

# Support the November anti-war demonstrations!

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## BLACK-RED VIEW

### Soledad mothers speak for themselves

I am turning this month's Black/Red column over to two mothers of the Soledad Brothers—Mrs. Georgia Jackson, the mother of George Jackson, and Mrs. Inez Williams, mother of Fleeta Drumgo. Both mothers are appealing for people to attend the trial of the two remaining Soledad Brothers as observers, in the hope of thwarting any miscarriage of justice.

Public attendance at recent pre-trial hearings has fallen off drastically because of the armed camp atmosphere of the courtroom and the humiliating search procedures which the police conduct on each person entering the courtroom. Too, there is the ever-present threat of violence from the heavily armed police at the slightest sign of disturbance from any distraught spectator, as was so brutally demonstrated several weeks ago.

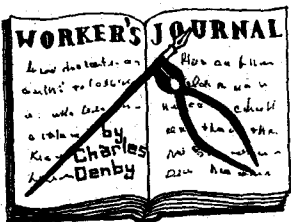
—John Alan

Mrs. Inez Williams—

Up until now, the brothers had taken courage from the people because every time they had a court appearance the courtroom had been filled, although every time the brothers went to court there was some disturbance. And of course, you know who got blamed.

I want you to understand that first of all, to go into the hall of injustice you go through a metal detector, you show your identification, and you get a card, called a pass. There's a white one for the daytime, and a blue one for the evening. Then you go to the third floor, which is sectioned off for Courtroom 21. You walk through a rope, and there's two police officers there, waiting to take your card.

If you are a woman, you go to be photographed by  
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### Phase II threatens unions' end

By Charles Denby, Editor

When Nixon first announced his wage-price freeze on August 15, many workers did not seem shocked about it. Some said they didn't trust the President because he specializes in making announcements and statements that mean something entirely different from what they seem to when he says them. Others said the prize freeze, if it meant stopping inflation, would not be bad, because every time we got an increase in wages, it was taken away by rising prices. Most of the time our wage increases were taken away before we actually got the wage hike.

#### INCREASE UNCERTAIN

There was some discussion concerning the 14 cent increase plus 13 cents our union leaders won in the latest contract. Everyone said that we would automatically get it; it was ours before any wage freeze was mentioned, and it was a contractual agreement. One worker said, "I am not so sure as most of you that we'll get our money. The President's nickname is Tricky Dick, and he is not misnamed one bit."

The following day, a worker said he called the officers of our local union, and they assured him that the wage freeze had nothing to do with what had already been agreed to and signed in our contract. Before this conversation had died out, Nixon announced that workers would not receive anything that had been negotiated in previous contracts. This money would be taken away from U.A.W. workers and given to the rich capitalist auto companies.

#### SOLD OUT AGAIN

This forced the U.A.W.'s President, Leonard Woodcock, to make the most revolutionary statement he has ever made in his life. He said that if the U.A.W. workers were denied their wage increase, he would consider all contracts with the auto companies null and void, and would call for a general strike. After hearing those words coming from Woodcock, workers said that if he meant it, we would not lose our increase.

As soon as Woodcock announced his position, Tricky Dick contacted him, and Woodcock began to say he didn't  
(Continued on Page 2)

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# NEWS LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

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NOVEMBER, 1971



—United Irishman

Derry citizens defy British troops

### Eyewitness Report

## Ireland in revolt North and South: barricades, rent strikes and squatters

by Bonnie McFadden

Derry, Ireland—The latest murders of six Irishmen and Irishwomen by British troops emphasizes the true nature of their role in Ireland, and the urgency with which we must demand their withdrawal. To visit Northern Ireland today is to enter a country at war. Young British soldiers, armed with tommy guns and CS gas canisters, patrol the streets of the cities or hide behind sand-bagged barricades on street corners, pointing their machine guns at all who pass by. In the city of Derry, where fighting has gone on nearly every day since the internment raids on August 9th, few citizens are to be seen in the downtown business section, even during the height of day.

Those on the streets are tense and watchful, hurrying to get their errands done and return home. Of the hundreds of shops in the business section here, there are only a few whose storefront windows remain intact. Derry, in October, 1971, looks like Detroit and Newark, Summer, 1967.

#### INTERMENT INTRODUCED

Presently, 15,000 British troops patrol the North, a province far smaller in size and population than the State of New Jersey. At first, their presence was welcomed by the beleaguered Catholics, who sought protection from the Paisleyite gangs and the part-time police force—the infamous B Specials. It soon became apparent, however, that the troops were not there to

protect the Catholics, but to quell all opposition to the ruling Unionist-Tory government.

Brian Faulkner, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, with the advice and consent of the British Prime Minister Heath, introduced internment, ostensibly to halt "terrorism." The internment bill has been used exclusively against the Catholics, and has involved wholesale arrest and torture of over 300 persons, who are being held without charge or trial.

Members of the Derry Civil Rights Association told of pre-dawn raids into the Catholic areas of the Creggan and the Bogside. British soldiers, wearing sandals to avoid detection, crept into the estates through backyards, broke down doors of homes, and pulled men from their beds. In many cases, it was weeks before the wives and families of those arrested learned where their husbands had been taken. The women of the Bogside and Creggan organized massive demonstrations within hours of the raids at police headquarters and army barracks in the city, and several were arrested.

Residents of the ghettos have prevented the soldiers from making further raids into their area by erecting a massive and intricate street barricade system. The barricades are constantly manned, and when army troops or vehicles are seen approaching, a bugle is sounded. Hundreds of women come out and bang pots and covers to alert their neighbors and bring the population running to the barricades.

#### MASSIVE RENT STRIKE

On the very day that internment began, the residents of the Bogside and Creggan, under the auspices of the

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# Marx on capitalism's exploitation of women

"Capitalism has not torn the woman from the hearth and thrown her into social activity in order to proceed with her emancipation, but to exploit her more savagely than man." I was glad to see that quote from Marx in the article on East European women in the August-September issue. Recently, at a WL meeting here, a couple of women threw N&L back at me when I said it was a Marxist-Humanist paper, and called Marx a pig. I wish I had had some of the things Marx actually wrote to "throw back" at them, so they could have seen how wrong their rejection of Marx was. I have a feeling that too many others are also ignorant of the profound concern he had about the special condition of women in this society.

Working Woman  
New York

Not only did Marx vigorously support the women's movement of his own day, but his works are permeated with research and thought about women's status—from the Early Philosophic Manuscripts, where he stated that the most fundamental relationship was that of man to woman; through the Manifesto where he castigated the bourgeois because he "sees in his wife a mere instrument of production"; to Capital, where both the sections on "The Working Day," and "Machinery and Modern Industry" are filled with detailed reports on the actual conditions of women and children as the most exploited of all proletarians.



Here is an excerpt from the section in Capital on "The Effects of Machinery on the Worker," published in 1867:

"Insofar as machinery dispenses with muscular power, it becomes a means of employing labourers of slight

## Poor women cheated on houses, child support

Detroit, Mich.—The problems of women I know are many. Runaway husbands is one, and a second one is the dilapidated homes that the real estate people are making money on by taking advantage of ADC mothers. These are two issues that WL could help women move strongly on.

Women should put their foot down so that any woman who is left alone with the responsibility of raising children could have some support. Many of these women who are put in a position of buying a home don't know what they are getting themselves into. That's why they have been taken advantage of. That's what I think WL should kick about.

### SCANDAL EXPOSED

In the Detroit area there has been a big scandal about the way the FHA inspectors approved homes that are selling for five times or more what they are worth. The real estate companies have been buying old houses for \$2,000 and reselling them to ADC mothers for \$10,000 or more, in some slummy area.

After the family moves in they find out the wires are bad, the furnace is bad, the roof leaks, the basement floods. Most of these women just don't know what to look for. After what most ADC mothers have been living in, the house may look good to her when she first sees it.

ADC mothers are the only ones on welfare who can buy homes. The real estate people knew they would be easy victims. And now that the scandal has been exposed, the government probably won't help the mothers get good homes at fair prices; they will probably just stop the ADC mothers from being able to buy any home.

### BURDEN ON WOMEN

As for the runaway husbands, the burden of proof of where a man is, is always on the woman. And even when a woman knows where the man is, it doesn't often help. They need stricter enforcement laws. My sister has five kids, and knows where her husband is, but the courts won't help her. She goes down and sits, and sits, and sits, and hears the same thing over and over. She can't get any support.

The Friend of the Court acts as a collection agency for the Welfare Department. If a woman is on welfare they will make her go down and sue her husband because they want to get their money back. But if she isn't on welfare, they don't do anything.

