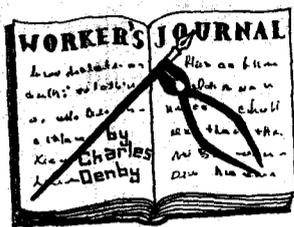


ON THE INSIDE

Phase II and the UAW Page 3

Women's Liberation: reason and revolution
by Raya Dunayevskaya Page 5

Foreign policy splits U.S. ruling class Page 4



Retirement-- a joy to get out, a sorrow to leave

By Charles Denby, Editor

Many older workers have retired from the auto plants during the months of September and October under the "30 years and out" that the UAW won for workers in our last contract negotiations. When the announcement of that agreement came to the workers' ears in the shops, there were shouts by older workers. Practically every older worker, with 30 years or more, said, "I will be leaving this damn place just as soon as the details are worked out between the company and the union."

Some said: "If I can get \$500 to miss this rat race in production, I will leave today, because every older worker knows the conditions of work, after the union was organized some 30 years ago, was like heaven compared to the inhuman speed-up that is going on in the auto shops today. In the early days of our union, many workers looked forward to returning to their jobs after a few days off, but today workers hate to think of going back in there. They only return because it is the only way they have of making a living and paying bills."

CAN'T BELIEVE IT'S TRUE

For years, some of the older workers have been looking forward to the day of retirement, and when the day comes around there is joy and happiness like nothing that ever happened to those workers before in their lives. One worker said, "Man, when I was in my early twenties, working on that farm in South Carolina, if some one had told me that there would be a day in my life when I could quit work voluntarily and still receive enough pay to exist on the rest of my life, I would have told them they were insane. But here I am, finishing my last day of work."

He said, "We are more fortunate than many of the older workers who were hired many years ago and passed on before they could retire. Some died from being overworked, some from speed-up, and from intimidation by the bosses."

There was some disappointment in the money they got from the pension plan. The company pension offices can not give a worker an accurate account of what he will receive, because it has to be computerized from the central office, and when those machines are through with it, it comes out less than what was estimated.

One worker told me he had 35 years with the company and he was 63 years old. He took the early retirement plan, expecting to get \$500 a month. This is why he retired. Then, after he was retired, the result from the computer said he would get \$450 a month. This loss is a much needed \$50 for someone not earning any extra money. He blames the union as well as the company for not having accurate figures on every worker's retirement before they retire. This 30 and out with \$500 a month is not exactly as it sounds to the public and to workers.

But the last day is a big day for retirees. The company gives those retiring their last day of work free. Practically every retiree comes in that last day all dressed up in his Sunday best, and they walk around the shop, talking and shaking hands with their fellow workers and friends for the last time. Some receive gifts that workers have donated. And as happy as every retiree is and the happiness his fellow workers express for him, there is a feeling of sadness to it — knowing that this is the last time that they will be seeing and

(Continued on Page 2)

10¢

NEWS LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

VOL. 16—No. 9

Printed in 100 Percent
Union Shop

DECEMBER, 1971



Canadian students block bridge over Detroit River

Nixon's political and nuclear shock waves prepare for World War III

by O. Domanski

Greater than the shock registered on seismographs around the world on Nov. 6 as Nixon's five megaton nuclear warhead was exploded on Amchitka Island "on schedule", was the shock that ran through the thousands upon thousands of men, women and children throughout the world who had protested the blast for weeks. Nixon's callous and calculated disregard both for world opinion and for possible world catastrophe in the form of earthquake, tidal wave, and radiation leak brought new forces to the ranks of the anti-war demonstrations everywhere, as the spectre of the nuclear war-to-come merged with the horror of Indochina war-that-is.

(See stories this page, and page 6)

The mass protests were largest in Canada, Japan and the U.S., those countries most vulnerable to the possible consequences. In Canada, 60,000 workers in British Columbia stopped work for 30 minutes on Nov. 3 to protest the test—the first general strike in that coun-

ty since 1919. Over 20,000 marched in Toronto. Thousands of Canadian students shut down traffic at the bridges and tunnels connecting Canada and Michigan, while American students gathered at the other side to join their protest. In Japan the protesters included some who had been injured by the atomic blasts on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

PROTESTS MOUNT

Catholic high school students in Detroit left classes to march to the City Council and plead for them to urge a cancellation. Many city councils from Detroit to Boston did send protests; so did several Mayors. Thousands upon thousands of telegrams poured into the White House. The Canadian House of Commons passed a protest motion, and no less than 35 U.S. Senators sent a telegram demanding that the test be cancelled because it would "endanger national security and world peace, not further it."

Congress had ordered the test postponed for the rest of the fiscal year, unless the President personally decided to proceed. Yet, in the tradition of the generals in Vietnam who had to "destroy the hamlet in order to save it," Nixon continued to insist that the test had to be conducted "for over-riding reasons of national security."

The fears that shook the world were well-founded. Accidental venting of radioactivity has happened in several tests in Nevada. No less an expert than Russell E. Train, chairman of Nixon's own Council on Environmental Quality, had issued a report a year ago that there were real risks in detonating the blast. A petition of protest was handed Nixon by 12 of the nation's leading scientists, including three who have won the Nobel prize. Five of the seven Federal agencies asked by the White House to comment on the test set forth varying degrees of opposition. Only the Defense Department and the Atomic Energy Commission itself, came out firmly in favor of the tests.

A Black auto worker in Detroit spoke for many watching the events unfold when he said, "I actually began to shiver all over whenever I thought about what Nixon was doing. Even when the blast was all

(Continued on Page 8)

Reports from Nov. 6 anti-war demonstrations

San Francisco

San Francisco, Calif.—The anti-war rally in San Francisco on November 6th, was the most unique and contradictory spectacular ever to take place in this usually politically aware area. Instead of the expected 300,000 demonstrators at the rally, the highest estimate was 35,000, yet in 1969 the November Moratorium drew 250,000 protestors.

The march was headed by the most serious effort to stop the war, the contingent of active duty servicemen for the S.O.S.—Stop Our Ship—movement who carried a casket depicting the USS Coral Sea which is scheduled on Nov. 12 to return to Vietnam, carrying its deadly cargo of bomber planes. Over 1200 of the 4000 crew members have signed the petition asking that their ship

(Continued on Page 6)

New York

New York, N.Y.—While Nixon and the bourgeois news media proclaimed the end of the anti-war movement, 30,000 New Yorkers gave their answer to Nixon's Wars at Home and Abroad, marching in the greatest numbers since the 1969 Moratorium. The slogans "FREEZE WAR, NOT WAGES" and "STOP AMCHITKA NOW" and "REMEMBER ATTICA" showed a deep understanding of the totality of the crisis. And, the participation of Labor, Women, and Youth, marching under their own banners was another sign that the anti-war movement is hardly dead.

The march was led by Vietnam Veterans, with Dr. Spock near the front, and there were service workers from District 65, hospital workers from 1199, Engineers

(Continued on Page 6)

Season's Greetings to Our Readers

Irish women; a time to speak and live



Dublin, Ireland—With a population of 2.89 million, 96 per cent of whom are Catholic, Ireland is a land of "saints and scholars" where the educational system is almost totally governed by the church. Irish women are oppressed, not only by the religion, but are made second-class citizens by their education, social conditioning and by the official Irish Constitution.

Article 41 of our Constitution states: "The State recognizes that by her life within the home, woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved." And further, "The State shall, therefore, endeavor to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the NEGLECT OF THEIR DUTIES IN THE HOME."

IRISH W.L. FORMED

It is difficult for any woman born into the traditional Irish Catholic family to break away from the role defined for her by her religion, education and government.

Irish Women's Liberation, which was founded in October, 1970, and which "went public" in March, 1971, has six basic aims, which, although "leftists" have called them reformist, are directly concerned with the day-to-day life of Irish women.

Our aims are: (1) One Family, One House; (2) Equality Under the Law; (3) Equal Education; (4) Justice for deserted wives, widows and unmarried mothers; (5) Equal Pay for Equal Work; (6) Contraception, a basic human right.

The essence of Irish Women's Liberation has been its emphasis on the social conditions facing our women. Our laws do not give women equality, equal education, the right to serve on juries, or take out installment payments without a male "guaranteeor." But these are small things compared to the housing, welfare and psychological conditions Irish women have to suffer.

In Dublin alone, there are over 20,000 homeless persons. Young married couples are forced to live with in-laws, no family can get public housing unless they have four children.

MOVEMENT ATTACKED DAILY

Our Women's Liberation Movement is attacked daily by the Irish governmental and religious establishment. The direct political actions we have taken—such as going to British-ruled Belfast to bring back contraceptives were denounced by every newspaper and from every pulpit.

Our demonstrations against the "Prohibition of Forcible Entry and Occupation Bill" (aimed at housing squatters) have not exactly gained us popular support, as such actions are considered "not nice" and detrimental to the dignity of "Irish womanhood." Two of our members are faced with jail terms as a result of our action against the Forcible Entry Bill.

As small as our group is, and as discouraging as it has been at times, a new spirit has arisen in the movement. The Feminists are coming on strong in working for women's rights, although "politicals" of the movement still push the line that "Women's Liberation cannot happen in a capitalist society."

POTENTIALLY MOST RADICAL

The problems of the Irish Women's Liberation Movement are not unique, but they are that much harder to cope with due to the influence of the Catholic Church. Irish women are not educated to think, to discuss, debate or participate in political action.

