATTACK ON LABOR AND YOUTH

Although both emergency bills outlaw the FLQ by name, they have been used primarily to attack the legal trade union and separatist movements. Hundreds from these groups have been arrested, while the police have failed to turn up even a handful of actual FLQ members. Indeed, as one Canadian newspaper put it, the list of the more than 450 persons arrested reads like a "Who's Who" of Quebec's political and trade union leaders.

But it is the crisis of unemployment, and not the FLQ, which is behind Trudeau's policy of suppressing all social movements in Quebec. Unemployment among French-speaking workers, always the highest in Canada during "normal" times, is reaching explosive proportions due to the effects of Nixon's planned recession in the U.S. In sections of Mont-

real, the unemployment rate is over 20 percent, and welfare rolls are up nearly 100 percent from 1968.

## THE CRISIS IS UNEMPLOYMENT

It is the youth that unemployment has hit the hardest—40 percent of those unemployed in Quebec are under 25. And it is not only the young workers who are affected. While the new French-language universities and trade schools are turning out large numbers of skilled and educated youth, there are few jobs open to them. Bi-lingualism in Canada means that you must SPEAK English to get most jobs, and BE English to get the best jobs.

The trade union movement has become very militant over the past few years, and has increasingly aligned itself with separatism. Thus Trudeau is attempting to use the emergency laws to behead the trade union movement and to end the alliance now forming between workers and the youth.

The new emergency laws make it clear that Trudeau intends to maintain the repression indefinitely. But the crisis in Quebec is so far-reaching, so deeply imbedded in the economic, social and cultural exploitation of the Quebecois that only social revolution, not repression, can solve it. The forces for a free and human society in Quebec are not the terrorists who gave Trudeau the excuse to impose police-state powers, but the millions of workers and students who have demonstrated that they will not be satisfied with the Quebec of today.

## East Pakistan

The final death toll from tidal waves that first destroyed an estimated 200,000 people may never be known, because people are still dying. The famine, disease, horror and indifference that followed the disaster seem to be a subject of indifference to the government of Pakistan.

With 500,000 tons of grain in warehouses and 40 army helicopters available to distribute it, President Yahya Khan refused to act and waited until 13 days after the disaster to visit and inspect the area. Offers of aid from India were refused as "not necessary". The first aid came from helicopters brought from North Carolina.

In West Pakistan, where 20 wealthy families own 66 percent of all Pakistan industry and 80 percent of all banking and insurance companies, only two families contributed \$100,000 each to the relief fund.

India Airlines transports loaded with relief supplies were refused permission to land in Pakistan on the grounds that the crews did not have visas.

The sons of wealthy Pakistanis at Bhola played gayly at badminton in their freshly laundered suits 30 minutes away from piles of decomposing bodies of the victims. While units of the British army dug

graves for the victims, Pakistani soldiers sat in their barracks at Patuakhali.

The complete indifference of the government of Yahya Kahn to the welfare and well being of the poor masses is demonstrated by this disaster. Kahn seems to be more interested in playing politics in the first general election to be held in the country in the 22 years since its birth, than he is in the welfare of the people.

## Spain

The Basque region of Spain, whose people are renowned for their heroic struggles against Fascist Dictator Franco, is again in a state of near revolt. Franco has declared a state of martial law following the kidnaping of the West German Consul who is being held hostage for 14 Basques on trial for their lives in Spanish courts.

Those holding the West German Consul are members of ETA, a Basque guerrilla organization whose members are on trial in Burgos. They demand that no death penalty be imposed on those on trial.

There is a wide industrial strike in Guipuzcoa and in Hermani the townspeople invaded the Mayor's office and shut down all shops. In Elbar, a factory town, the police fired into a crowd which surrounded

them. In Villabona the villagers locked arms across the main highway and refused to budge—even with machine guns pointed at their stomachs. They broke only when beaten by superior numbers armed with clubs.