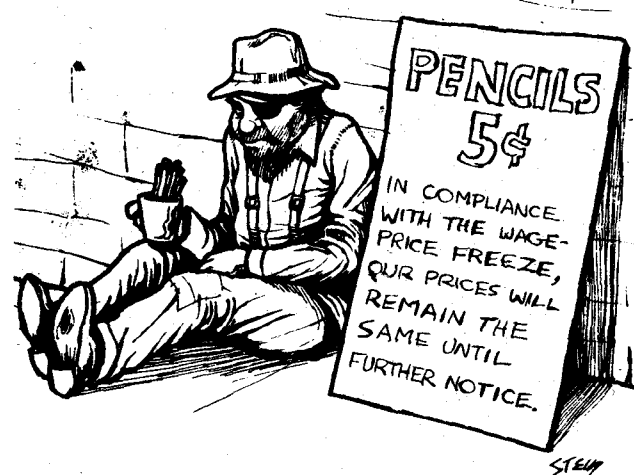
—Black Hospital Worker

muscular strength, and those whose bodily development is incomplete, but whose limbs are all the more supple. The labour of women and children was, therefore, the first thing sought for by capitalists who used machinery. That mighty substitute for labour and labourers was forthwith changed into a means for increasing the number of wage-labourers by enrolling, under the direct sway of capital, every member of the workman's family, without distinction of age or sex. Compulsory work for the capitalist usurped the place, not only of the children's play, but also of free labour at home within moderate limits for the support of the family.<sup>1</sup>

"The value of labour-power was determined, not only by the labour-time necessary to maintain the individual adult labourer, but also by that necessary to maintain his family. Machinery, by throwing every member of that family on to the labour market, spreads the value of the man's labour-power over his whole family . . .

"Previously, the workman sold his own labour power, which he disposed of nominally as a free agent. Now he sells wife and child . . ." p. 431, Kerr edition.)

"FOOTNOTE 1. Dr. Edward Smith, during the cotton crisis caused by the American Civil War, was sent by the English Government to Lancashire, Cheshire, and other places, to report on the sanitary condition of the cotton operatives. He reported that from a hygienic point of view, and apart from the banishment of the operatives from the factory atmosphere, the crisis had several advantages. The women now had sufficient leisure to give their infants the breast, instead of poisoning them with 'Godfrey's cordial.' They had time to learn to cook. Unfortunately, the acquisition of this art occurred at a time when they had nothing to cook. But from this we see how capital, for the purposes of its self-expansion, has usurped the labour necessary in the home of the family. This crisis was also utilized to teach sewing to the daughters of the workmen in sewing schools. An American revolution and a universal crisis in order that the working girls, who spin for the whole world, might learn to sew!"



—D. C. Gazette

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

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# Miners' bitter strike battle

Morgantown, W. Va. — The nation's nearly 100,000 union coal miners came out on strike on Oct. 1 when the United Mine Workers' contract with the coal operators ran out. UMW President Tony Boyle did not call the strike. The miners simply went out when the contract was up to the shouts of "No contract, no work!"

It will be a very hard and bitter battle because not only are there huge coal stockpiles put up by coal users who knew the strike was coming, but also because the coal operators know they have the Nixon administration in their corner ready to do everything possible to break the fighting spirit of unity of the coal miners.

### DIVISION IN THE UNION

While the coal miners are united against the coal operators, they are not united with the Boyle union leadership. Far from it. And this division between the rank-and-file miners and the union leadership is going to be played for all it is worth by the coal operators, who know that Boyle does not have the confidence of the miners.

Boyle, who for years used the union's human and financial power for his own uses, is now on the ropes. He has been kicked out of his position as trustee of the UMW Welfare Fund, which pays the pensions of retired miners and medical and hospital costs for miners and their families, and is financed by a payment of 40 cents a ton on all union coal mined. Boyle also faces the possibility—almost certainty—of having his election as UMW president in 1969 set aside due to election rigging.

### BOYLE WEAKENED UNITY

The coal miners are bitter and angry. They know the importance of unity in times of contract negotiations, and feel that Boyle has weakened their strength by his lack of leadership and understanding of the needs of the rank-and-file miners.

While the miners need the wage increases Boyle promised in his campaign—of raising the wages from some \$36 a day to \$50 a day—it is clear that the wage freeze Nixon will keep on the necks of the working class will never permit such a wage increase. But miners feel the need for more important protections than simply the matter of wages. They want sick pay benefits, guaranteed pensions for retired and disabled miners backed by an increase to \$1 per ton payment into the Welfare Fund, improved grievance procedures and power to enforce safety provisions in their own hands.

The miners will be doing and saying much in the weeks to come. The strike will show how the power of the rank-and-file miners will come out as it fights against the combined power of the coal operators and the Nixon administration who both want to break the UMW union, and the coal miners' determination to better their conditions of life—and of surviving the dangers in the mines themselves.

# WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

understand Phase I of the wage freeze policy. So Nixon had most of the labor leaders come to the White House to be briefed by him—in other words, to listen to his explanation of how they could help him sell out the workers. After the briefing, Woodcock changed his tune from calling for a general strike to supporting Phase I.

A few weeks before Tricky Dick announced Phase II he went on T.V. and announced that after the 90 day freeze, the government had no intention of taking over the labor unions, and the freeze would end as he had first stated. He should have said, the government is planning to transform the labor leaders to carry out the intention of the government against the workers.

When Nixon came to Detroit several weeks ago workers and poor people were talking of demonstrating against him. Woodcock came out against workers picketing Tricky Dick. Some workers are saying that Meany the president of the AFL-CIO, sounds much better than Woodcock, ever since Nixon has had them wining and dining at the White House.

### UNIONS USELESS?

This whole business of employing labor leaders for the government to control the workers means that labor is through in this country as an independent bargaining agent for working people. This wage-price freeze is a hoax. What it really means is freezing working people's wages. Nixon yells louder than any capitalist who someone mentions freezing profits. On the front page of the daily papers we see Ford hiking prices of some cars from \$26 to \$91.

Some workers are saying that all hell is going to break loose in this union if Woodcock goes along with Nixon to take our money and give it to the companies. We are just waiting to see. He may claim he can't understand Nixon, but I am damn sure he will understand us. If he takes our earnings and turns them over to management, the general strike must be launched against our union leaders first.

This system is in opposition to the working people and the poor. How many people are concerned about prices for the poor, the unemployed, and the retired are the same as those for the labor bureaucrats and government officials? We pay as much for commodities as do Woodcock, Meany, and Nixon with his \$200,000 year salary, plus expenses. And these are the people who are taking money from workers to give to capitalist corporations. Anyone can see the need for a drastic change in this society.

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## IN SPITE OF TAFT-HARTLEY

## West Coast dockers slow down on job

San Francisco, Calif.—The 101 day strike of Pacific Coast dockers was recessed on October 10 when we returned to work under a federal injunction. The Bridges leadership responded to the Taft-Hartley law action of the government by instructing the 15,000 strikers to return to work immediately.

The thinking of the longshoremen will probably lead government and employers alike to regret using the Taft-Hartley method for breaking a strike. "We'll cool off, all right," one longshoreman announced, "no sweat for the PMA." (PMA is the employer group, Pacific Maritime Association). My gang has already been fired on one job for "low productivity" and we were just . . . keeping cool.

We had 233 ships tied up on the coast when the 80-day interruption came, but the immediate excuse for Nixon's coming to the aid of the employers out here was that our brothers in the International Longshoremen's Association struck the Atlantic seaboard and most of the Gulf Coast on Oct. 1. Their strike had wiped out the West Coast operators' gimmick of diverting ships to ports in those areas for cargo discharge and loading.

Far more important, the power of such a national strike of longshoremen would have provided an impulse to genuine unity in action now and in the future as contrasted to the alliances of the top trade union bureaucracies.

(Both Bridges of the ILWU and Gleason, titular head of the ILA, opposed the strikes they were "leading".)

On a coastal scale we had voted 96.4 per cent for the strike. There was no faltering of morale during the months of the tieup—there were signs displayed at the piers about the Christmas and New Year's parties we were going to have on the line.

**"LOOSE STRIKE" FIGHT**

The "loose-strike" policy was a disturbing factor in the discussions and speculations at the pier heads. The Coast Caucus (a delegated conference of Longshoremen, Ship Clerks and Walking Bosses) went on record before the strike began to work army cargo—Bridges had recommended it. Also, perishable cargo was unloaded and, finally, a recommendation came from the top group, the Coast Committee, to clear all docks in order to placate "small business allies." In addition, diverted ships were allowed to work in Vancouver, Canada and Ensenada, Mexico.

This was our first Coastwide strike in twenty-three

years—many didn't know from experience what to do about certain problems. Even so, before the T-H injunction was issued against us the longshore local here went on record against allowing diverted ships to be worked in Vancouver and Ensenada, and so that aspect of the loose-strike policy is on the way to correction.

Although negotiations have been taking place mainly around a set of demands drawn up by the Coastwise Caucus and accepted by the locals, these issues are still being discussed by the strikers.

The first of two approximately five-year contracts, so-called "Mechanization and Modernization" agreements, was put into effect in 1960 (over 30 percent voted against it). Mechanization was barely introduced until 1965, but "Modernization" (i.e., the elimination of the protective work rules, sling load limits, etc., won through years of job actions from the thirties onward) was the order of the day. It gave the ship operators their fantastic profits under the first contract and speeded up the already harassed longshoremen.