The only way to politicize our women is to go into education—to talk about, write about, get involved with the issues that concern us. Irish Women's Liberation is potentially the most radical force in Ireland, but it needs time to grow and develop. Unfortunately, it looks as if time is scarce—but the fight is continuing.

To learn more about our movement write for our pamphlet: "Chains or Change" available from Mary Anderson, care of Gaj's, 132 Lower Baggot Street, Dublin, 2, Ireland. Price \$1.50.

Mary Anderson
Irish W. L.

Free abortions needed—not just repeal

San Francisco, Calif.—I attended the Western States Abortion Conference in Berkeley on Oct. 15-17th, and set up a lit. table—an ironing board with a large grocery shopping bag for my sign—"Free Abortion—to Free Women, Men, and Children from unnecessary death, divorce, welfare and taxes" and sold News & Letters' "Notes on Women's Liberation."

The conference was hosted and controlled by YSA dominated "Female Liberation" with a one-point agenda—"repeal abortion laws." I held a caucus with several other women including a black women editor of 4th World, and the author of "Pioneers in Women's Liberation." The following is a summary of the conference written by my sister "free-abortion" caucus member:

More than 400 women attended the Abortion Action Conference, and over 50 organizations were represented. The speakers were, in the main, young professional women. From many points of view, it was very successful and well organized, a good kickoff for the Nov. 20th demonstrations in S. F. and Washington.

The weakness of the conference was the limitation of its goals to the repeal of abortion laws, and failure to endorse free abortion on demand. I spoke for Union Wage* and explained that, while we fully supported the three goals of the coalition—for the repeal of all abortion laws, against forced sterilization and restrictive contraceptive laws—we did not think the struggle ends

with these demands. Abortion must be made available to all women who want it, which will not be the case if it costs from \$250 to more than \$500.

Our goal is that every woman should decide for herself whether or not she wants to have a child, without harassment, without red tape, without restrictions, and with abortion available free.

The Conference's refusal to confront the economic issues of abortion may explain why there were so few third world women there—and no trade union representatives. It is unfortunate that the meeting was predominantly middle class and white, because it is working women, especially minority women working at the lowest paid jobs who desperately need the repeal of abortion laws and FREE ABORTION.

—Joyce, S. F. WL

*Note: Union Wage (Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality) is an organization of women trade unionists who are fighting for an end to sex discrimination on the job, in unions and everywhere. They put out a newsletter called WAGE, mailing address is: 2483 Hearst Ave., Berkeley, Calif., 94709.

Women end sexist want-ads

Detroit, Mich. — After 4 years of struggle with the hierarchies of the Detroit newspapers—the News and the Free Press—and the Michigan Civil Rights Commissions, Detroit women have won the battle to end sex-segregated employment want-ad columns.

When members of women's liberation groups met with the executives of these papers, they maintained that their sexual designations were for the "convenience" of their readers. The managing editor of the Detroit News also said, in the presence of this writer, that he really regretted having to stop designating jobs as "white only" or "colored," as this made it "inconvenient for black job applicants who might apply for jobs where they were not wanted."

Thanks to the efforts of many W. L. women in Detroit, and especially Toby Cedar, women in Detroit can now do without the "convenience" of job discrimination abetted by newspaper advertising. —B. McFadden

WOMEN'S LIBERATION CHRISTMAS CARDS

10 Cards for \$2.00

An assortment of irreverent cards with WL themes, on display at N & L office.

Order from:

News & Letters Women's Liberation
1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207

Special Holiday Gift Offer

Just published new edition of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Preface by Harry McShane
Regularly \$3.00
and

Bound Volume of News & Letters

Every issue from 1962 to 1970.

The ONLY history of the 60's, as told by workers, blacks, civil rights activists and freedom fighters everywhere. Marxist-Humanist theory.

Regularly \$20

BOTH FOR ONLY \$15

If ordered before Jan. 1, 1972

Order from:

NEWS & LETTERS
1900 East Jefferson
Detroit, Mich. 48207

WAY OF THE WORLD

by Ethel Duabar

Whites bused for decades

The Supreme Court decision on school integration in this country was handed down in 1954—seventeen years ago. Yet today we see and hear all hell being raised by racist whites over busing to achieve that integration. One would think the 1954 decision was handed down last week.

When I was in school back in the thirties, we lived in a rural community and I had to walk five miles to school and five miles back every day. Some students walked as much as 10 miles to school. There was one white high school in the county. White students from all over the county were bused to this white school—some as far as 25 miles. This was the situation that prevailed all over the South in those days, and not one word was uttered over busing. As we walked along those dusty, sometimes muddy roads to school, those buses carrying the white students would pass by. We had to rush off the road to avoid getting covered with dust or mud.

RACIST-REACTION

The deep-seated racist hatred by the big majority of whites in this country—from President Nixon on down—and especially the older whites, are the reasons for all the disturbance over busing. Politicians who, a few years ago, were saying they supported the Supreme Court desegregation ruling and were for integration, are now yelling about busing. They are yelling about busing because it's their only hope of getting re-elected.

Although there are some Blacks who are against busing, they are against it for different reasons. They feel this will hinder them from controlling their own community. Other Blacks fear that racist whites will do violent harm to their children.

What all the whites seem to forget (or never knew) is that before the Civil War there were no public schools at all. All schools were private and only the children of wealthy whites could attend. It was during Reconstruction—the period after the Civil War—when Blacks held state and county offices that public schooling came to exist. It was fought for and won by the Blacks in office and for the first time in the history of this country, poor and working class whites were able to send their children to school.

Since that time, white children have been bused to and from racist white schools—and no one has said a word about it. There would not be a word today about busing if the situation had remained "status quo." But because integration is the issue, those leading whites, state and governmental officials are saying that busing "violates constitutional rights" and the "right to neighborhood schools."

The goal of Blacks is justice. I read where Demosthenes, when asked by a grateful emperor what favor the emperor could grant him, replied: "Remove thyself—that I may see the sun." What is involved in this busing issue is the question of right vs. wrong. There are many people who have risked their lives—and some gave their lives—in this struggle for human justice—because they felt they were right.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

talking with most of those that they have known for twenty and thirty years, and knowing that the faces they have been accustomed to seeing every day and the discussion of problems together will not be part of this new life of the retiree.

THREW AWAY ALARM CLOCK

One worker said, "Life itself for worker is full of contradictions. The day I retired, I rushed home full of joy and threw the alarm clock in the alley, saying 'you have been a part of my life for all these years, waking me every morning, but I won't need you any more.' Now when I had this clock, it seemed that if it did not ring I would never get up on time to get to work. But now I still wake up every morning at exactly the same time without the clock."

Some workers say it takes at least six months to adjust to this transition period. Some say it will take years. The joy for retirees is when they wake up each morning and realize: "I won't have to go into that plant and be bossed or take orders from anyone. I won't have to worry about snow-covered windshields on my car, or about slipping and sliding and rushing to get there in time to punch that time clock that has governed my life all these years."

One retiree summed it up "I have time to live a more relaxed life. In the short time I've been retired, it has made a big change in me physically. While I was in that plant, every day there was something hurting me. Now I do not have a pain anywhere, and I feel that some time extension has been added to my life."

Montreal cops murder La Presse strike marcher

Montreal, Quebec — October 29 will be remembered for many years in Quebec. On that night 15,000 men and women marched in support of the La Presse strikers, and were brutally attacked by the Montreal police. At least one and maybe as many as three marchers were killed, and over 300 were injured.

The La Presse strike began on October 27, and the company suspended publication "indefinitely." Four

hundred workers had been locked out since August 19, as La Presse tried to break the unions. When the suspension was announced, the leaders of the three major unions in Quebec called for a joint labor march to support the workers. Mayor Drapeau responded by banning the demonstration, under a law that was known to be unconstitutional.

POLICE ATTACK

Laberge of the FTQ, Pepin of the CSN, and Charbonneau of the CEQ marched with the giant demonstration up to the police wall at Viger Square. The violence started when the presidents of the three unions tried to walk through the police barricade. They asked the police to arrest them if the demonstration was really illegal.

The cops beat them up as an answer, clubbing whoever they could reach. I was trying to avoid the center of the police charge and saw many people go down—men and women, union members and student supporters.

Then the workers fought back and attacked the big corporations downtown, especially places owned by Power Corporation, which owns La Presse. CJMS radio was busted up, along with the bus station (also owned by Power Corp.) and banks. By this time, you never saw so many scared cops in your life.

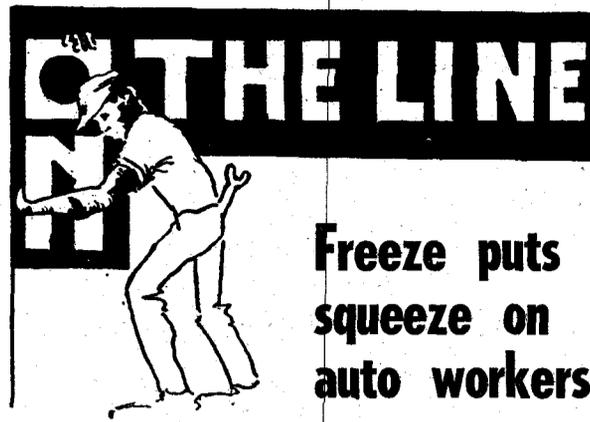
DRAPEAU RESPONSIBLE

Everyone places the blame for the killings by the police on the head of Jean Drapeau, mayor of Montreal, and his big-business friends, like Desmarais. They are the ones who ordered the charge and the murders.