Despite martial law, Franco has hesitated to invoke mass arrests due to the wide-spread sympathy of the population with those on trial.

## Ireland

The Irish Government of Prime Minister Jack Lynch has invoked the 1940 Offenses Against The State Act which provides for internment in concentration camps without trial. Lynch claims to have learned of a plot to kidnap high officials by a group known as Saor Eire, which has claimed credit for a dozen bank raids in the past 18 months.

The Saor Eire says it welcomes the challenge as a golden opportunity for all the people of Ireland, North and South, in the fight for a 32-county Irish Socialist Republic.

The 1940 Act was last used in 1962 when the Cerragh Internment Camp in County Kildare held over 100 men of the I.R.A. Lynch indicated that the barbed wire, brick-walled camp would be re-activated at once.

## Nixon sets new stage in Indochina war with widening bomb attacks

(Continued from Page 1)

Chairman William Fulbright noted after the newest bombing of North Vietnam, "In our kind of economy this (\$80-billion-a-year defense budget) is muscle, this is influence, this is power. It controls everything that goes on in our government to a great extent. It's the primary control."

This question is by no means limited to Vietnam. For the United States—and for the other contenders for world power, Russia and China—it is a global question. The drive toward war is innate to imperialism.

Vietnam may become more heated up if the Nixon administration continues along its present course. Or Nixon may decide at some stage to call a "halt." The point is that at every stage he is preparing for future war. It cannot be otherwise, so deep are the contradictions internationally as well as internally.

## INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS

Internationally, the invasion of Cambodia and Mao's alliance with Sihanouk, gave China the chance to establish itself as the opponent of the U.S. in Asia. With the new bombing of the North, the united front of forces fighting U.S. imperialism from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, will become even more a reality. The Nixon policy has done what Mao in China could not do—create a single unified Indo-Chinese people to fight U.S. imperialism.

Nixon's lies and attempts to turn every fiasco into a "victory" are not a laughing matter. His claim that the election results were a victory was preparation for the renewed bombing. The claim that the Cambodian invasion was a victory attempts to hide the real truth that the Cambodian invasion was actually a "victory" for China.

Nor can the recent "friendlier" relations between China and Russia be ignored. What may confront U.S.

imperialism is not just China, but China and Russia realigned. China—and China plus Russia—are the real elements in the new stage we have been plunged into.

Internally we face both inflation and unemployment. Inflation cannot be dealt with so long as we pour more than \$20 billion each year into the Vietnam War. The unprecedented high unemployment in the midst of a war (See Editorial—p. 4) now squeezes both factory workers and, for the first time, skilled professional workers.

## NIXON-PENTAGON ADMINISTRATION

The crises both at home and abroad are of such magnitude that they cry out for solution in opposition to present policy; for looking outside established ways. This becomes even more urgent when it is seen that the Nixon-Pentagon Administration continues its ever-growing alliance without any real opposition from within the capitalist class. Where is the split within the capitalist class that helped to depose Johnson before the 1968 elections? What opposition there is, seems to be composed in great part of would-be presidential aspirants in the Democratic Party.

Where is the anti-war movement? Just when the opposition to the war seemed to be gaining the upper hand, the established anti-war movement felt that it could dismantle itself. The invasion of Cambodia, together with the murders at Kent State, Ohio; Augusta, Ga.; and Jackson, Miss., halted this in May. But with the new bombings no strident opposition has appeared.

Nixon's latest news conference made it abundantly clear that he intends to resume bombing anywhere in Vietnam, at any time, and on any pretext he chooses. And the alarm in Congress that followed that conference shows clearly enough that by now everyone knows he means it.

Now is when the anti-war movement must be

strongest. The new stage in Vietnam, with its global consequences means that an anti-war movement cannot be limited to being only against the Vietnam War—which the Administration may choose to light up or defuse for its own political reason. It means that the movement must come to grips with the question of imperialism, and the real possibility of World War III, if opposition to the war is to be real.

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