**"NO CUTS IN MANNING"**

Even before Nixon's war-at-home wage freeze against the workers was announced, a huge rug served as a picket sign in front of Pier 19 in San Francisco and told where many of us stand. It simply and clearly said:

NO. 9.43

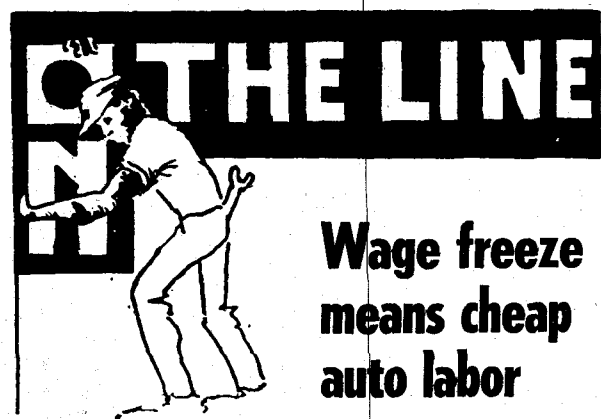
**NO CUTS IN MANNING**

Section 9.43 of the contract allows for steady men—this "minor item" in the eyes of Bridges is actually the biggest issue here and the ranks are lined up firmly against the PMA—Bridges position on the matter.

The San Pedro PMA has locked out that port over the issue of steady men. In reporting full support to our San Pedro brothers, the SF longshore bulletin of October 13, said, ". . . the ranks are agreed—we will work no diverted cargo. We have had enough of having this coast divided—United we stand. An injury to one is an injury to all."

The heart of our problem, compounded by the political nature of the Bridges & Co. leadership, is that the tops approached mechanization as if it were progress as such and not basically contingent on who controlled it. It not only fragments us in the work, making it repetitious and boring, speeds us up, increases the accident rate, etc., but we also face a problem similar to the miners who were reduced from 600,000 to about 100,000. The longshoremen, by moving on their own, have taken the big and significant steps toward the total solution called for.

—SF Dock Striker



## Wage freeze means cheap auto labor

by John Allison

Nixon's wage freeze that closed the pockets of the rank-and-file auto workers opened the profit doors wide for the auto corporations. The wage freeze is a pure and simple open-end gold mine for the auto companies.

You don't need to be a genius to figure out who is getting all the gravy. The Nixon new game plan has put a 10 per cent import tax on all foreign cars, is going to knock off the seven per cent excise tax now on all cars, is going to give the corporations tax breaks on new Automation machines (this will guarantee more layoffs and more speed-up), and is going to help pay wages of companies who hire the so-called hard-core unemployed. These all mean millions more in profit for the auto corporations.

But on top of this you have the wage freeze. What it means is that now the auto companies have cheap labor. It costs less to produce the autos right now than it will next month. And that is why all of the auto companies are scheduling all of the overtime, working 10-12 hours a day, six days a week.

**NO STRIKE GAINS**

General Motors Corporation was struck by the United Auto Workers union because inflation was eating the heart out of workers' wages. After the strike was over, we did not get anything extra, we just got even with the cost of living.

Now we still have inflation, unemployment, lay-offs and unlimited overtime. This wage freeze made workers realize that the big ace the corporations have up their sleeve is that unlimited overtime clause in the contract. Instead of hiring workers, the corporations simply schedule overtime work to meet production.

We hear a lot of talk about the four-day week, and how this could help workers on the unemployment lines get jobs. By now we all know that this can never happen unless auto workers have the right to decide if they do or don't want to work overtime. Compulsory overtime has got to go.

## Brakemen shut Penn Central

Detroit, Mich.—Penn Central's rail operations in Detroit were shut down for five days beginning Oct. 7, as over 1,000 rail workers refused to cross the picket lines of 78 fired brakemen. The brakemen walked in front of railroad gates with signs saying "unfair firing" and "unity now."

It all began when the United Transportation Union (UTU) signed an agreement with Penn Central that all brakemen who hired in after the merger had to take a new test to be a conductor. The agreement said that if you failed the test, or you didn't show up, you were fired. Then they began giving the tests, and everyone was flunking it. Workers reported: "They asked questions about trains in 1850!"

Many of the brakemen believe that the tests are just a trick to cut their numbers in half so Penn Central can run trains with a two-man crew, instead of a three-man crew. This way you're out, and there's no severance pay.

When the test came up, 108 brakemen did not show in Detroit. 30 of these were men on sick leave or LOA, including some who were in the Army in Vietnam. All 108 were fired.

The next day, the fired brakemen called a union meeting of UTU 1477 to take action. The union head, Federcorn, didn't bother to show up, since he was the one who signed the agreement. After the union wouldn't take action, the brakemen began picketing the gates, shutting down operations. They said: "We have three demands. We want our jobs back with all our seniority. We want back pay for the time we lost through unfair firing. We want standardized tests that relate to the job."

Penn Central got an injunction against the pickets, and when they kept picketing, called for contempt of court. One worker reported that Federal marshals broke into his home at midnight to serve the contempt papers. He said: "They can throw me in jail. I've had enough. At PC, if you get your legs cut off, they fire you for violating safety rules—that's the company attitude."

In court, the judge ruled that they couldn't picket, and the union agreed that the strike was "illegal, unauthorized, and unwarranted." The brakemen are still fighting to get their jobs back.

## FROM THE AUTO STOPS

### GM Southgate

Los Angeles, Calif.—If we still have a free society, how can G.M. have 45 shop rules for use against us. They can discipline a worker for being late, for throwing a used pack of cigarettes on the floor, even for spitting.

How can G.M. have both these rules and a contract already written to favor them, to use against workers?

If we are free working men, we should have a set of rules to use against management in the shop. If a foreman has the power to DLO (disciplinary layoff) a worker on the street, the worker should have the same power to DLO a foreman on the street. If a worker can be punished for breaking the contract, like punishment should be applied to management for violation of the contract.

The way our lives are ruled now, it's like workers in Russia, or in Germany under Hitler. If we are to have industrial democracy in America, all of the people in industry must have equal rights.

We see management breaking the national agreement every day. Nothing happens to them. All we do is ask them to stop doing that. But let one worker, or a group of us, violate the contract and see what would happen.

Our local union with the acceptance of the membership should write a set of rules to use against management. Right now there is a contract to favor management over the workers, there is a useless grievance procedure and there are the shop rules. We are organized to have a union. We pay for it, we are the paymaster of it, and therefore we should get the benefits of it. Let us demand our rights together. Organize! Organize! Organize!

—GM Southgate Worker

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—We are four workers from Fleetwood who would like to say something about the Medical department in our plant. It seems like they have taken over the plant, and no one says a word about it.

Last week a man in the body shop suffered a head injury on the job, and he had bad headaches. He went to medical three days in a row to get help. The third day, he came in one hour early, on his own time, to see the doctor on the second shift. They made him wait, even though the doctor was there, until after the line started. Then they sent him out on the floor, where the foreman told him to go to labor relations. Labor relations fired him! They called it: "Going to medical without a pass." This man is still out. He should be back to work now.

This is only one of the problems we have had with Fleetwood's medical flunkies. There is this nurse named Rose. No matter how sick you are, she reports there is nothing wrong with you. If the company wants you to be well, you're well.

Medical now has a list of doctors whose notes they won't accept. You go to medical with a doctor's note, and they tell you: "We don't accept notes from him." How do they get the right to decide who can practice medicine, and who can't? Soon they will be telling you what doctor your children can see.

Another problem we have is sick leave pay—either it comes late or not at all. We have an insurance committeeman who is supposed to straighten this out. They call him Breezy. He doesn't do a damn thing for you when you can't get your check. This man is not elected by us; he's appointed because he has an in with the big shots.

People have asked us, "Should I work at Fleetwood?" Nobody should have to work at Fleetwood the way it is now. Between the company and the union, nothing is done for you. Everything is done to you.

We want to see that man from the body shop who was fired to get back on—with no loss of pay. And we don't want to see this happen again.

—Four Fleetwood workers

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

## EDITORIAL Nixon intensifies state-capitalism in U.S.

Phase II of Nixon's economic plan clearly reveals it to be yet another form of state capitalism. On Oct. 7 the President disclosed that he has no intentions of unfreezing wages on Nov. 13. Quite the contrary. The control of wages is to become a regular feature of the economy at a time when inflation is at its worst, profits are uncontrolled, and several major strikes — longshoremen, coal, teachers — are in progress. At a time when 2,100,000 workers were due for wage increases of 7.6% under previously negotiated union contracts after long and bitter strikes, and the school teachers were in negotiations throughout the country, these contracts were made null and void. Wage negotiation was made a fruitless exercise by Nixon's edicts.

### LABOR BUREAUCRATS AS STATE FUNCTIONARIES

The labor bureaucrats began by screaming and hollering and wound up like lambs corralled in as members of Nixon's "wage board." Never have the labor bureaucrats made so much noise about federal regulations and capitulated so quickly as in the present crisis. They have emerged as full blown functionaries of the state. Their role is to enforce on behalf of the state the wage freeze of the Nixon administration.

Overnight Meany, Woodcock and Abel have all become so integral a part of the state that it is hard to tell them from Price Czar, John B. Connally. The excuse for this turnabout is the "victory" Nixon happily allowed them to have—the promise that Connally would not have the authority to veto "their" (the Wage Boards of which they are but one-third) recommendations. Since when has Nixon become an improvement over Connally, who is carrying out Presidential edicts?