There is also a lot of discussion about the role of the Parti Quebecois. They refused to support the demonstration, and it just shows their narrow nationalism. Most of their support comes from workers, and the workers are far more revolutionary than the leaders of PQ.

On Nov. 2, there was a protest rally after the funeral of Michele Gauthier, who was killed at the march. Twelve thousand turned out, and the mood was for workers from all unions to fight. Michel Chartrand spoke and was very effective. The workers' movement is very much alive here.

—Bernard Bruneau



Freeze puts squeeze on auto workers

By John Allison

Chrysler is returning to their Open House policy, but it seems a closed door so far as the rank-and-file workers are concerned. The Warren Stamping plant, just north of Detroit, for example, will be holding an Open House for the public during the latter part of November. To get ready for this event, Chrysler has to paint up and clean up the machines to make Chrysler look good to the public.

In order to get the job done, management is using production workers to help the regular painters. Those workers who are doing the painting are getting skilled wages, because painters in the plant carry a skilled classification.

The production workers who are being placed on these painting jobs are not chosen according to seniority. The boss picks his own men as he sees fit. By doing this, management makes trouble for all the workers—skilled and unskilled. The simple fact is that it is against the contract for management to show this kind of arbitrary favoritism.

This is only one case that is being cited to show a part of what the wage freeze is doing to the working class. The high cost of living has kept going up, but wages have been frozen by the corporations. It seems that workers are forced to work overtime hours, jump trades and do any other job necessary to increase their take-home pay.

If they had received the benefits they are entitled to and which were negotiated in the auto contract, then they wouldn't have to resort to favoritism or other forms of anti-union activity.

The local union should have straightened this out before it got started. But they, like everyone else, are taking a "wait and see" attitude. By doing this, they are leaving the workers to be open game for the company. And the bosses, as usual, are playing the overtime work bit to the hilt. Sometimes it's pitiful to see what they can force a worker to do just because they know the worker needs the overtime to make ends met.

Now the labor leaders are finding out what workers already knew a long time ago: that the Nixon administration is outright anti-labor. No matter which way you cut it, you just can't trust "Tricky Dick."

UAW convention: no help for workers

Detroit, Mich.—As we go to press, the UAW has just held its Special Convention on November 13, the day before Phase II of Nixon's New Economic Policy. The convention was attended, as usual, by union bureaucrats and marked by the absence of rank-and-file production workers.

The delegates heard Pres. Woodcock argue that the UAW should remain on the Pay Board and "argue the union's case from within." Woodcock's position was, of course, upheld by the audience. Nearly 250,000 UAW workers have lost pay since the wage freeze began in August, but Woodcock did not give them permission to strike to get their money. Outside the hall, about 100 workers picketed against Woodcock's membership on the board.

One issue did reveal dissent in the ranks of the bureaucrats—the financial crisis. Woodcock and the International Executive Board proposed to take three cents more out of every dues dollar away from the locals and spend it on Black Lake. There was a long and loud argument over this. Finally they called a standing vote, and it looked like Woodcock's motion was defeated, but he said: "The motion has passed." When some delegates tried to get a roll call, they were told they couldn't have one.

While the delegates were arguing over who would spend the workers' money, the fact remained that Phase II has brought the labor bureaucracy into Nixon's government. The rank-and-file, whose voice was not heard at the convention, will be heard from in the shops in the months ahead, as working conditions get worse and worse under Phase II.

READERS:

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

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

DETROIT, Mich.—The following leaflet was distributed at Fleetwood. Here is part of what it said:

Who is afraid of the truth?

There was a great reaction to our leaflet last week on the Medical office. We have received reports that Medical has behaved a lot better in recent days. One brother went to Medical with a back pain and actually received medication and was asked if he wanted to go home. Let Medical know that we are still watching them, to see that all Local 15 members get proper medical treatment. Don't let it return to the old ways.

The body shop worker who was fired for "loitering in Medical" has NOT been seen back at work in the body shop. The union reports that they are "working on it." There is no excuse for this man being fired. BRING HIM BACK NOW WITH ALL BACK PAY.

Another body shop worker was given 60 DAYS suspension after both the company and the union suspected him of passing out the leaflets of this committee, even though the worker denied it. WE WANT THIS WORKER BACK IMMEDIATELY. The company and the union are looking for victims to persecute because they are scared of these leaflets. They are afraid to let the facts be spoken.

We, the members of Local 15, are not such fools as GM and the union leaders think we are. We have had it with their lies and excuses. We are through with being treated like dirt. The membership is ready to take action—is the union leadership ready? Or will they think up new ways to excuse themselves?

SPEAK YOUR MIND NOW! TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT FLEETWOOD!

—Fleetwood Revolutionary Workers Committee

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—I want to tell News & Letters about a conversation I had in the shop. I was talking to an older worker who said he was going to retire as soon as possible because of the attitude of the company and the union toward older workers.

He said, "They moved me from my job and gave it to a younger worker, and the only reason is the speed up and more production. They think that because of my age, it's not possible for me to keep pace with younger men. The union didn't stop it, even though I have much more seniority."

Then the younger worker told me the foreman had arranged with him to put out 25 more pieces per hour. If he does this, he can quit. This business of going over the quota is disgusting. In the early days of the union, you worked just your quota and no more. Now, there are deals where they up your quota, and you race through it to get out early, while the company pretends not to notice.

This is hurting all workers, especially older workers. Any time a worker is put on a new job it is a kind of speed-up, because it takes longer to do a job you aren't used to. The union is really to blame; they see these deals going on, but they ignore the whole thing.

—Production worker, Chrysler Mack

GM Southgate

Los Angeles, Calif.—Over 100 rank-and-file members of our local at GM Southgate took up a collection and signed the following telegram to the labor members of the Pay Board.

To the labor members of the Pay Board: Leonard Woodcock, UAW; George Meany, AFL-CIO; Frank Fitzsimmons, Teamsters; I. W. Abel, Steelworkers; Floyd Smith, Machinists;

We will not tolerate—

- 1) a continuation of the wage freeze;
- 2) acceptance of 6% or any other set percentage on future increases;
- 3) we want raises and benefits owed us in our contract, and retroactive;
- 4) it is truly repressive, and must be unconstitutional (because it is unequal treatment of part of the population) to "freeze" or control wages, and not "freeze" or control prices effectively; not to roll-back or control interest, taxes and profits.

—100 GM Southgate workers

Wesleyan workers organize

Middletown, Conn. — Custodians and buildings and grounds workers at Wesleyan University, fed up with low pay, unkept promises and deteriorating working conditions are carrying on an organizing drive to join the Federation of University Employees.

Although the University has lots of money for new buildings with wall-to-wall carpeting and fancy furniture, they "can't afford" to pay carpenters, painters and other skilled workers a wage near that prevailing in the area, and they "can't afford" to hire enough custodians and maids to cover the areas assigned to them. In fact, they have "phased out" eight maids since last year.

Although there is less custodial work being done in the dormitories now, with the building of a new Science Center, fewer people are expected to clean more floor-space. Some workers have to clean two or three buildings a night alone. However, instead of hiring more custodians, Wesleyan has answered with time study men, to squeeze that last ounce of energy out of the workers.

Feeling is running high in favor of organizing, despite attempts by the University to discredit the Union and intimidate the workers.

A joint worker-student-faculty solidarity committee has been formed to support the workers. This group plans to support the drive by countering the University's propaganda and meeting weekly to exchange news and ideas and to plan further action.

Local News & Letters Committees can be contacted directly in the following areas:
CONNECTICUT: PO Box BB, Wesleyan Station, Middletown, Conn. 06451
LOS ANGELES: PO Box 24371, Los Angeles, Calif. 90024
DETROIT: 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit 48207 (961-1010)
NEW YORK: PO Box 5463, Grand Central Sta. New York, N.Y. 10017

EDITORIAL U.S. ruling class split revealed in foreign aid vote

In a stunning action which matched or surpassed the "politics of surprise" practiced by President Nixon, and revealed the sharp splits in the American ruling class, the U.S. Senate voted on Friday, Oct. 29, to kill the \$2.9 billion foreign aid bill. Designed by President Nixon to maintain and extend his worldwide imperialist ambitions, the bill's provisions ranged from continuing support of military regimes in Indochina, Greece, Turkey and others, to so-called "aid" for refugees and economically underdeveloped countries.

It was a strange mixture of forces from the "left," right and middle in the Senate that coalesced to defeat this bill—some incensed at the expulsion of Taiwan from the U.N., others at the continuing and expanding war in Indochina. What the vote revealed was that the U.S. capitalists do not believe their own government any more. The chief architect of this division is none other than President Nixon, whose string of broken promises and staggering "politics of surprise" have spawned national and international fear and uncertainty.

SOFT UNDERBELLY OF MIGHTY U.S.A.

The blow dealt to Nixon, totally unexpected, had turned up the soft and decaying underbelly of seemingly mighty America. Historically, whatever differences existed in domestic matters, the U.S. government always presented a solid united front in foreign affairs. After much talk but little modification, the administration bills were passed with regular monotony. This seeming unity not only gave the impression of solid capitalist political support, it also warned all others that the U.S. brooked no interference in matters foreign. Then came Vietnam.

Nixon's promise to end the war and stop inflation was readily accepted—even at the proposed cost of planned unemployment. But Nixon's unemployment moved beyond being planned, and became chronic and uncontrollable. For the first time, the nation reeled under the twin economic blows of both unemployment and inflation. But the Vietnam war dragged on and on.

