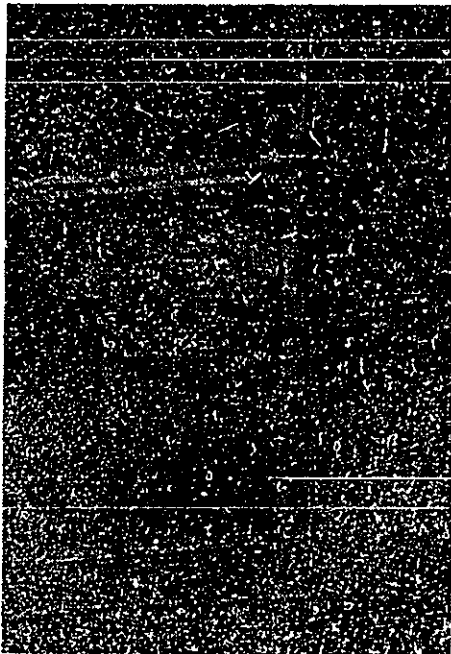


Editorial Article:**NIXON'S WARS AT HOME AND ABROAD**

Riddled dormitory at Jackson, Mississippi.

By Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairman,
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Inseparable from Nixon's April 30 speech about the invasion of Cambodia is the preventive civil war he is unleashing against the American people. His excuse is an ominous one: "We live in an age of anarchy both abroad and at home."

Nixon's call for attacks against the anti-war movement as well as against the oppositionists to his whole strategy of war, recession, and racism, became all too obvious in the massacres at Kent, Ohio, on May 4, at Augusta, Ga., on May 11, and Jackson, Miss. on May 14.

It is necessary to begin with the events in Augusta, rather than Kent, because the events there expose the total deafness of these United States to the peaceful revolution that had been going on down South for a whole decade. The sudden hurried trip of our neo-fascistic Attorney General, John Mitchell, to Mississippi "to investigate" must not, under any circumstances, be permitted to wash off the blood from Nixon's custom-carved Southern strategy.

TORTURE AND MASSACRE IN AUGUSTA

On Saturday, May 9, a black 16-year-old, Charles Oatman, was tortured with cigarette burns on his feet, hands and buttocks and beaten to death in a jail cell. When the word got out and the blacks were getting ready to march on the city-county building, the white establishment suddenly filed charges against two black inmates for that murder.

The black demonstrators proceeded peacefully enough until they saw the state flag with its Confederate bars and stars, whereupon they tore it down and burned it. It is at this point that the cops, under the notorious Captain James G. Beck, moved in for the confrontation that erupted. They fired into the crowd and six unarmed "rioters" lay dead. The 25 wounded were likewise shot in the back.

Typical of the "rioters" is one of the dead—Charlie Mack Murphy, a 39-year old father of four, who had just left his miserable \$60 a week job, to go to his mother's for dinner. He had but recently returned home from Fort Lauderdale. His mother, Mrs. Carl Mack Murphy, wept bitterly as she spoke: "You know, it seems like he came home just to die."

This is U.S.A. May 1970, as Nixon's Southern strategy, and his imperialist Cambodian invasion, coalesce to bear witness to the new strategy of preventive civil war.

SCLC's Reverend Abernathy has called for a mass march. We will see whether it will be as massive as the demonstrations against Nixon's Cambodian invasion and massacre at Kent, Ohio.

ANTI-WAR MASS DEMONSTRATIONS

Great as was the outpouring of opposition to Nixon's Cambodian invasion and killings at Kent, the 100,000 who marched in Washington, D.C. on May 9 were only part of the thousands who marched throughout the country.

The dominant new feature that compelled even the double-tongued, deaf, superpatriot in the White House to listen was the sequence of events that began, not in Berkeley or New York, not in Los Angeles or Wisconsin, but in the heretofore staid mid-American small town, Kent, Ohio.