The talk in the factories today is that Nixon can get away with his plans because the labor bureaucrats have given him a whitewash. That doesn't mean that the rank and file will allow this statification to become real. It only means the crisis is postponed till they see what the Wage Board will offer as "guidelines."

The top regulating committee is the Cost of Living Council, a Nixon-appointed Cabinet-level group headed by John B. Connally, a vicious anti-labor Texas millionaire. The Wage Board consists of 15 members, five from "labor," five from management, and five "public" members. The Price Commission is to consist of seven "public" members. That there is no such thing as a "pub-

lic" representative was made clear enough when Ralph Nader was not even invited to state his views, much less to get a post. The real calibre of these "public" members can be gauged from the best "academic" suggested — William G. Caples, President of Kenyon College in Ohio. He also happens to have been a Vice-President of Inland Steel Corp.

### INVESTMENTS, LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

Labor has always been the producer of all values and surplus value, that is, unpaid labor or profit. What is new under state-capitalism is that the state sees to it that the individual capitalist is not the only director of investment. The state sees that it goes into "national production," so that labor is exploited on the basis of absolutely the highest technological level on a global, not just individual or national, scale.

At the moment, U. S. capitalism is so senile, invests relatively so little in new machinery, and is so anxious to point to the lower wages in underdeveloped countries that the advanced capitalist state, constantly involved in little wars and titanic military machines, finds itself reduced on a world scale. Nixon is allowing the capitalists to make it appear that "labor productivity" in Japan is higher than that in America because the workers here get higher wages, but the truth is that the technology is higher in Japan — and not only because World War II destroyed all the old machines, but because so does state-capitalist-run industry. Thus, a steel mill is often scrapped after seven or eight years. Japanese capitalism returns 35 per cent of the Gross National Product into new improved machinery in contrast to only 16 per cent for the U. S.

In wishing to discipline U. S. capitalism to be as national and global minded, Nixon does not, however, tell the whole truth. The whole truth is that not only is U.S. capitalism senile, but so is the capitalist war state Nixon heads.

### MILITARIZATION

The greatest obstacle of all to economic growth in the U. S. is the fact that so great a part of all production goes for destruction — \$25 billion annually has gone into the genocidal Vietnam War. Nothing is reinvested into anything but militarization, and not a day passes by without Laird asking for more for the military budget. It is impossible to stop inflation without stopping, not wage rises, not "investments," but governmental endless spending for the global holocaust.

It is impossible to effectively fight inflation and bring the balance of payments deficit into balance so long as the Vietnam war continues and the U. S. keeps a huge military machine deployed throughout the world.

State-capitalism has been part of our lives ever since, on the one hand, Russia was transformed into state-capitalism, and, on the other hand, the Depression led to every form of state capitalism from Nazism, Japan's Co-Prosperity sphere and the milder "New Deal" form. Japan seemed to have had a head start because its entry into the industrial capitalist state was always with hot-house state help. Now that the free enterpriser Nixon feels compelled to follow the same path, saddling labor with the state's interference not only in the economy in general, but the workers' daily lives in particular, it is imperative for the workers to turn not only against state management but also against their bureaucrats. The American workers bear the whole weight of this military monstrosity. They will need to unshackle themselves first from their labor bureaucracy before they will be able to undermine capitalism in its militarized state capitalist form.

## News & Letters

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman  
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby ..... Editor  
O. Domanski ..... Managing Editor

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### ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE

Almost a quarter of a million are still fighting, dying, being wounded or languishing in prison camps in an unjust, senseless, illegal war foisted on them by the lies of our leaders. We say: "Bring them all home now—alive!"

Our government doesn't hesitate to spend \$50,000 of our taxes to teach a man to kill and \$50,000 a year to keep him in Indochina killing, but can't find \$10,000 a year to give him a job. We demand: "Bring the money home, rebuild America."

And what about the campus veteran starting on the GI Bill? How do you pay \$2,000 tuition, \$200 for books, eat, house and clothe yourself on \$175 a month, nine months a year? We call for: "Full tuition and living expenses for every Vietnam Vet."

We want better medical programs to care and cure those who have been driven to mental breakdown and drug addiction by this brutal war. Our brass have more GI's in prison for speaking out against this criminal war than are held by the Vietnamese. We want an end to bad discharges, first amendment rights for GI's and amnesty for veterans in exile.

We urge veterans and non-veterans alike to join us in our demands.

Vets for Peace in Vietnam  
PO Box 4598  
Chicago, Ill. 60680

Hartford's Mayor Athanson, perennial liberal candidate Joe Duffy, State Sen. Wilbur Smith, and a host of other vote-seekers and ward heelers were the principal attractions at the Oct. 13 "Peace and Justice" Rally here. As a result, a bored and restless crowd of about 500 turned out instead of the predicted 5,000 or the thousands that had turned out last year to protest the war.

The message of the rally was clear from almost every speaker (a Women's Liberationist and a Black Panther were the only exceptions), vote, vote, vote. All the speakers were radical in attacking the war, poverty, racism, etc. and

all had the same message: elect me.

This was the first fruit of the new unity between the two anti-war coalitions, NPAC (Nat'l Peace Action Coalition), and PCPJ (Peoples' Coalition for Peace and Justice). They have found unity on the basis of their common opportunism.

If Hartford is any example of what is going on across the country, the organized anti-war movement is in deep trouble. It is all the more urgent for revolutionaries to work out a philosophy of revolution around which the forces for revolution can unite.

R.G.  
Hartford, Conn.

Our Veterans' group is making plans for the day after Veterans' Day—to show that the veterans' movement plans to continue even after the war ends. We are also making plans for demonstrations around the trial of Daniel Ellsberg.

Veteran  
California

### ISRAEL

One year—in fact, even less—of cease-fire and comparative quiet at the military lines seems to have been enough to bring to the fore all the various unsolved social and economic problems inherent in the basically class and capitalist Israeli society. They were dormant for the last few years due to the outside threats to the very existence of the state. Now they are at an explosion-point.

Correspondent  
Israel

I want to associate myself with Philip Slomovitz's letter in the May, 1971 issue of N&L, in opposition to Eugene Walker's article on Gaza in the April issue. I also wish to take exception to certain of Eugene Walker's remarks on the Israeli-Arab conflict in the August-September 1971 issue. It is nonsense that the arms Israel buys from the U.S. are used "in the occupied territories." As Walker should remember, these territories were taken by Israel as a result of the Six-Day War, a war for sur-

## Reader's

vival. Israel had no choice but to fight.

Walker tries to put the terrorists in a good light by saying that "the fedayeen for its part tries to carry on a struggle against Israel . . . against 'progressive' governments favorable to a negotiated settlement at the expense of Palestine." There is no more Palestine, as Walker well knows, and this word is used by pro-Arab groups.

What is happening to News & Letters position on Israel? Is N&L about to join the chorus of Left publications which have capitulated to the anti-Israel forces? I would hate to discontinue my support of N&L, because I have always had the highest regard for N&L.

Would you please send me the February 1960 issue, which had Raya Dunayevskaya's analysis of anti-Semitism and state-capitalism, and a copy of "Nixon and Mao Aim to Throttle Social Revolution."

Reader  
New York

Class strife is flaring up in Israel. While we were there the Israeli lirat was devaluated by 20 percent and many prices were raised accordingly, so that those most drastically hit were the urban workers. Mapam and even the labour wing of Mapai were attacking the government, though they are both part of it.

One evening when we took a walk into downtown new Jerusalem we fell right into a Black Panther demonstration. The Panthers speak for North African and Asian (i.e. Persian) Jewish immigrants and their first generation families who have not been integrated into the mainstream of Israeli society, and who suffer from poverty and discrimination. By the time we got there, the demonstration (which was obstructing traffic) had been declared illegal

and cops with riot sticks, shields and dyed-water cannon were chasing and rounding up recalcitrant demonstrators. There were 23 arrests. It felt like Berkeley without the tear-gas.

Despite the devaluation and the inequality, the country is still booming, what with an enormous amount of construction both in Israel proper as well as in the occupied territories. The Israeli Arabs are sharing in this boom, but almost invariably in the lowest levels of production. When the boom ends, they will undoubtedly be the first fired. Though de jure equals, they are de facto second-class citizens.

Visiting Teacher  
Israel

### WOMEN'S LIBERATION

I liked your cartoon of Little Rock 1957, which only had to be relabeled to show Pontiac 1971. I want to make certain, however, that no one attributes the racist-sexist "ideal" of "White Motherhood," which was of course created by men, to all women.

Such a despicable reactionary as Senator Griffin is saying that the opposition to bussing is based on "maternal instinct." Women have been blamed for everything since Eve and the apple, but blaming us for racism, when there are so many parallels between the subjugation of all Blacks and all women in this society, is just too much!

Women's Liberationist  
Michigan

The printing of the "cartoon" about "White Motherhood" on the WL page last issue was sexist. Because Irene McCabe is a woman is no excuse for the printing of such a cartoon. When a black father is a sexist I am sure that N&L

## TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

Editor's Note: We print below excerpts from Raya Dunayevskaya's *Perspectives Speech to The National Editorial Board meeting of News & Letters Committees*. The full speech is available from *News & Letters* for 35 cents a copy.