On April 30, 1970, Nixon threw his first bombshell: the Cambodian invasion. This action, taken without con-

sulting either other allied governments or the U.S. Congress, has since become the frightening method of Nixon's political administration. The invasion erased the illusion held by some that Nixon intended to reduce U.S. overseas commitments by ending the war in Vietnam and getting out of Asia. Instead, the invasion, coupled with stepped-up military assistance in Laos, unmistakably forecast that Nixon was determined to remain in Asia and maintain or expand U.S. power in Indochina.

In rapid succession came three more jolts: the announcement of the Peking visit, the imposition of the wage-price freeze and the 10 percent import duty, and the report of the planned Moscow trip. Each decision, all again taken without consultation with allied nations or the Congress, produced growing fear, suspicion, anger and economic chaos at home and abroad. Clearly, Nixon had usurped every power of the U.S. government.

COALITIONS, COALITIONS

Thus it was that when the administration's foreign aid bill came up for that fateful vote, forces from the so-called left, right and middle coalesced to defeat the legislation. It is an unlikely alliance, but the end result is the important factor. By this action, the Senate reclaimed a significant share of the decision-making power that Nixon had usurped and exercised by himself.

The Congress, and particularly the Senate, will now insist on the principle and practice of shared power. But questions remain. Just what is shared power and how will it be divided?

As important as these considerations are, far more important is the fact that the split in the ruling class is not class division. The split results from a difference in the priorities and foreign policies which should be pursued by the U.S. government. Where it comes to the working class in the U.S., there is no difference at all in the goals of U.S. capitalism—and that is to keep the working class in its place, under control and on the production line.

REAL PROBLEM AT HOME

The real problem is not overseas. Pointing there evades the real issue, which is the crisis at home.

The overriding fact of present economic life is that the capitalist system in the U.S. could not function effectively without the total intervention of the state.

Nixon's intervention with his "New" Economic Policy undeniably moved the U.S. further along the road to state capitalism.

This means that the working class now must fight against the might of the U.S. government as well as against the profit hungry corporations. It also means that the power of the government is now openly in the corner of the business corporations. In addition, the labor leaders who have so blindly become a part of the government apparatus by accepting responsibility for making Nixon's New Economic Policy work, have set themselves in opposition to their own workers.

These are the forces that the growing revolt of the Blacks, working class, youth and women have opposing them in their battle to create a new human society. It remains to be seen if they will pay the price to keep the present discredited and incapable economic system alive to serve the capitalist class, or if they will take the necessary action to give it the burial it should have had many years ago.

News & Letters

Vol. 16, No. 9

December, 1971

News & Letters is published every month except during the summer months when issues appear June-July, August-September, by News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207. Telephone: 961-1010. Subscription: \$1 for 12 copies; single copy 10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
O. Domanski Managing Editor

Second Class Postage Paid at Detroit, Michigan

NIXON AND THE UNIONS

Nixon may have won over the labor bureaucracy, but working people haven't been waiting until Nov. 14 to make their voices heard. Not only have the miners and longshoremen walked off their jobs, but there have been sporadic strikes everywhere—including bus drivers and teachers here in N.Y. as well as the telephone workers who have been out since early summer.

No matter what the future controls will be, everyone knows they won't affect prices or profits, since they aren't doing that even now. Food and clothing and rents are the things we spend most of our paychecks on, and they haven't been affected so far as most working people can see.

The real clincher in all of Nixon's statements has been his emphasis on increased labor productivity, and inducement to industry to get more machines. In the Post Office, which is not a production but a service job, they mean to be fully automated in a couple of years. This will mean getting rid of literally hundreds of thousands of workers, mostly clerks, though if they could create robots to deliver the mail, they would get rid of the carriers, too.

PO Worker
New York

* * *

The unions in the building trades will not give in to Nixon without a fight. Construction workers are due for a wage increase soon. The thing that worries the workers most is the possibility of getting laid off.

Skilled Worker
California

* * *

ANTI-WAR PROTEST

Now that the overwhelming majority of U.S. workers are opposed to the war in Indochina, the "official" union movement at least in part, feels safe to openly oppose it too. The unions' endorsement of the U.S. government's military adventure in Vietnam for the past five years has been a shameful chapter in the history of the union movement.

The truth is that the government's foreign policy is determined above all

else by its concern to protect the trade interests of U.S. corporations, which are only detrimental to ordinary working people who have to fight the wars to protect them. We believe the organization and fundamental principles of the union movement must be changed . . .

Committee for Union Democracy
PO Box 24155
Minneapolis, Mn. 55424

* * *

Nearly a hundred student demonstrators turned out here in November to protest the War. Representatives from such groups as SDS, Gay Lib, Women's Lib, and the Student Mobilization Committee addressed the rally. Students thought that the landslide victory of three "student's" candidates in the local election earlier in the week, had led many to feel that the voting process would change the system rather than a mass demand for total change.

However, one student, who can for office and lost, reminded the crowd that we must not let Nixon forget that "we are part of the war too." He, and other speakers, asked the predominately white crowd why the Blacks had separated from the anti-war movement and said the battle for freedom at home cannot be forgotten.

Black Student
East Lansing, Mich.

* * *

LA City College was one campus where the students had something concrete to protest on Moratorium Day. The student body had voted to kick the navy recruiters off campus. Three students were arrested the next day for "creating a public disturbance."

Warren Widener, newly elected Black mayor Berkeley, was the featured speaker at Valley State. He spoke of how students should get involved in local elections by forming coalitions to support radical candidates.

The downtown rally was in the form of a "People's Trial" which was supposed to set a precedent for the rest of the country to follow. Angela Davis, Ruchelle Magee, the Berrigans, the Soledad

brothers, and just about every political prisoner you could name were put on trial by a jury of their peers and declared innocent, with this unjust society being named the criminal.

Antiwar Activist
Los Angeles

* * *

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The experience of having the custody of two adolescent boys, (13 and 15 years) at home, is powerfully revealing of the sort of relationship which exists between men and women in Quebec. They are a flagrant example of how men are helpless if they don't have a woman with a wipe-rag in their wake.

This "quality" is cultivated at home where they are taught to be MEN; to drink beer, smell strong, and to judge women as to whether they are "mothers" or "whores," that is the barometer of "virility." In playing the role of those famous "Good Mothers" who coddle their "little boys," it is the women who maintain this vicious circle, where the more a man is useless, baby-like and dependent, the more he feels viril and Master of women.

I believe that there is a lot of educating to be done on these useless appendages (members inutiles).

New "Foster" Mother
Quebec

* * *

Just look over these papers I'm enclosing (a letter from Senator Griffin on his opposition to busing, and a UAW paper from a GM local with instructions for a den where the "man of the house" can retreat from "kids running amok" and "a wife whose tongue may resemble a stiletto".) They're filled with hate toward the Black people, and the women of today. And this is just mild compared to some things I've been receiving lately.

I'm getting tired of it. These bums in

public office — what do they know?
Nothing.

White Working Woman
Livonia, Mich.

* * *

I am writing to see whether I could get a copy of your pamphlet, Notes on Women's Liberation. I have what you might call a definite problem in that spot, be it because of my family upbringing (a strict authoritarian father), society's example, or my own personal attitudes. Probably a combination of the three. While in captivity I have been trying to work on this and change my outlook. I have had the opportunity of seeing News & Letters, and if your pamphlet is of the same nature, I know it will be very helpful. I remain fraternally and defiantly yours.

Prisoner
California

* * *

NIXON AND BUSING

The busing issue in Michigan has become so enormous that it raises a frightening spectacle for the whole nation. I am convinced Nixon is using this state as a testing ground to see if he can use racism to divert attention away from the economic situation, and save the Republican party from disaster.

For example, our governor and one senator, the conservative Griffin, are the only Republicans office, and with 10% unemployment in Detroit, everyone was saying those two would be out next election. Then came Pontiac, and then Judge Roth's federal court decision saying that the Detroit schools are segregated. The day of that decision, suburban parents were out looking for the Black kids they thought would be bused to their schools, and hundreds of thousands of names have been collected on petitions against such a plan, even though the court has not yet ordered any remedy whatsoever!

TWO WORLDS

Women's liberation: reason and revolutionary force

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of Marxism and Freedom

Editor's Note: We print below excerpts from an article by Raya Dunayevskaya included in "Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak in Many Voices" (News & Letters, 51). After taking up Literature and History; the Black Dimension; and the Newness of Today's Women's Liberation Movement, the article deals with Marx's Humanism and Today's Marxists:

THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT AS REASON AND AS REVOLUTIONARY FORCE

As against the past, all of the past, including some of the revolutionary past, and the women who made it in a man's world, today's Women's Liberation Movement not only refuses to stop short of total freedom, but refuses to wait for "the day after" the revolution to obtain it. On the contrary, she will be part of that historic process of making freedom real for all . . .

What is involved now is a whole new philosophy. Where Hegel had moved the myth of Adam and Eve from the theology of sin to the sphere of knowledge, Marx looked at history as a development of labor, and, therefore, of the need of a totally new way of life, a philosophy of liberation he called the new Humanism. In his early Humanist essays, he kept reiterating that so long as we talk only about different property forms, we will never get to new human relations, least of all the relationship of man to woman. Private property, Marx insisted, has made us so stupid that we think only of possessions. We are constantly substituting a "to have" for a "to be." But the abolition of private property would not, alone, bring about a new society, as the vulgar communists thought; this, Marx insisted, only "negates the personality of man," not to mention the most fundamental of all relations, that of man to woman . . .

It is this type of totally new relations that many in the Women's Liberation Movement are aspiring to . . .