On April 30, just as soon as Nixon finished his forked-tongued speech about the U.S. imperialist invasion of Cambodia that "was not an invasion," the students took to the streets.

The second day, President Nixon, at the Pentagon,
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National guard bullets at Kent State College in Ohio killed four and wounded 11 students. Commanding officer in civilian clothes, at right, calls orders.



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stressed the other inseparable aspect of the war speech—the war against American youth at home by referring to the dissenting students as “bums.” The students at Kent showed their intense opposition by burning down the ROTC building.

The third act of the confrontation began with Governor Rhodes’ declaration of martial law—of which the students showed their disdain by gathering for an anti-war rally at the football stadium surrounded by National Guardsmen. It was then that the full fascistic face of the Commander-in-Chief came through as the National

Guardsmen (who had heard aright the Commander-in-Chief’s reference to the American youth as “bums”) felt free to shoot into the unarmed gathering.

So totally isolated is the White House tower from the American people that Nixon still had the gall, 24 hours later, to talk out, not against the trigger-happy National Guardsmen who shot down the four youth, but against student “violence that invites tragedy.”

“AN AGE OF ANARCHY”—NIXON’S

The shocked and dismayed national outcry at Nixon’s callousness was so loud that it finally penetrated those impenetrable walls of the White House. Nixon’s alter-ego,

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Spiro Agnew, was still cold-bloodedly declaring the tragedy at Kent "inevitable" when Nixon felt the boomerang sufficiently to call for a press conference "to explain."

Far from explaining the tragedy, much less how the objective situation had so changed in the 10 days since he last announced that he would withdraw 150,000 GIs from Vietnam because "we finally have in sight the just peace we are seeking," Nixon tried to present U.S. imperialism as the "peacemaker of Southeast Asia."

Though he was now in front of TV cameras, and supposedly, ready for a "dialogue" with dissenters, Nixon was, in fact, brazenly repeating the double-tongued description of the invasion of Cambodia that "was not an invasion," even as he claimed that "bums" supposedly referred only to "violent rioters."

The hypocrisy of his sadness at the death of the martyred young—Sandy Scheuer, William Schroeder, Allison Krause, Jeffrey Miller—oozed out from the soft-spoken Nixon as nauseatingly as from the shrill-voiced Agnew. In a word, nothing, nothing at all could cover up the neofascist "democracy" of the Commander-in-Chief and his self-appointed moralist, Spiro Agnew, any more than the hawk-nosed Mitchell could keep his warmongering diatribes issuing from his foul-mouthed wife.

It is clear, moreover, that Nixon, in opening the Cambodian front, was also having global dreams. It becomes necessary, therefore, to look at the Southeast Asian war in a world context.

THE SINO-SOVIET ORBITS

Now that our imperialistic government has committed its greatest blunder by the expansion of the Vietnamese war, we must face both the developing civil war in Cambodia, and its relationship to the Sino-Soviet orbits.

The satellite that China sent into orbit April 24 was the beginning of a new stage of world relations. The two nuclear titans, looking for single-word mastery, have become three. In no sense, therefore, can the Chinese feat be dismissed as "still not measuring up" to the two global powers. Whether the two state-capitalist powers calling themselves Communist will act as a unit on the Cambodian front, or follow separate paths to global conflict, the revolutionary opposition to war must not be tied to any state power if it is serious about uprooting exploitative class societies.

Truth is concrete and each conflict must be examined in itself as well as in a world context. In the specific Cambodian war, we need first to look at the new role not only of U.S. imperialism, but also of Prince Sihanouk. Having failed to establish a mass base for himself as a "neutralist" among the Cambodian peasantry who were, above all, concerned about their own poverty and misery, Prince Sihanouk is ready, via China, to collaborate with the "Red Khmers" who, if they should not be able to overthrow the new militaristic regime, can establish guerrilla bases in the countryside.