\* \* \*

So real are the world crises that in this period of "peace," a quarter century after World War II has ended, the world is spending no less than \$220 billion annually on militarization! Indeed, the only reason we have thus far had only "little wars" instead of another world war is that this time a world war would be nuclear, and this would spell the end of civilization as we have known it.

So real have the world crises continued to be at the end of that holocaust, that even the one victor who remained standing on its feet, the unchallenged Goliath, the world over—the U.S.—has been incapable of establishing any Pax Americana. The absolute opposite is the case.

So real are the world crises, including those in the industrial-military-nuclear complex, that this Behemoth has not been able to win even over little Vietnam.

Nor is it a question of a defeat rather than a victory. Rather, the *totality of the crisis*—both abroad and at home—is such that the lifeline of capitalism itself is at stake. Thus, not since the end of the Korean War has the U.S. been faced with so much unemployment and inflation and such a stagnant economy, automated production and flights to the moon notwithstanding. "Affluence" only places racism on as taut, as shaky a foundation as the U.S. has not been subjected to since the Civil War.

\* \* \*

WERE WE EVEN, for the moment, to exclude the possibility of a social revolution—and it is such fears which transformed the President into a stunt man—were we even to exclude the new passions and new forces hungering to uproot capitalism, and keep the view of the crisis confined to inter-capitalist relations, it would still be a fact that not only is the U.S. being challenged by the other nuclear titan, Russia, that has moved into the Middle East with a sweep the Tsars only dreamed about, but the U.S. is also being challenged by its private capitalistic allies—West Europe and Japan whom it has put on their economic feet after very nearly total destruction in World War II. It isn't that these countries aren't undergoing crises. The truth is—as the

## The 'ground' for the Nixon-Mao meeting

reappearance of neo-fascism in Italy has reminded us—that not a single fundamental problem was solved by World War II . . .

Japan had to be taught a lesson even if Nixon had to induce an economic and political crisis. The stunt man went to town—a town in the sense in which Lin Piao had used in his famous 1965 speech on war, i.e. the town was the whole globe. Nixon no sooner pulled the political shock of the post-war era in announcing his trip to Peking than he followed through with global economic changes—and this time inside the American economy package. First came the induced gold crisis . . .

Next, Nixon slapped a 10% tax on imports. Aimed both at West Germany and Japan, it hit Japan hardest, since no less than 30% of its trade is with the U.S. Not only that. Most of Japan's Asian trade is based on the Asian rulers' belief that Japan will be the political power in the Pacific as it is its economic giant. Japan itself had every capitalistic right to believe that, as it set about to implement the Nixon Doctrine.

Now that all old alliances are up for grabs, will that, too, have to be scrapped? Even Russia, after decades of procrastination, has spurred forward to conclude a Berlin agreement . . .

\* \* \*

NOT ONLY IS everything still very tenuous. Not only can much happen that will once again reverse all sides. Not only are there things that are not Mao's to give, as the Vietcong-North Vietnamese have shown by insisting that Paris, not Peking, is the place to bargain. Without a way to get out of Vietnam in what Nixon calls an "honorable" way, the U.S. anti-Vietnam War movement will see to it that the 1972 election will surely not be Nixon's.

But, above, all, what about China? Surely, it hasn't invited Nixon just to assure Nixon his 1972 victory! To China, Japan isn't the mere arrogant competitor Nixon wishes to discipline. Japan is the industrial giant of Asia. It started World War II against China two years in advance of WWII. Then there is that other giant, Russia, the contiguous and ideological Enemy No. One, i. e. state-capitalist and worldly as China herself.

And, first and foremost, is that internal crisis. Recently Chou was practicing the English understatement as he admitted (interview with Edgar Snow, published in *Epoch*, 2/71) that the Cultural Revolution had caused chaos and "una certa diminuzione" in production. No figures were given to show just "how little." He claimed all plans had been fulfilled, but without giving figures, this time not even about population,

though on all other occasions, 700 millions is always thrown about to show that China is one-fourth of the world's population. In any case, he did admit it was "technologically backward" (indeed, he said also culturally backward!), and that it was a "poor country," not to mention what a very poor standard of living exists for the masses!

It is clear that the economic crisis is every bit as crucial as any foreign crisis . . .

\* \* \*

THERE IS HARDLY a place on earth that Mao's China isn't playing power politics, be it with the fascistic generals in West Pakistan actually practicing genocide on East Pakistanis, or trading with South Africa as well as the military junta in Greece; be it with "left" Palestinian "Liberation Front" and the sudden love they discovered for Czechoslovakia whom they had previously declared to be the worst of the revisionists, or paying court to the Shah of Iran; and now it is, at one and the same time, talking about being all out for the Vietcong and North Vietnam while choosing Yayah Kahn to be

(Continued on Page 7)

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

## NIXON AND MAO AIM TO THROTTLE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Chairman, News &amp; Letters Committees

I—By Way of Introduction

II—World Crises (Real and Induced): the Ground for the Nixon-Mao Meeting

III—Nixon's Greatest Hoax, "Jobs Development Act for 1971," is Same as Move Against Black Dimension

IV—What to Do

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# Views

would not print a cartoon depicting all black fathers as being sexist.

The concept of "white motherhood" at the time of its conception had nothing to do with white women. It was a slogan used by southern white men as an excuse to brutalize black men, as an excuse for their (men's) racism. It was also used to keep white women "in their place." On the pedestal completely powerless. No one asked the white southern woman if she wanted to be on a pedestal, she had no choice.

Irene McCabe could not have closed down the Pontiac automobile factory if the white men who work there had crossed the picket line. This is not to excuse her disgusting racism. It is to protest the sexist cartoon in your last issue.

Feminist  
Detroit

\* \* \*

Congratulations for printing that cartoon about "White Motherhood." I must admit that, as a white woman, my first reaction was to say, "That's not me!" But on second thought I realized that there is a greater truth behind what I think you were saying, and that is that unless we all recognize racism as the cancer of American life, we will never reorganize this society. That disgusting creature, Irene McCabe, is a symbol of the problem in this country, where even liberals no longer dare to say they are for integration.

White Intellectual  
New York

\* \* \*

While Mrs. Nixon is denying the validity of the Women's Liberation movement, President Nixon is trying to buy it off with a Supreme Court nomination.

As Women's Liberationists we will have to constantly stress that our philo-

sophy for social change has to go beyond the goal of merely integrating women into our economic and political system. The fact that such a reactionary group as The Daughters of the American Revolution supports the nomination of a woman to the Supreme Court should tell us that.

Women's Liberation Activist  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

We are holding a conference on Women and Economics on November 13-14, which may interest some of your readers and friends. Please announce it for those who might like to attend. They can contact:

Heidi Cochran  
240 Central Avenue  
New Haven, Conn. 06515

### REINSTATED IN CONN.

I am happy to inform all who read of my discharge from Colt's plant in the last issue of N&L that I have since been reinstated with full seniority. I have no doubt that this was due in some small measure to the fact that the leaflet I distributed at the plant, which you reprinted in part, caused some red faces. All power to the Workers . . .

Reinstated  
Connecticut

### NIXONOMICS

I was amazed to see the picture of the demonstration at Cobo Hall in the last issue. I didn't see a word about in the papers here. It was a fantastic demonstration, with all those different forces joined together in opposition to Tricky Dicky. — and more fantastic that the press didn't consider that outpouring as "news fit to print."

Reader  
New York

My job took me to the Economics Club here on a day when Leonard Woodcock was scheduled to be the speaker. It was shortly after the Cobo Hall demonstration against Nixon, and as might be expected, there were questions from the audience about why Woodcock had not supported the demonstration. My mouth fell open when I heard his reply: "I don't think picket lines contribute anything to the democratic process."

Journalist  
Detroit

\* \* \*

I thought one of the greatest things about the demonstration at Cobo Hall against Nixon was what the waitresses did. While their union was picketing outside, they served the dinner inside—wearing buttons on their uniforms denouncing "Nixonomics."

Marcher  
Detroit

### ITALY, DENMARK, BRITAIN

Nixon's speech hit Europe like a bomb, because of the monetary crisis and, above all, the 10 percent increase on foreign imports. The incredible thing is that the European governments have been complaining for years that the U.S. ought to devalue the dollar, and now they only manage to fight with each other.

The Italian government is not only giving a better price for the dollar but is thinking of devaluing the lire. In the meantime, the government will give only a minimum support to the industries worst hit by this 10 percent increase on exports because it might go against the international agreements on exports and imports . . . The indifference of the U.S. government to the whole problem shows that this has to do with U.S.'s already economic control on Europe . . .

Meanwhile Reggio Calabria is again in a type of civil war . . . In all of the demonstrations there are signs with swastikas. In the midst of all of this there is the Mafia that effectively controls fruit and vegetable commerce of

Italy. The peasants are paid horrible prices for their fruit and vegetables (5 lire for a kilo of tomatoes that are sold at 5 or 6 hundred lire in the North) . . . But it is hard to analyze the Italian scene because it is hard to know what is really happening. The question is whether all the groups involved—fascists, police, government and Mafia—are really fighting against each other, or working with each other.