INSTEAD OF EITHER grasping the link of continuity of today's strivings with that which Marx saw emerging, or listening to new voices, today's "Marxists" themselves are the best examples of Marx's concept of ideology as false consciousness. They look upon themselves as "the leaders," or at least the politicians who can offer "a rational reassessment of feminist ideology," and look down upon today's new women rebels as "apolitical," as if politics were the equivalent of a philosophy of liberation. They are insensitive to the distrust the rebels entertain toward them because they cannot conceive that the Women's Liberation Movement has a point when it considers the politicians as no more than still another group that wishes to transform them into mere auxiliaries of other movements. Whether they are asked merely to form a "Committee to Support the Socialist Workers Party Candidates," or they are invited "to build a labor party," their disgust is the same. They are sure they are being used, when someone like Claire Moriarty rushes to the wrong conclusions that "Just as the 'Negro problem' is, in reality, a white problem, chauvinism should be the concern of men."*

The truth is the exact opposite. While socialists were busy proclaiming the impossibility for Negroes to solve the "Negro problem" "by themselves," the blacks proceeded to create their own independent mass movement. It is not labor or "socialism" which acted as catalyst for both the anti-war movement and, indeed, gave birth to a whole new generation of revolutionaries, but the black revolution which was both catalyst and reason, and continues to be that ceaseless movement today. To hold that the women rebels are now to consider male chauvinism "the concern of man" may sound as thunderous as Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex* (it is she who proclaimed it early and loudest), and may produce a few more women who have made it in a man's world. But the movement was created, not by her, but by these "apolitical" women who took matters into their own hands.

THE WHOLE ATTITUDE of today's "Marxists" to Women's Liberation is not helping, but endangering the movement just when it is trying to overcome its own empiricism and distrust of ideologues and is beginning to search for theory, for a total philosophy that is a way of life in search of other life forces of liberation who would look to be whole men as they look to be whole women. Communists, Socialists, Trotskyists, Maoists and

*Most of the quotes that follow are from Claire Moriarty's article "On Women's Liberation," *New Politics*, Spring 1970. However, I'm actually taking issue with the whole left, old and new—Stalinists, Maoists, Trotskyists, independent socialists. It just happens that Claire Moriarty has expressed these politicians' views best.

even Fidelistas cannot, after all, hide the fact that, despite the countless revolutionary women, and many martyrs, there has been one, only one, woman who has served not only as revolutionary muscle but revolutionary theoretician—Rosa Luxemburg.

We need theoreticians who can face today's problems. It is true that women theoreticians can be "created" neither via isolation from men, nor by spending all their time denouncing male chauvinism. But why be so fearful of "excesses" on the question of fighting male chauvinism, and why be so eager a beaver in getting women "to participate" in the working out of "political strategy" that you are led to plunge into asinine assertion? Thus Claire Moriarty writes so glowingly of technology that it would appear it has indeed "eliminated" nothing short of the "inconvenience of pregnancy"!!! Naturally she didn't mean the absurdity that loose phrasing makes it sound. But how could she have slipped into such bizarre expressions?

THE ANSWER LIES deep in the recesses of the concept of the backwardness of the apolitical women. So weighted down is she by this elitist concept that she is led inexorably to vulgarize Marx's greatest discovery:

(Continued on Page 7)

Notes on Women's Liberation We Speak in Many Voices Black, Chicana, Oriental, White

A new force for freedom . . . student, worker, youth, adult, theory and practice.

Price \$1.00

Includes "The Women's Liberation Movement as Reason and as Revolutionary Force" by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

Views

But that outpouring of racism, as shocking as it is in the "liberal" North pales before the act of the governor in announcing that he is ordering the state Attorney General to appeal the Roth decision even before it is final. I am sure he did so on Nixon's orders.

Of course there is nothing new about Nixon equivocating on integration and subverting the government's enforcement of civil rights laws. But this latest move is not just a refusal to enforce the law; it is an outright attack upon the judiciary for simply mentioning what the policy of the federal government is supposed to be. It is comparable to the attack on Constitutional liberties Nixon delivered along with his new Supreme Court nominees. Now that Congress has failed to stand up to him on the war, he is making sure that the courts will not interfere with his plans for increasing racism and repression.

Lawyer
Detroit

A PLACE IN SOCIETY

It is not that I object to those who are blind and handicapped being eligible for welfare, but I object to the myth that they are considered eligible because they are "unemployable." That is nothing but one more of capitalism's myths, aimed to cover-up for a rotten society that cannot provide jobs for us—"disabled" or not. Many of our blind and handicapped citizens may be unemployed—but it is not because they are "unemployable."

Employable
Detroit

Marxists used to think of prisoners as representing the lumpen element in society. The prison composition used to be much more of the underworld than it is today. Now there are many more blacks and other minorities in prisons. The

totality of the crisis is seen in the fact that there is scarcely any element left that is not directly involved in trying to change the inhuman conditions of this society.

Observer
Los Angeles

I'm afraid I can never "teach"—as in a school—and continue to like myself. Educators and teachers are poles apart, because schools and education are poles apart in their basic outlook. Education is something you experience all your life, while school is a mandatory detention for a period of time for the purpose of conscious conditioning to fit into a place in this society.

Student Teacher
Missouri

NORTH IRELAND

The IRA wishes to thank those friends in North America who so generously answered our recent appeal for funds. The money received from this appeal is at this moment being put to good use throughout the North on behalf of the families of Republican prisoners . . .

We wish to state clearly that we are not responsible for the rash of indiscriminate bombings which have taken the lives of so many innocent people in Belfast recently. We condemn absolutely the irresponsible bombings of public buildings during working hours. It serves no military purpose whatever, but seems aimed solely at the ordinary people of Belfast . . .

The IRA objective is the Reconquest of Ireland, and to achieve this it has been the policy to develop mass agitations by the people themselves. In the North we have supported the civil rights campaign and fully endorse the current program of Civil Disobedience.

All contributions will be acknowledged immediately by an official IRA

receipt from Ireland. Contributions may be sent to:

Irish Republican Clubs
USA and Canada
National Headquarters
37-76 64th Street
Woodside, New York 11377

I've just been to an enormous demonstration against Internment. At least 20,000 and very militant . . . The quality of life in Tory Britain is not improving. The great red, white and blue herring of the Common Market is still with us. Two weeks ago the Stalinists participated in a joint demonstration with the fascists. It was disgusting. CP placards were decorated with union jacks; fascists were carrying the union jack and dishing out racist literature. And all united in a "Common Nationalist issue," to quote a young Communist.

Unemployment continues to mount, and with it our fears of a racist backlash unless we can organize a viable revolutionary alternative—and I feel we are still many years away from this. Nevertheless a serious attempt must be made . . .

Independent Socialist
London

I was asked to speak at the demonstration calling for the end of internment and the withdrawal of British troops. There was a procession and even a lame leg couldn't stop me from marching. The Rev. Pastor Glass, who was confirmed by Paisley, brought an army of thugs to break it up. They were savages. There were 31 arrests.

The meeting had to be called off. An effort is being made to organize an indoor meeting. The trial of the arrested men, including seven of those in the march, will take place next month.

H. McShane
Glasgow

URGENT APPEALS

SLAM (Southern Legal Action Movement) has reached a point of financial crisis. We do not have the money to pay basic operating costs, much less put out our paper.

We realize that it is close to Christmas and money is tight, but SLAM cannot continue without help. Hopefully, with it, the newspaper will be out soon. Subscriptions will help. Peace,

Cheryl Knowles
SLAM, PO Box 1065
University, Alabama 35486

Last night three people came in, half an hour after dinner was over, and we were cleaned out. But we had apples from the farm which meant enough apple sauce for everyone and for the soup lines this morning . . . All this means I am writing another appeal for help from you . . .

All the young students who live with us show their respect by doing the menial jobs. Men from this Bowery area also help with the mailing of the 80,000 copies of the *Catholic Worker* each month. Of course it is work which men need most. But we all have that—we are self-employed, with no bosses. And no wages. "From each according to his ability and to each according to his need."

Catholic Worker
36 East 1st Street
New York, N.Y. 10003

Here in Milwaukee we are building a campaign for a "Peaceful Christmas." As long as men are being killed in Southeast Asia, there can be no greater obscenity than the materialistic orgy which takes place each Christmas. Instead we are urging people to give simple handmade gifts, or donate the money normally spent on gifts to life-supporting groups.

Peace Action Center
1437 E. Brady St.
Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202

DON'T FORGET TO PUT
NEWS & LETTERS ON
YOUR HOLIDAY
GIFT LIST



YOUTH

Reports from Nov. 6 anti-war demonstrations

Detroit

Detroit, Mich.—Despite a freezing rain, about 1500 mostly young people turned out for the November 6 anti-war and anti-Amchitka demonstration here. At the same time, 2,500 Canadian students were demonstrating across the river in Windsor, against the Amchitka nuclear test. This was the only time that international anti-war forces sought to join hands across the border.

At Kennedy Square it was announced that the Canadian students were planning to march to the Ambassador Bridge. Three days earlier the Canadians had blocked for several hours the Ambassador and also the Blue Water Bridge, running between Port Huron, Mich. and Sarnia, Ont. With that enthusiasm given to the American protesters, we marched from downtown hoping to meet the Canadians at the top of the Bridge when the Blast went off.

Marching there, we passed through the Chicano community, and got a lot of support. Many Chicano youth ran out and joined us, and many older people showed their support by flashing the peace sign or raising clenched fists.