Or so Sihanouk hopes, on the conditions that North Vietnam and the Pathet Lao also aid. In any case, Chou En-lai met with all these forces to plan the next strategy. And Mao has just issued "warnings" about World War III.

This new alliance did not go unnoticed by the most reactionary governments in Southeast Asia, who responded to a call for a new "anti-Communist front" by that most murderous and counter-revolutionary regime in Indonesia headed by General Suharto. Thus far, nothing came of it, but U.S. imperialism is looking favorably at its antics. It becomes necessary once again to return to the home front and examine the conflicting forces at work here.

MISSISSIPPI, AND AGNEW'S NEO-FASCIST "DEMOCRACY"

On May 14, some 75 white racist cops and highway patrolmen in Jackson, Miss., facing a group of black male youth clustered before a black women's dormitory at a state college, "heard sniper fire" and began shooting up the dormitory. When the bullets couldn't penetrate the walls, they turned their guns against the unarmed males on the street. Phillip L. Gibbs, 21, a student at the school, and James Earl Green, 17, a high school student, lay dead, 15 others were injured.

The racist mayhem is not unconnected with Agnewsticks such as "the spawning ground and sanctuary of the movement is the American University." So great a favorite in the South has Vice-President Agnew become that he was chosen to be the featured speaker at a Confederate memorial.

Kent, Ohio, Augusta, Ga., Jackson, Miss.—12 dead and some 28 injured—all this has happened in the first two weeks of May, long before the hot summer has started, long before the student youth who will graduate will

Nixon's toll at home

In less than two weeks, early in May, the following Americans were slain in Nixon's war at home:

Allison Krause, 19—killed at Kent State, Ohio, May 4.

William Schroeder, 19—killed at Kent State, Ohio, May 4.

Sandra Scheuer, 20—killed at Kent State, Ohio, May 4.

Jeffrey Miller, 20—killed at Kent State, Ohio, May 4.

Charles Oatman, 16,—killed in the Richmond County jail, Georgia, May 9.

William Wright, Jr., 18—killed at Augusta, Ga., May 11.

Sammie Larry McCullough, 20—killed at Augusta, Ga., May 11.

James Stokes, 19—killed at Augusta, Ga., May 11.

Mack Wilson, 49—killed at Augusta, Ga., May 11.

John Bennett, 28—killed at Augusta, Ga., May 11.

Charles Mack Murphy, 39—killed at Augusta, Ga., May 11.

Phillip L. Gibbs, 21—killed at Jackson State, Miss., May 14.

James Earl Green, 17—killed at Jackson State, Miss., May 14.

first find no jobs waiting for them, and long before the labor contracts will expire this year of recession.

Whether it is warmongering National Guardsmen, or racist cops who shoot, bayonet and beat and burn youth to death, the point is: who is inciting these "law and order" men to perpetrate these lawless and murderous acts? Who inspired the New York police to look the other way as some racist construction workers attacked the anti-war youth?

Who, if not the Agnew-Nixon Administration, is manipulating an alleged "silent majority" to lash out against the youth "with no more regret than we should feel over discarding rotten apples from a barrel"? If such Agnewsticks are considered vice-presidential prerogative, his "freedom" no less, then why shouldn't the armed Establishment feel they have the license to act against radical youth that Agnew dares call "the criminal Left that belongs, not in a dormitory, but in a penitentiary"?

And what is the purpose other than fascist brainwashing for the studied and persistent attacks on the mass media, especially the TV, as they photograph these super-patriots and racists in their nefarious acts against dissenters? Who other than Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell—those polluted minds and foul mouths—have made "manhood" synonymous with warmongering, and recorders of facts synonymous with "an effete corps of impudent snobs"?

Where do we go from here? Is it possible to conclude anything else from these gory events than the fact that the President and his alter-ego have, from the moment they got into the White House, been preparing for the undeclared war abroad to be extended into a civil war at home?