Correspondent  
Milan

\* \* \*

Thank you for the copies of N&L and the pamphlets. I learned a lot from Charles Denby's *Workers Battle Automation*, and intend to translate parts of it in order to inform Danish workers about Automation and the fight against it in the U.S.

As for the general situation here, there is a "semi-fascist" organization of the labour market (all actions of the workers are practically out-lawed; unions and shop stewards must fight all independent actions on the part of the workers). I shall write to you soon about the wild-cat strikes of 1969-70 and the actions taken against them by the unions and stewards, and about the present task of building a web of informal contacts between workers and the formation of "informal committees."

New Correspondent  
Denmark

\* \* \*

I get the impression that the "radical scene" is cooling off a bit just now in the U. S., or I suppose it is only really sensational news that gets reported over here. The Attica Prison revolt was hair-raising.

Not a great deal is happening here at the moment, but I feel that many people are having a quiet reappraisal of their politics in a direction towards libertarian Marxism. Northern Ireland is of course the great tragedy, and I honestly can't see any easy solution.

Correspondent  
London





# YOUTH

## Calif. unemployed organize

Los Angeles, Calif.—The California League of Working Unemployed, an organization formed to help those without a job get through the hassle of the state unemployment offices, was started by members of the Radical Valley Collective, an organization of students from several schools around the area. We set up a table in front of the Unemployment Office, and started recruiting people as they went in. Here is what we stand for:

### STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

The C.L.W.U. feels that it is imperative for our organization to publish a statement of principles concerning our objective realities as unemployed people. We see clearly a need to organize as unemployed, but we feel that it is extremely important for us to understand our relationship to the politics of capitalist economy and the real control of state powers . . .

As unemployed people, it is important for us to understand that while it is ostensibly the employer who pays the funding for unemployment insurance, in reality the small amount of money that does go into unemployment funds comes directly out of the wages of the labor force.

At the same time, we should understand that the State Department of Human Resources Development facilities are the organizations of state power that are used to force and humiliate unemployed labor forces

into believing that they cannot become organized. HRD is more a service to corporate employers than it is for the unemployed.

All figures concerning unemployment percentages in the United States released by our government are a deliberate misrepresentation of unemployment statistics and do not account for people on welfare, those of us who have already exhausted the unemployment insurance program, high school and college students looking for work, casual labor, or government officials out of work.

### UNEMPLOYED DEMANDS

In attempting to alleviate the intolerable conditions of the unemployed, the California League of Working Unemployed puts forth the following demands:

1. Right to collect unemployment insurance.
2. Right to collect \$100.00 maximum.
3. Right to collect maximum benefits.
4. Right to medical care.
5. Right to a representative appeals board.
6. Right to fair and honorable treatment from HRD.
7. Right to adequate food, clothing, and housing.
8. Right to refuse work on moral grounds.
9. Right to collect unemployment insurance while attending school.

## G.I.s protest war at Alameda Naval Base

San Francisco, Calif.—“Stopping the war can be done only by the people involved.” With this assertion as their focal point over 1,000 sailors, Jr. Officers and crewmen of the U.S.S. Coral Sea, the Navy carrier of bombers, on October 11th circulated a petition calling for the end of the war and calling on all the crew to refuse to sail to Vietnam.

Their call was for SOS (Stop Our Ship). Although the petition is legal, as it is addressed to Congressman Dellums, three sailors are currently in the brig and officers are looking for other petty offenses with which to charge the originators to give them dishonorable discharges from the service.

The men have been backed up by around-the-clock vigils of anti-war civilians in the Bay Area, who have stationed themselves near the ships at the Alameda Naval Base. A spokesman for the crew said they got the idea from the similar petition circulated on the USS Constellation which was to leave from San Diego last month for Vietnam. 13 sailors who refused to board ship were arrested there and flown back to their ship.

On the USS Hancock 14 Junior Officers who declared themselves conscientious objectors to the war in Indo-China were discharged. A crewman being interviewed said, “If it were not for the fear of reprisals all the enlisted men and most of the Jr. Officers would refuse to go with their ships.” He said, “When they overcome that fear we can hope for the collapse of the U.S. Military system.”

Inside Vietnam, according to the Vietnam Veterans Against The War, servicemen are circulating a petition

calling for “immediate cessation of all hostilities in Southeast Asia,” with all branches of the armed forces responding to this first of its kind campaign being conducted by U.S. troops themselves among their own forces in Vietnam.

## U. of Montreal strike

Montreal, Quebec — The Universities of Montreal and Quebec are now closed by a strike of non-academic employees which began at the University of Montreal. Many professors there refused to cross the picket lines, so the school had to close down. The strike then snowballed to other institutions, with wide support from students, profs, as well as other workers on the campuses.

This isn't the only strike on now by any means. Everyone is going out, even the cops, and the firemen. The Quebec Provincial Police stayed off the job because they hadn't been paid for last October's crisis overtime! This was followed by a “parity” strike by Montreal's cops. This does not excuse their behavior in recent weeks, however, when they tried to hold a march to reinstate the death penalty, and also harassed all blacks on the streets of Montreal after two cops were shot by a black man.

The case of Vincent Meloche, a worker who killed three bosses at Dupont of Canada after he was fired, is getting a lot of attention. It is like the Eldon Axle case in Detroit. There will be a political trial for sure on the questions of racism, and the semi-military treatment and harassment of employees at Dupont. Many people see the firing as another act against French-Canadian workers. Already the coming trial is raising questions about the conditions of labor in Quebec. —Bernard Bruneau

## Fort Dix GI court case

New York, N. Y. — In an unanimous decision, the Army Review Court has reversed the 1969 court-martial conviction of Thomas W. Catlow, holding that a “confession” he made was unlawfully taken by the Army's Criminal Investigation Division because of a blatant disregard for his request to consult his attorney before being questioned.

In so holding, the Court for the first time set down guidelines which must be followed by Army investigators once a man has claimed his Constitutional right to see a lawyer before being questioned. If these guidelines are not followed, any statement given by a suspect becomes tainted and cannot be used against him in an Army trial, no matter how “voluntary” it may have been.

Catlow is one of the celebrated “Fort Dix 38,” who were charged with criminal acts during the 1969 rebellion in the Fort Dix Stockade in protest against the brutal and inhuman conditions of their confinement. No stockade officials were ever brought to answer for their vicious and unlawful treatment of the prisoners; but five prisoners faced over 40 years in prison for the setting of minor fires and broken glass during the disturbance.

Workers Defense League  
112 East 19th St.  
N. Y. C. 10003

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

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## DOING AND THINKING

### Student activism is part of history

*Student Power, Participation and Revolution, edited by John and Susan Erlich, N.Y., Association Press, 1970.*

Student Power, Participation & Revolution is a collection of articles by high school and (mostly) college activists. In their introduction, the editors begin with a truism: “Student activists and the power movement of which they are a part constitute a new phenomenon in the history of America. As individuals and in groups, on campuses and in communities, . . . they pose a very special problem for those who seek to define and understand them.”

The editors then go on to mis-define and mis-understand the movement. This is because the editors chose as their student-writers a list which reads like an SDS Who's Who, past, present, and future. Worse yet, the editor's have no idea of the student movement as a historical process which developed out of the older Black freedom struggle in America.

### PHILOSOPHY MISSING

Finally, neither the editors nor most of the writers can see the importance of a philosophy of revolution to the student movement. Thus, they miss the whole development of the philosophy of Humanism developing itself in the 60's, and being made concrete by the actions and ideas of Black civil rights workers, through the students at Berkeley, to the thousands of other campus and anti-war activists, to the latest “new” revolutionaries in Women's Liberation.

Two articles stand out: Molly Jackson's “The New and the Newer: Women on Campus” (1970) and Mark Rudd's “Notes on Columbia” (1969). At one point in his article, Mr. Rudd states, “. . . action and education are completely united, two aspects of the same thing (call it ‘base-building,’ organizing, ‘building the movement,’ whatever you like).” He also states later, “The implication of the primacy of the Black movement . . . (is) that we should study and understand the roots, necessity of, and strategy of the Black liberation movement in order to understand how our movement should go.”

### EMBRACES MAOISM

Beautiful! Theory and practice should be united, and students should find their roots in American revolutionary history by studying the philosophy of the Black liberation movement. If this is true, why does Mr. Rudd sum up the whole “lesson” of the magnificent Columbia strike of 1968 by negating philosophy in his final sentence: “Above all, we learned almost accidentally the great truth stated by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, ‘Dare to struggle, dare to win.’” From Black revolutionary roots and the unity of theory and practice to Mao's voluntarism — that's some jump!

Molly Jackson's article, on the other hand, carefully outlines the “new” in the Women's Liberation Movement in theory AND practice, never separating the two. She shows the spontaneous, self-organization of the women's movement from INSIDE the New Left; she talks about women's struggles to end both the economic exploitation of capitalism and its anti-human alienation; and she emphasizes W. L.'s search for a total philosophy of liberation which will not wait until the day AFTER revolution to build a new society.