When we got to the Bridge, we found police dressed for full-scale war blocking our entrance. As more people

San Francisco

(Continued from Page 1)

be stopped from sailing and participating in the dropping of 6 million pounds of bombs each day.

The Navy discharged nine sailors from the Constellation for their anti-war stand, and is "transferring" Lieu nant Piland to Adak Island (near Siberia) for his participation in the SF anti-war rally as a speaker and for his organization of the Military Rights and Anti-War Convention held in San Francisco last month.

His request for Conscientious Objector Status in September, after two years service on a destroyer, was denied by his commanding officer. Navy regulations forbid transfer to one who has applied for CO classification.

Support for the USS Coral Sea sailors has come in from the Great Lakes Movement for a Democratic Military, the sailors on the USS Midway, the USS Enterprise, The Constellation, The Hancock, The Ranger, The Berkeley City Council and many peace organizations, but the asked for Civilian show of solidarity at the Alameda Naval Air Station has been small compared to the magnitude of the S.O.S. (STOP OUR SHIP). The last weekend of liberty ends November 8th and a demonstration is called for at 5 a.m. at the base.

The most realistic speaker was Mr. Haynes from British Columbia who told how the Amchitka protest there reached such proportions, "that for the first time in North American history there was a successful general work stoppage including all industry and the waterfront," he said, "If labor in the United States had taken this stand the war in Vietnam would have been over long ago!"

This is one speech that was NOT quoted in the daily press or TV news reports; however, the release of 20 white doves at 2 p.m., a peaceful protest of Amchitka, was covered widely as "the dramatic highlight of the rally."

joined us, more and more and more cops took up the Bridge defense. We soon learned that the Canadians on the other side were having the same problems with the Windsor police. Seventeen Canadians were arrested and several injured when they tried to march through police lines. It seems like the International Authority didn't want the two groups to get together.

What was really new and exciting in this anti-war day, in contrast to previous demonstrations, was that anti-military protesters from another country had sought to join forces with American demonstrators in a common cause. If solidarity like this continues, maybe we will be able to end the war some day.



Vietnam veterans demonstrate at U. of Michigan stadium

New York

(Continued from Page 1)

For Peace, AFTRA Workers Against the War, Printers, Postal Workers, Telephone Workers, and many others in small groups. The Women's groups included a United Women's Contingent, Women's Strike For Peace, Day Care groups, and Third World Women. And, near the end of the march was a beautiful banner of the IRA — the Irish Republican Clubs of North America — which proclaimed: "US out of Vietnam—England out of Ireland."

The crowd was predominantly young with thousands of high school students marching together — their own rally had been rained out last Wednesday — and these were some of the "new" generation of American radicals. And, all the old sectarian Leftists were also there selling their literature to each other, trying to see which contingent could carry the most red flags at once.

In fact, much of the marching and the speeches seemed very old and I get pretty tired of seeing the same old people selling their Mao buttons, but when you see three tiny white children carrying a huge, Black, Green, and Red flag, or when you see 40 or 50 oldsters under a banner of Jewish Golden Age Peace Club—you know that with every new trick by Nixon and Co. there will be newer forces unleashed that want a social revolution and a totally new society.

DOING AND THINKING

New lifestyle won't make new society

By Elliott Douglass

Were we even, for a moment, to think that youth has not been affected by the ramifications of the Nixon-Mao alignment, that would be only delusion. For on the one hand, while there is very little, if any, discussion of the philosophic, or even political implications of this event (even in the radical papers), on the other hand, one sees an exodus on the part of many New Leftists to run from the "discipline of the masses" to helter-skelter substitutes for doing and thinking.

This kind of obsession was revealed in a letter that I had received from a fellow youth in England describing the censorship of a popular paper that was both pornographic and radical in content, which resulted in the political trial of the editors. This in turn brought the whole gamut of radicals, including CP, Socialists, Women's Lib and the like, running to the rescue. Similarly, in this country, while censorship trials are not exactly "in," one sees a groping for meanings everywhere.

LIFESTYLE NOT REVOLUTIONARY

The cult of lifestyle, bred on the thought of Mao, has been the ground for counter-revolutionary activity. The fact that Madison Avenue gobbles up your "fad" while at one and the same time, the "Man" can stab you in the back economically, shows that a fundamental change in society cannot exclude a change in economic subsistence. This was clear to many youth, having returned from school or from the Army, and found that there were no jobs for them.

They found out that not only is Nixon saying that the "competitive spirit" of capitalism gives nobody job security (employed or unemployed) but that his "gift" to Blacks is nothing less than turning back the clock on civil rights gains as the anti-busing issues have shown, plus the fact that the Vietnam War gets no less than 80 billion, though the war is supposedly being ended.

It is no wonder that these wars at home and abroad have compelled people to see things as they are, a stagnating American economy and an even more devoid system of social values. There is not one fundamental human relationship or concept, be it love, nature, society, or men-women's relations, that is not subject to question now. Such is the hunger for theoretic expression by humans, such is the totality of the world crisis. Therefore, "copping out," "being different," at this point, becomes a serious thing. When Black GI's raise their fists in front of white officers, it isn't just an individual "Thing," it is putting one's life and values on the line.

But when this "defiance" faces the actual world and reality of our time; that is, the wide-spread discontent with war and old values, the necessity for a philosophy of liberation becomes clear. Such a philosophy would not mean that the notion of personality or man as a sensuous and thinking creature would be divorced from economic man.

A TOTAL CHANGE

Those who think that a "royal" road exists to a new, human society are full of delusions. That such a profound man as George Jackson had to be murdered is proof that the wrath of Nixon-Reagan knows no bounds. That the latter wishes the Movement to see Attica strictly as a "prison reform" question rather than a quest for total change in society (as Attica prisoners see it), indicates their unrelenting battle against the masses. For concessions on lifestyle are easy to get; it is only the total demand for transforming society that meets opposition.

This is why youth must not let Nixon-Mao railroad them to helter-skelter substitutes for thought and activity. This is why the anti-war movement and Black revolt cannot separate the issue of peace at home and abroad without social revolution. In this way, youth has shown that it hasn't stood stockstill and that our movement toward freedom is ceaseless.

Book Review: German soldier tells of horrors of World War II

The Forgotten Soldier by Guy Sajer, 1967, translated from the French, 1971, Harper and Row.

This is the first major book to come out of the Second World War which tells the story of that awful struggle for world domination from the viewpoint of the ordinary terror-stricken soldier. At the age of sixteen, drafted into the German army, he was sent to training camp in Poland and then to the war on the Russian front. *The Forgotten Soldier* is his personal story of those bitter years, written over twenty years later.

Sajer writes as a bitter man, one who fought, bled, froze and starved for three years and thousands of miles, and who today is considered a traitor, or at best a fool, by the prevailing world ideologies. But let him speak for himself and his fellow soldiers, in a passage taken at random from the year 1943.

We looked like the bony animals with blazing eyes one might encounter in the desert.

It would take days of marching and dust to extinguish that blaze. For the moment, despite the hollows in our bellies, everything still seemed possible. We would simply march until we found food. After all, Russia was not an empty desert. The immense prairie around us looked fertile, and we would surely come across a village we could ransack.

Sajer reports that people of the Ukraine welcomed the Germans at first as saviors from Stalin's tyranny. Those same peasants or their children had helped make the revolutionary victory in Russia in the period 1917 to 1921. They soon learned that the Germans were no better, or even worse, and began to fight back, but kept fighting the Red Army too when it tried to put the area under Moscow's control once again.

Sajer shows every indication of understanding the utter injustice and horror of world war, and by the end anyway, the madness of his leaders. He still fought like a demon until the end. Why? On the most immediate level, he fought to survive the brutal prisoner-of-war

camp on the Eastern Front, which were more like death camps. He fought to protect his fellow soldiers, who were his only friends in the hellish world of war.

The German martial myths and mid-century cynicism of Sajer's generation had to be replaced not with new enemies to hate, but with a view of socialism as a new humanism and not simply a bill of grievances. There was no one putting forth such ideas in Sajer's book, but we must remember that it was the thousands of German Guy Sajers, scarred by the war, who only eight years later, launched the glorious German workers' uprising which started in East Berlin, "putting Marx's humanist essays on the historic stage," as Raya Dunayevskaya has written.

In such times as we live in, when it is not the intellectuals but the Guy Sajers who write with the best understanding of our times, and when some of the most advanced ideas are put forth by the "lowliest of the low" the prisoner rebels at Attica, New York, the Guy Sajers must be listened to by all who are serious about a Marxist-Humanist revolution. —Jack MacBride

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Angela Davis has been held in jail for one year, without bail, and on Oct. 13 and Nov. 6 the anti-war rallies all over the country included protests at her incarceration. Defense lawyers have continually tried to get her trial removed from the nearly-all-white upper-middle-class California County of Marin, where until now she has been held, isolated from other prisoners and refused access to the news media.

On Nov. 2, Judge Arnason, admitting "there was a reasonable likelihood that she could not get a fair trial" there, ordered her case moved to Santa Clara County.

Santa Clara County is largely rural, with its center city being San Jose, populated primarily by "hard hat" whites. It also has a very large Mexican population—farm and cannery workers, who have been systematically oppressed and relatively quiet until this week. The very small Black population of this county is mostly in San Jose and consists of many professionals, who, like the Mexicans, seldom get called for jury duty.