LABOR, RECESSION AND WAR

Now that Nixon has shown that his wars abroad are but extensions of his wars at home, it becomes imperative for the New Left, the anti-war movement, the black liberation movement and women's liberation movement to take a second look at themselves, at their theoretical as well as practical activities, for there are danger signals here too. Not only is there an attempt to divert the anti-war movement into the political field—to vote for "doves"—there are also elitist opponents of labor who play up the fact that some construction workers had beat up anti-war youth demonstrators.

There is no doubt that the building workers' racist union, along with some longshoremen under Mafia control, are outright reactionaries who must be fought. But to portray these as characteristic of the labor movement at this time when strikes on the part of white and black workers—from the postal workers to the teamsters and from the teachers to the welfare workers—are at their most militant, is to fly in the face of the facts, as well as to fall into the old divisive capitalist trap of separating worker from worker, and workers from intellectuals.

Of course, there are some workers who oppose the anti-war demonstrators. So does part of the student body. Of course, there are some sectors, like the construction workers, who are reactionaries. So are the "Young Americans for Freedom." Neither facts can possibly take away from the full truth and that is that a whole generation now opposes the imperialist war games, the capitalist planned recessions and the racist fabric of American life.

More characteristic of the present stage of intensified strike and anti-war struggles are the two Los Angeles Teamster locals who distributed leaflets in opposition to the construction workers and, at the same time, asked the students to help them in their wild-catting against both management and the labor bureaucracy (see p. 2).



From his White House in the background, Pres. Nixon saw and heard the more than 150,000 who massed on May 9 to oppose his war-sending policies in Indo-China.

At the same time, it is clear that the struggle against the war must deepen to the point where it concerns itself with the struggle against the whole system which produces war — capitalism.

This stage of heightened labor struggles comes at a time when even the administration cannot hide either the fact of rising unemployment, or that the inflation continues despite the planned unemployment. The economic crisis in the country is inseparable from the growing black unrest. These two movements must be joined with, rather than kept poles apart from, the anti-war struggles.

STUDENTS MUST LISTEN TO WORKERS

Some of the student Left better ask themselves why it is that, as against the mass demonstrations for the Kent martyrs when no less than 426 campuses were shut down at least in part, only 40 black students, and no whites, gathered at the University of Mississippi campus

at Oxford to protest the shootings at a Jackson college. It behooves the white students to contrast the fact that black students at Tuscaloosa sat down spontaneously to show their solidarity with the Kent students. But, thus far, few white colleges have sprung up to demonstrate their solidarity with the blacks.

Along with the revolutionary black dimension, what is needed in the expansion and intensification of the anti-war movement, is for the youth to begin to listen, seriously to listen, to the questions that workers raise. Thus, some of the workers who did not march said that they were definitely opposed to Nixon's war, wanted all GIs out of Southeast Asia, but did not wish to march under a Vietcong flag (see page 6). They were for self-determination of the Vietnamese people, but did not want to make it appear that they preferred Russia or China to the U.S.A. In a word, they were asking for an independent stand, both against the war and for labor's rights here, against both private capitalism and state-capitalism, which calls itself Communist.

The pragmatism that permeates the "unideological" Left, who consider any unity of anti-war forces to be above an underlying philosophy of liberation, cannot for long shut out concern for the international ramifications of the latest stage in the Indo-Chinese war as well as, and, above all, for the objective revolutionary forces and their search for a totally new way of life.

Marxist-Humanists know that the class enemy is at home. But they also know that, just as no country can be seen outside of a world context, so none can be separated from the underlying philosophy which will give the spontaneous actions of the masses their direction. In a word, the freedom struggles cannot be separated from the philosophy of freedom since only as they are united can the creation of the new go hand in hand with the overthrow of the old instead of, once again, having the revolution go sour the day after the conquest of power.

To fill the theoretic void in the anti-war movement has become a matter of life and death as we fight the repressive forces unleashed by the Nixon Administration against not only its open opponents, but against the masses who, in order to live at all, must fight recession and racism.