In sharp contrast to Mark Rudd's anti-philosophical conclusion, Molly Jackson writes, “Marx combined materialism and idealism to create a philosophy of liberation that can end class, racist, and sexist society.” She concludes: “. . . a serious search for theory — for a key to the self-development of our own movement—is starting. Hopefully, W.L. will overcome its fear of structure and philosophy, and meet up with all the different women in the country, so it can form a mass movement that will link up with the other forces for liberation and create a society in which women can be whole women.”

### NEED TO LISTEN TO VOICES

Maybe if Mr. Rudd had taken his own advice and studied the philosophy and activity of the Black liberation movement in America instead of Mao's Red Book, the respected leader of Columbia would not have become an anti-human Weatherman. And, maybe the editors, John and Susan Erlich, would find the student movement less troublesome to analyze if they listened less to student “leaders” and more to the voices of revolt of Black masses, rank and file workers, and Women's liberation.

A good beginning for the Erlichs would be to re-read Molly Jackson's article and the SDS Port Huron Statement (1962) which they quoted at length in their introduction: “A first task of any social movement is to convince people that the search for orienting theories and the creation of human values is complex but worthwhile.”

—Will Maguire

# BLACK-RED VIEW

(Continued from Page 1)

the police department. Then you go behind a partition, you drop your panties, you pull your bra off, you stoop this way and that, you pull your pants down; this is to go into a courtroom!

It looks like a prison camp. Everyone in there is grinning while holding shotguns and belt sticks. There are men walking around with machine guns. It's frightening. If my son wasn't there I'd stay away. I can understand why people are not coming.

## NEED SUPPORT

But we've got to show them, that they are not going to stop us. They want to do their dirty work so no one knows what they are doing. I'm begging for your support; we need your dollars, but more than anything in the world we need you. We need people in that courtroom and I don't mean 18 and 20 year olds. We need some 45 year olds and 65 year olds in that courtroom,

# Soledad mothers speak for themselves

adult citizens. My son's life is at stake! John Cluchette's life is at stake!

My son got another beating on August 21st when George Jackson was murdered, and now he's brought up on another murder charge! He went into the courtroom on a charge of second degree burglary. He was supposed to be sent to the re-adjustment center. John and he received six months to 15 years!

## NO EARLY PAROLE

The parole board said, "If these men get two or three years in prison they will have to do their time." So they gave them indeterminate sentences, so if they can do something and co-operate they will get out earlier. It's a whole bunch of lies! They gave them indeterminate sentences so they can make more charges on them and they'll never get out of prison!

Can we have your support? Please, can we have your support?

## Mrs. George Jackson

We cannot let these two men, and all the other men in prison go quietly to the gas chamber, to their death in prison, because prison is a living death. Prison reforms, and prison law schools and anything connected with the prisons is not going to make it! The only thing to do with the prisons is to tear them down, because they are not there to help anybody. If anybody wants to help me tear them down, I'm willing.

Motions are being made in the courtroom that have been made for the past 18 months. This stupid judge is still shaking his head and not saying anything. I just wonder if the people will ever get tired of getting stepped on?

## "THIS IS OUR COUNTRY"

I can't understand how people will go into their house and sit down and rationalize all this mess away. This country belongs to the people. When are the people going to stand up and say, "This is my country, and I don't like what's going on?"

How many more people do we have to have killed? How many more of us have to go to prison and live a living death? How many more of us have to go home and turn away our heads and try to forget what's going on and what is happening to us? It's so disgusting to me, for people to be so passive who are so mistreated. You have to keep educating the community to the fact that they are being beat over the head with a big stick every day of their lives.

John and Fleeta need you! All the other prisoners need you!

# Ex-Seyms St. jail inmate tells of prison life

It all starts in the courtroom when that judge passes down the sentence, whether it be one year or life. The first thing that a person feels is a knot deep in his throat as he walks up to the prison doors. The first sight he catches is the prison walls so high that you need a ladder to climb.

Then, as he passes through the gate, he hears the clang of the door. He may feel a fear which he is unable to explain, or he may feel it is the end of his existence as a human being. One of the first things that they do to a new convict is to isolate him away from the main body of convicts in what is called "the fish tank."

This is a cell that is used for the purpose of observing the new convict and also for processing him. It usually is for a thirty day period. In some prisons you are not allowed to write or receive any mail from the outside world.

Now that you are a full fledged member of this society you have to abide by many rules you never knew existed. They hand you a rule book and tell you to memorize it so that in case you break one of them you will know why you are to be punished. You don't have to do anything at all to be punished. A guard may not like your looks, or he might be mad at something else, and you are in trouble.

## NO USE EXPLAINING

Most times it is just a waste of your time to try to explain what did or didn't happen. To them, you are already guilty. They tend to say that their guards don't lie. So what most cons will usually do is take the punishment given. They have two places that they can put you. One is the "hole" or black box, and the other is segregation.

While a con is in the "hole," he is fed bread and water, or potatoes and carrots. He is without any clothes and has to go to the toilet in a hole on the floor or a bucket. He is rarely given any consideration by the guards and has a tendency to go a little insane. He sometimes talks to himself or screams obscenities at the guard.

Sometimes he may even throw his food at one of them. When this happens, the guards will go in and beat him up. They then place him in segregation indefinitely. Segregation is a little better than the "hole" because you are fed a little better and have freedom to move around a little. You have clothes and a mattress to sleep on.

Prison reform in many prisons is just a by-word to

the convicts. Many of the people on the outside never hear of the things done on the inside because most ex-cons, after they get out, are afraid to speak out for fear that they might once again be behind the same prison —E.P., Hartford, Conn.

## men in prison

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# Fast food turns work into mechanical steps

Hartford, Conn. — Until I happily quit last month, I worked for three months as a short order cook in the new fast food place out here, Seven Kettles Restaurant. A modern place with lots of money behind it, Seven Kettles served thousands of office workers every day.

As is pretty common in restaurant work, it was non-union, the pay for cooks, waitresses and dishwashers was usually between \$1.75 and \$1.90, and you either got only part time hours or ten hours a day, but nothing like you wanted. Immigrants from Greece, Italy and Latin America worked 60 plus hours a week with no overtime, as the boss told them their extra hours were, "a favor" and could be taken away if they insisted on overtime pay.

None of what I've said so far is strange or extraordinary for restaurant work, but the fast food part of working there was different than most restaurants. Fast food meant that I cooked 300 plus hamburgers during the 90 minute lunch rush. It meant that waitresses got no tips to speak of since there was no table service. It meant transforming whatever was creative in cooking and in serving people well to a series of mechanical steps at a speed demon's pace.

As one young waitress said to me, "This isn't waitress work. I like waitress work with each customer different, but not like this." The manager often told us, "Don't think, just do as I tell you." It seems obvious that fast food means to the restaurant what automation means to the plant.

—Jack MacBride

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# TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

the intermediary to arrange for the secret meeting with Nixon, whom they now find "less bad."

If this is not a super-power play of world "mastery," it is playing global politics and not just "nationalism" vs. Russia, whom they now declare to be "storm-troopers of the world." That, indeed, was the key point of the so-called Cultural Revolution—teaching Mao's own leadership that, not the U.S., but Russia, was Enemy No. One. As they love to talk of "four firsts," they can, should the U.S. deal fall through, have a place for it. Meanwhile, Japan will do as "second" first. And they never forget, as any capitalist, private or state, never forgets, that the "enemy" is at home: their own masses. Whether India will be the "fourth first," or whether they will leave a lot of blank spaces for all sorts of possible changes, as of now Nixon is not only "less bad," but they are toying even with the idea of selling out the fraternal ally, North Vietnam.

That surely is a fundamental reason for Nixon's trip to Peking—to see whether Mao cannot save the 1972 election for him, and after, by allowing what Nixon calls an "honorable" way out of the disastrous war which he has lost not only militarily, but also politically. And not only the world over, but especially in the U.S., where the indigenous anti-Vietnam war movement has helped create a whole new generation of revolutionaries. The immediate and long term enemy for Nixon is the American masses . . .

By Eugene Walker

## WORLD IN VIEW

## New South African terror trial must be opposed

Because of the importance of the events in South Africa—and the silence about them in this country's press, bourgeois and radical alike—I am devoting my entire column to this subject this issue.

—Eugene Walker

## Repression and resistance

"Our women stand astride over a yawning grave; give birth to babies who go straight from the womb into the gaping earth."

In their mad rush for production and for keeping total control of South Africa, the whites are murdering the African population. Some sixty-three percent of all African children born in the segregated locations of Port Elizabeth die before they reach the age of five years, of malnutrition or diseases resulting from it.

What has made South Africa the most highly industrialized country in Africa, the country where foreign investors can be guaranteed a very high profit, the country where whites have a luxurious living, is the labor of the Black people. It is the money gotten from the mines, the mines worked by cheap Black labor, which has allowed South African industry to develop.

Two laws have worked hand in hand to make sure that there would be a reservoir of regimented Black labor to work at each sector of industry. A Black man in Africa exists to work the gold mines, to toil on the white man's farms and to turn the wheels of industry.