Following are three new aspects of the trial as reported by workers for the Angela Davis Defense:

SAN JOSE

Judge Arnason may rue the day he assigned the Angela Davis case to San Jose. The last week in September, three white policemen, in what appears to be a deliberate set-up, shot and killed a Black IBM research chemist in San Jose, over a very minor traffic incident. Since that time, the Eastside community has begun to react against police violence by taking mass action, and a coalition has been formed between the Community Alert Patrol and the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Citizens. 1,000 people from different groups have packed the City Council chambers twice in a row, refusing to let any business take place until their demands are met: fire the Chief; suspend the three officers; establish a Board of Inquiry representing the people who face police violence.

The Ad Hoc Committee of Blacks, Chicanos, and concerned whites also plan a boycott of the new shopping center to change their employment patterns.

YELLOW JOURNAL PROSECUTION

Howard Moore, chief defense counsel for Angela, has pointed out that five of the six raids and searches of Miss Davis' apartment were illegal, and the items seized (which included a box of personal letters, a women's liberation pamphlet, Soledad Brothers posters, etc.), were not eligible as "evidence;" but the court ruled they were. The Deputy Prosecutor quoted from a letter, never mailed, to George Jackson, wherein Angela wrote: "To George, My love, your love reinforces my fighting instincts that instruct me to go to war." The prosecution claims "this may turn out to be the principal item of conspiracy."

This excerpt is from an eight page letter, which also

Conn. welfare mothers protest cut in grants

Hartford, Conn.—Early in October Governor Meskill and Commissioner White made statements that the Welfare recipients would be cut 15 per cent on the new flat grant system of Family Assistance Plan by Nov. 1. Welfare recipients who were going to be hurt most by these cuts grouped together to protest. They protested for 16 days and nights waiting for a temporary injunction stopping the cuts to come down from Federal Court, and to make sure that if this was won, checks would come out on time with the old grants. During the protest anywhere from 600 to 800 people were present, plus many supporters of church groups, State Welfare Workers, etc., who were there or stated their support.

The Welfare Protest started out on the 14th of October when around two hundred people turned out at the State Capitol to protest the cuts and the introduction of the Connecticut F.A.P. plan. It was an orderly protest and many of the protestors were allowed into the Capitol.

Finally the State Police showed their hand and gave orders to have tents, tables, portable toilets and other things the protestors were using removed from the Capitol grounds. Some of the leaders were arrested, but were soon out on bond to resume the vigil.

Most of the news media failed in lots of ways to give the true facts of the recipients' side and gave only the State's views. On the day of the court injunction, many newspapers changed their tune after the recipients won a temporary victory on the injunction order.

The reaction of the mothers was one of complete happiness with tears of joy coming from many of the faces of everyone concerned. Mrs. Blake, president of the mothers, stated that she would now be able to go home but if things didn't work out by Nov. 1 she and the rest of the recipients would be back. The whole story will probably take months or years to resolve.

—E. P., Welfare Recipient

'Defend Angela' campaign

dealt with the degradation of Black women, and the "Black Bourgeoisie — all those Black people who made it are a part of the monstrous repressive apparatus." In true "yellow journal" style, the prosecution is going to try and make intellectual Angela into a frustrated sex maniac, and George Jackson (behind bars for 10 years) her lover — to create a motivation for the San Rafael shootout.

George Jackson wrote to Angela too, six letters printed in his book, five of which she never received. He writes to her of his love for a beautiful Black African woman, and also of Marx and Lenin, Mao and Che, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. The miracle is, that facing vicious hatred 350 times a day, George Jackson could love at all, even if only on paper. His letters and papers are being held as evidence, and his mother's request for them has been denied.

ILWU RESOLUTION

The growing movement for the Defense of Professor Angela Davis has sprouted one of the most important roots necessary for real mass protest to be effective. Local #10 the San Francisco Longshoremen, and Local #6, Warehousemen, submitted a resolution at the 19th Annual International Convention of the ILWU in Hawaii last April, which was a powerful statement in behalf of Angela Davis. The following are some of the highlights in this resolution:

"We of the ILWU, Black, Third World and white, are concerned with the sinister campaign to railroad Angela Davis to the gas chamber. We know from California history that anti-radical hysteria and frame-up are anti-labor weapons.

"When President Nixon, Governor Reagan and the big money press incite the legal lynching of Angela Davis, experience and common sense tell us to beware. Those are our enemies too, and it could well be us 'next time around.'

"They are not stopping with the Black, Third World, anti-war people or their leaders. They have already introduced laws to take away our right to strike and our right to vote on contracts. Many of our other hard fought for rights are now being threatened. Angela is being charged with 'conspiracy,' an old gimmick used against the labor movement since the time it was organized."

Danish strike support group

Copenhagen, Denmark — A group called "Worker Solidarity" has been formed here. The first strike we supported was the one at the meat factory called Wenbo, in Bronderslev. Eighty workers struck because payment of piece-rate compensation was suspended. The union representative was fired.

"Worker Solidarity" set up a press campaign to support the strikers, and took up collections at many plants. The strike lasted two weeks, and ended when the union representative was re-hired.

The next strike was also at a meat factory. It started when, after a number of small job accidents, management made workers check with a doctor before they could go home. A sub-manager asked one worker to remove a bandage to prove he was really hurt enough to go home. The workers walked out.

In this strike, the union did not defend the workers' interests and tried to get workers to accept the company proposal. The workers refused and a strike fund was started. "Worker Solidarity" will continue to support strikes in Denmark.

Women's Liberation: reason and revolution

(Continued from Page 5)

Historical Materialism. She so sharply separates the ideal from the material that she can write: "Given our position as historical materialists, we understand that changes in consciousness do not precede but accompany institutional change, hence, it is relatively fruitless for women to attempt to combat male chauvinism."

There, the cat finally is out of the bag. Along with the concept of the backwardness of the apolitical women is the concept of the immobility of the males from their dominant position. Poor Marx! To all the vulgarization the bourgeoisie attributes to his discovery of historical materialism, we now have an independent socialist blaming that historic discovery for making it "relatively fruitless for women to attempt to combat male chauvinism!"

Material conditions, it is true, determine consciousness, not vice versa, as we look at a historical stretch of the development of mankind through history. History is process, is dialectics. Every unit is invested with its opposite. The future is inherent in the present. The opponent forces to the existing society not only fight it, but gain the consciousness both about the significance of their fight and a continuation of a direction toward that future. Otherwise Marx would never have been able to work out a philosophy of revolution; we would have remained the one-dimensional men and women Herbert Marcuse thinks we are. . . .

THE UNIQUENESS OF today's Women's Liberation Movement is that it dares to challenge what is, including the male chauvinism not only under capitalism but within the revolutionary movement itself and speaking even with female voices. To fear to expose this male chauvinism leads to helplessness. To face reality, and to face it not through sheer voluntarism, but with full awareness of all the forces lined up against us, is the one way to assure the coalescence with other revolutionary forces, especially labor which is so strategically placed in production and has its own black dimension. No doubt we will not fully overcome male chauvinism so long as class society exists. But we can and will break up its monolithism. We can and will witness the development of women themselves not only as force but as reason. We can and will be a catalyst not only for our development as all-round human beings, but also for the men. The first step in that direction is to meet the challenge as it appears, everywhere it appears, any time it rears its head, under no matter what disguises. The first act of liberation is to demand back our own heads.

Special Holiday Offer

- Two year subscription to NEWS & LETTERS—regularly \$2.00
- "CULTURE, SCIENCE AND STATE-CAPITALISM"—regularly .25c by Raya Dunayevskaya
- "WORKERS BATTLE AUTOMATION" by Charles Denby and auto, coal and steel workers—regularly .50c
- "NOTES ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION" by black and white, working and student women—regularly \$1.00

ALL FOR \$3.00

Order from:

NEWS & LETTERS
1900 East Jefferson
Detroit, Mich. 48207

PUBLICATIONS OF NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

- 1—American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Includes "Black Caucuses in the Unions," by Charles Denby75c per copy
- 2—Notes on Women's Liberation—
We speak in many voices\$1 per copy
- 3—U.S. and Russia Enter Middle East Cockpit
By Raya Dunayevskaya 25c per copy
- 4—The Maryland Freedom Union—
By Mike Flug15c per copy
- 5—Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution
Report direct from Prague 50c per copy
- 6—Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions—
By Raya Dunayevskaya 25c per copy
- 7—France: Spring '68—
An Eyewitness Report by Eugene Walker10c per copy
- 8—Mao's China and the 'Proletarian Cultural Revolution'—
By Raya Dunayevskaya 25c per copy
- 9—Workers Battle Automation
By Charles Denby50c per copy

- 10—Culture, Science and State-Capitalism
By Raya Dunayevskaya 25c per copy
- 11—News & Letters—
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year \$1 per sub.
- 12—Also Available from News & Letters:
MARXISM AND FREEDOM by Raya Dunayevskaya
New British edition with special preface
By Harry McShane \$3 per copy
New French Edition with special introduction
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$6 per copy

MAIL ORDERS TO:

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

Enclosed please find \$ for the following:

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

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

Name

Address

City State Zip

By Eugene Walker

WORLD IN VIEW

Nixonomics: the poor nations grow poorer

The sale of raw materials, the most important and often the only source of wealth of the poor countries, has grown only 5.6 percent a year as compared to the value of world trade, which has shown an annual average increase of eight percent.

The ten per cent surtax on imports, while aimed at the competition of Japan and Germany, will in fact further increase the tremendous gap between rich nations and poor nations. Prior to Nixon's new economic policy the Third World share of the world's commercial activity was small and had been dropping — from 21.3 per cent in 1960 to 17.6 per cent in 1970.