The Group Areas Act was designed to make the African, by the law of the land, countryless. Supposedly there are little enclaves of land for each ethnic group of Africans—less than 13 percent of the land area for over 80 percent of the population. But it is not to drive the African to this land that the Act was passed. It was to render the Blacks homeless, countryless, rootless and rightless—labor at the disposal of the white ruling class. He can only be in a "White Group Area" if he is working, otherwise he must go to his ethnic group area.

But an African worker by law is not a worker. Because if he were he would have rights of workers—the right to seek employment where he chooses, the right to form or belong to a trade union, the right to strike. But all these are denied to him and he is defined as a work-seeker even though he may be employed.

## INSTANT LABOR FORCE

The Resettlement Act working hand in hand with the Group Act empowers the authorities to ship any African from any place and dump him in another. White farmers or industrialists in an area complain of labor shortages.

When the Bantu Affairs Department (controlling Africans) sets in motion the machinery for meeting the demand, a whole village of several thousand souls is uprooted and shifted to the area. Every man, woman and child is moved. The government lorries cart them and their few belongings away. Bulldozers flatten their old homes. At the new site, Army tents are there as shelter and an instant labor force is created.

But the Africans of South Africa are in the process of resistance. The President of the Unity Movement noted that "... the resistance of the oppressed Black masses in South Africa continues to stiffen. Reports reach us of constant harassment of the members of the Unity Movement in both town and country, particularly in the Pondoland areas as well as those in exile in the adjacent States. More important are the persistent reports of clashes between the peasantry and the police in different parts of the country ..."

## The trial of the fourteen

Fourteen leading members of the Unity Movement of South Africa are currently on trial under four counts of the Terrorism Act. They have been accused of plotting to subvert and overthrow the South African regime; recruiting men for political and military training; aiding the infiltration of trained leaders back into South Africa; raising money for these operations.

The fourteen were held in detention, in solitary confinement, and incommunicado from February to June and have been subjected to torture interrogation. (See following article.)

The accused face a minimum sentence of five years and a maximum of death. The burden of proof for the case lies not with the prosecution to prove the guilt of the accused, but the defense must prove innocence.

The Unity Movement of South Africa which is affiliated with the African Peoples Democratic Union of Southern Africa has among it aims the following: the franchise for all, regardless of race, creed, color or sex; compulsory education for all children; freedom of speech and movement. Full equality of rights for all citizens.

Those on trial are ten Africans, two Coloureds and two Indians. Their occupations vary: three building workers, two peasants, one schoolteacher, one bookkeeper, four clerks, two attorneys and one student.

A committee formed by the wives of three of the accused has written a letter to friends of the people of South Africa appealing both for funds for the defense of the accused and most impor-

tantly to spread the word, to let the world know exactly what is taking place in South Africa. Funds can be sent, and more information on the trial and conditions in South Africa received from:

The London Committee of the Unity Movement  
120 Grandison Road  
London SW 11

## Affidavits of the accused

(Editor's note: Mayeni Cutshela, an elderly peasant from Pondoland, a member of the Unity Movement, died after being subjected to torture by electrical machine while in detention. Below are printed excerpts from affidavits of the accused in the Unity Movement.)

## "STONES IN MY SHOES"

Mogami Josiah Moeng, accused No. 3, arrested January 20: "From Meadowlands I was removed to Compol Building in Pretoria. I was taken into a small room where I was again interrogated by about ten Special Branch Policemen.

"I was instructed to hold a heavy dumb-bell in each hand and pebbles were put inside my shoes. I was instructed to do half squats.

"My interrogation continued throughout that afternoon. I was driven to the Mkhambathi Forest near Lusikisiki in Pondoland ... I was told I had taken men out for military training ...

"I was told that if I did not make a statement to this effect I would be killed and buried where my family would never find my body. I think I made statement after statement."

## "AFRAID"

Albert Kewzi Tshangana, accused No. 11, arrested February 10: "Sgt. Van Wyk pushed me from the chair. He punched me in the body and hit me with an open hand once or twice across the face. I was sweating and afraid. The two Van Wyks hit and kicked me. I was dragged by the collar of my coat along the floor from one office to another. I pretended to be unconscious to evade more assaults."

## "TOLD I WOULD DIE"

Kader Hassim, accused No. 1, arrested February 17: "I was then taken in custody to Greytown Police Station ... Major Schoon refused to allow me to sit ...

"The interrogation continued through the night. Major Dreyer threatened to detain my wife ... I was reeling with fatigue ... Sergeant Van Wyk hurled obscenities at me ... I was told I would die.

"Sergeant Van Wyk took out a revolver and placed it on the table ... Lieut. Col. Swanepoel threatened to 'break' me if I did not speak up."

## Ireland in revolt North and South: barricades and rent strikes

(Continued from Page 1)

Derry Civil Rights Committee, organized a massive rent and rate strike in protest. Over 95 per cent of the residents have not paid their rent since August 9. In almost every window one sees the sign "This House Is on Rent Strike" or "Rent Man Pass By." The strike has been tremendously effective and has cost the city several million dollars.

The rent strike is an appropriate form of protest for Anti-Unionists in Derry, as it was the drastic shortage of housing that originally sparked the civil rights movement there. In some cases, four generations—grandparents, parents, married children and their children—are forced to live in two or three rooms. Many young people are unable to marry at all because they have no place to live.

Most of the housing in the North is owned by the municipal government, the "Corporation," as it is called. The Corporation is composed of Unionists—who are totally uninterested in building housing for the Catholics, who don't vote Unionist. Due to the ghettoization of the Catholic and Protestant populations, the Catholics, who have a numerical majority in Derry City, have a tiny minority in the government.

The Derry Housing Action Committee fought for decent housing for all citizens—Catholic and Protestant—and they did have Protestant supporters, to the chagrin of the Paisleyites, who have tried long and hard to keep Catholic and Protestant separated. Religion has little to do with the problems of North Ireland. The problems are jobs, housing, and voting rights.

## PROVISIONALS MINDLESS BOMBINGS

The Unionist Party has sought to maintain the separation of Catholic and Protestant at all costs, while the Civil Rights movement and Sein Fein have tried to bring the Catholic and Protestant working class together so that the real enemies—the capitalists, North and South, Protestant and Catholic—can be exposed and overthrown.

According to an unemployed Protestant worker we met, who is himself a Civil Rights activist, a number of Protestant workers have supported the Civil Rights demands. But the advent of the Provisional IRA—with their viciously anti-working class, anti-socialist policies—has greatly set back the possibilities of Catholic-Protestant unity. The Provisionals' mindless bombings of Protestant workers' pubs and restaurants appears aimed at forcing a sectarian civil war, in which the British or Irish capitalists will be the victors. Many workers think that "Green Tory" capitalists in the South are funding the Provisionals.

Members of the Derry Civil Rights Association, People's Democracy, and Sein Fein make it very clear that they believe there can be no solution to the question of Northern Ireland which does not include the Protestant working class.

It is not simply a question of driving the Protestants out of the North, or separation from Britain and annexation to the Republic, they say. It is a question of total social revolution in all of Ireland, North and South.

The problems of housing and soaring unemployment are common to both North and South. Lack of jobs forces thousands of workers to emigrate each year.

Unemployment in the Catholic areas of Derry is over 30 per cent, and in Northern Ireland as a whole, 11% are unemployed. But the South does not offer workers much better opportunities—unemployment in parts of the South is worse than anything up North.

## THE SOUTH NO BETTER

The situation in the South is steadily getting worse. Medical care in the Republic is sky-high, a deserted wife with eleven children is expected to live on the equivalent of \$25.00 per week, while the cost of food, housing and clothing is nearly as high as the U.S.A. An average factory worker makes the equivalent of \$40.00 per week.

There is the ever-present housing shortage. Over 20,000 persons in Dublin alone are virtually homeless. You see hundreds of houses standing empty—condemned by

the city for future destruction. The people in the South have retaliated by "squatting"—forcibly occupying the vacant buildings.

To counter-act the massive squatting movement and wildcats by workers, the Lynch government passed repressive laws last month which rival those of the North. The "Prohibition of Forcible Entry and Occupation Act" makes squatters subject to eviction, arrest, and a minimum of 3 years imprisonment. A similar sentence is imposed on anyone advocating squatting, or even mentioning it in the press. Any house or office can be ransacked and possessions confiscated without benefit of a court warrant. And, significantly, sit-ins and occupations of factories are specifically prohibited in the act.

## UNREST IN THE SOUTH

Irish workers have borne the brunt of two currency devaluations and a change to the decimal currency system in the last three years. All have served to send prices soaring, while wages have remained very low. There is a growing wave of strikes, 42 last month. Workers in Dublin tell you that their union leadership has done virtually nothing to protect the rights of working people. Yet, the strike at Silvermines this summer won rank-and-file support all over Ireland.

Last month, a top level meeting was held between the Prime Ministers of Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic at Chequers. Ostensibly, Lynch met with Heath and Faulkner to discuss a solution to "the Northern Ireland Problem."

On his return he announced that he was initiating immediate censorship of the Irish news media—no newspaper, TV or radio was to mention the name of the IRA in their news.

Lynch is concerned, not with stopping the brutal repression against Catholics in the North, but with stopping the growing revolutionary movement in his own backyard. There is increasing concern among those in the South that Lynch is planning to re-open his own internment camps.