While the ten per cent surcharge does not apply

to mineral and agricultural raw material, which constitutes 70 per cent of the exports from poor nations to the United States, the effect on the other 30 per cent could be the most serious. It is sales of manufactured products from developing countries that provide the basic impetus to their economic development.

In addition to the ten per cent surcharge there has been a ten per cent cut in American aid to the Third World. Over the past ten years the foreign aid per inhabitant of Third World countries calculated on the basis of a fixed currency has remained unchanged. The American cutback, which may cause other developed countries to follow suit, will result

for the first time in a decline in total aid measured in terms of the non-devalued dollar.

In order to try and stem the widening gulf between rich and poor nations a goal of one per cent of the gross national product from developed countries to help the developing countries was set forth. Even this goal has not been reached and the division between poor nations and rich continues to grow.

Exports of manufactured goods have been increasing at 15.8 percent a year since 1960, higher than the corresponding rate in rich countries. Of the \$6,221 millions of processed goods sold by the third world in 1969, half found outlets in North America. It is these goods which the ten percent surcharge will affect.

Italian productivity

Two movements toward two very different goals are in progress in Italy today. On the one hand there are a growing number of industrialists who wish for Italy to join in the world productivity race. They want Italy to become "truly competitive" with the other members of the European Economic Community.

To them the solution to Italy's economic problems lies in modernization, in more government intervention in the economy, in discussions and bargaining with union leaders to reduce "industrial strife," and ultimately in more and more automated plants to try and overcome dependence on living labor.

The other movement is of the Italian workers who have engaged in massive strikes over the last two years, some of which involved whole cities. Their movement is not limited to strikes against industry. It is also a movement against their own union structure and the workers' lack of control over it. The workers want to make the decisions affecting their work and not see that decision made by management and union bureaucrats alone. One indication of the rank-and-file movement in the unions is that whereas two years ago there was an average of one worker-delegate for each 200 men, today the ratio is one worker-delegate for every 20 to 50 men.

Far from the labor strife being "mindless" and "chaotic," it is a battle between these two very different concepts of who should have control over the labor process.

Russian productivity

The directives of the ninth Five-Year Plan (1971-5) calls for an increase of 37 to 40 percent in national income of which 80 to 85 percent is to be derived from increased labor productivity. For

industry there is to be an output growth of from 42 to 46 percent to be accompanied by a labor productivity gain of between 87 and 90 percent.

As can be seen from the above figures, labor productivity—how much the worker produces—is still the key to all progress in Russia. And just as in any Western capitalist country, state-capitalist Russia sees its main task as making the worker work harder.

Thus the workers in Russia are being urged to follow the example of Mr. V. A. Sirotkin, a lathe operator and Communist Party member in the town of Rybinsk who proceeded to double his productivity without any reduction in product quality using his original machinery.

But workers, no matter what the country and what the language, are not fooled by this old capitalist plea for production and more production on their backs. The so-called low productivity in a country which prohibits strikes is a measure of resistance to this age-old domination of capitalist over worker.

Turkey

Deniz Gezmiş, a student revolutionary and member of the Turkish Liberation Army, was tried, sentenced to death, and executed. He along with 16 others were the first members of the Turkish Liberation Army to be sentenced to death. The students form part of an urban guerrilla movement that has been active in Ankara.

The Turkish Army has decided to crack down on the movement and in the process, against any left-wing ideas. In the academic community Professors Tunçel and Ozankaya are to be tried for translating a British scholar's selected writing of Marx. Suleiman Ege, a left-wing publisher, was sentenced to seven and a half years for publishing Lenin's State and Revolution, and faces three more trials for publishing the Communist Manifesto

and two other works. Most of the works by Nazim Hikmet, who wrote Turkish poems from East European exile, have been banned.

The Turkish Army says that it is hitting out against "the Communist threat." But an important consideration is the movement of the Kurds in the East for separation. The guerrilla movement in the rural East has not yet begun an active campaign, but Deniz Gezmiş and some of his colleagues were Kurds.

Even within the armed forces there is "subversion." Most of the 83 people facing one military court are young naval cadets accused of propagating Marxist-Leninist doctrines and sabotaging naval installations.

Panama Canal Zone

Within the Panama Canal Zone there is a school for guerrillas established by the U.S. The swampy area is on the same latitude as the Mekong Delta, and since 1965 large numbers of troops destined for Vietnam have passed through this area for jungle survival courses and training for the special kind of war waged in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

With Vietnam now somewhat routine, it is the closer threat in Latin America which is commanding the most attention. Officers from Latin American countries are brought to the special camps in the Canal Zone to train in a variety of anti-guerrilla activities. Most of the graduates of the training camps are now in high places in a number of Latin American military establishments. The Pentagon cultivates contacts with invitations to Washington, conferences of chiefs of staff of the various services and organized tours of U.S. military installations.

But not everything moves as smoothly as the U.S. hopes for. While the Bolivian units that tracked down and killed Che Guevara in 1967 passed through the training center, so did a number of graduates who became guerrilla leaders.

Nixon's political and nuclear shock waves prepare for World War

(Continued from Page 1)

over, I felt nervous. I couldn't help thinking about all the protests and all the pleading—even part of Congress asking Nixon to stop—and he showed such total contempt for everyone. I think that was why I was shaking. I have never had that strong a feeling about it in my life."

RUSSIAN ROULETTE OR WW III?

The deep concern of the anti-war masses everywhere is not only at the thought that Nixon was playing Russian roulette with the whole world, in his insistence that a nuclear war-head 250 times more powerful than the bomb that wiped Hiroshima from the face of the earth "had" to be detonated—nor even that no one really yet knows what the effects of the blast will be. The deeper concern is this: Not only is the war in Indo-China not ending, but all the signs point to preparations for something far more catastrophic — World War III.

If anyone had any illusions that the war was winding down because the bulk of the over half-a-million forces in Vietnam are being withdrawn—one look at what is happening in Cambodia, where the war is winding up, brings home the truth.

It has been one year since the new republic in Cambodia was born, a year in which \$187 million in military aid alone has been spent by the U.S. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have just submitted to the Nixon administration a five-year request for funds which would more than double spending in Cambodia to about \$500 million a year by 1977.

The U.S. military clearly sees ahead only further and further escalation of the war in Cambodia where U.S. bombing is already extensive, and combat along the Cambodia-South Vietnam border has been increasing steadily. All this to help bolster the regime of Lon Nol who has just made a public declaration that he was "through with the game of democracy."

U.S. imperialism has no intention whatsoever of

withdrawing all troops and arms from Vietnam, much less from Indochina. It has every intention of keeping U.S. imperialism dominant in Asia.

PEKING TRIP

More ominous still is the intensification of the wheeling and dealing of all the powers, set in motion by Nixon's announcement of his forthcoming trip to Peking. The deal Nixon and Mao were hoping for was a new version of the Geneva Conference of 1954, when China and Russia compelled Vietnam, despite its victory over French imperialism, to accept the partition into North and South. So fast, however, do events move that this deal may now have become secondary.

For one thing, the Vietnamese have let it be known that they do not intend to give in to another Geneva Conference that easily—and that they expect this time to have Russia on their side. For another, so many other "hot spots"—like the Middle East—have begun to heat up again, that neither Nixon nor Mao gave any intention of hanging everything on the trip to Peking. Not even those doves and liberals, in Congress and out, who were so enthusiastically hailing Nixon's trip when it was first announced, because they thought it would finally end the Vietnam war, are now not quite so sure of that. (See Editorial, p. 4.)

In the past few weeks the skies have been full of dignitaries flying from one country to another in a flurry of meetings: Kosygin to Canada and to Cuba; Brezhnev to Paris and to Yugoslavia; Tito and Golda Meir and Indira Gandhi to Washington; and, of course, Kissinger to Peking, at the very moment that the U.N. was voting to throw out Taiwan.

All the trip-taking is a sure sign that new alliances are being sought by everyone, as all the powers are trying to avoid any two-front wars, and all are preparing for World War III still in the offing.

Indeed, the wheeling and dealing has only just begun, as Mao's China—which has made it abundantly

clear that Russia is considered "Enemy Number One"—takes its seat at the U.N. and begins to take the pulse of the others seated there. A sign of things to come is the announcement by China that they want to be included in the discussions on the Middle East.

AT HOME AND ABROAD

Everything is up for grabs. And the only thing that is certain is that preparation for war abroad tomorrow, always, and in every country, means war against the masses at home, today.

It becomes more imperative than ever not to separate the forces that are fighting against Nixon's wars at home and abroad. The new forces joining in the movement to end these wars grows constantly. Thus, the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, many of whom were forced to join the unemployed army at home as soon as they left the army abroad, have been finding ever new ways to demonstrate their protest. At the University of Michigan homecoming game against Indiana, 75,751 fans stood silently at half-time while the band played taps, and black balloons were sent aloft by veterans to emphasize the theme: "Bring all the troops home now. Let's have a real homecoming."

Within the army itself men are increasingly refusing to go into combat. The SOS (Stop our Ship) movement is spreading from the USS Coral Sea to other aircraft carriers whose sailors are refusing to sail to Vietnam.

The Nov. 6 protests saw increasing numbers of demonstrators from the ranks of labor, who have rightfully been connecting the economic crises at home with the war abroad. And the Black protestors who carried banners demanding the freeing of Angela Davis rightfully saw no separation between their protests and those of all others at the demonstrations. The totality of the crises facing the American people shows clearly enough why the only way to peace is through social revolution.