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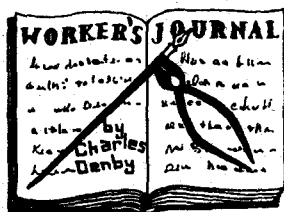
### Editorial

## Terrorism and retaliation serve counter-revolution

Horror and revulsion swept the world at the Arab "Black September" terrorists' bloody attack on the Israeli quarters of Olympic Village. It began with a knock on the door in the middle of the night, and proceeded to the outright slaughter of two Israelis, and the threat to kill nine others, two every half hour, if their demands were not met. Under this impact, it was nearly impossible, at first, to sort out all the others involved in the complicity. Yet involved in the slaughter was everything from the anti-Semitism of the Munich police, which helped to turn the two Israeli dead into 11 (plus one West German policeman, and, of course, five of the eight terrorists); to Golda Meir's public thanks to the West Germans for their indiscriminate use of force.

The one sane voice that was raised immediately was that of Dr. Berger, father of one of the Israeli victims, who pleaded, despite his grief, that there be no reprisals by Israel for the wanton murders by the terrorist fanatics. That his words fell on deaf ears reveals the insensitivity and imperialistic fanaticism of Golda Meir's government, which was all too anxious to take advantage of the mass revulsion, especially within Israel, and, to

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## Spies, lies and racist GOP schemes

By Charles Denby, Editor

A worker was asking me what I thought about the mess concerning Hoffa's proposed trip to North Vietnam to bargain for the release of American POW's. Before I could say one word, he began to say what he thought.

"All of this unethical dealing is a part of Tricky Dick Nixon's game, and he seems to think that the American people are so stupid that we will believe anything he says. It appears to me that he really thinks he can fool all the people all the time."

### HOFFA AND NIXON

"For years the government has accused Hoffa's union of being infiltrated with gangsterism and rackets. Hoffa was so much a part of it that during the Kennedy administration he was sent to prison for jury tampering. Tricky Dick made a deal with some Teamster officials to release Hoffa from prison on probation, in order to get the union endorsement for the coming election.

"Now as we know, when a citizen is on probation he is not allowed to travel from state to state without a permit from his parole board. Yet Nixon lets Hoffa make plans to travel out of the country."

This new move to send Hoffa to Hanoi surprised many people, but not Teamster officials or members. It is being said that one Teamster official was sent to North Vietnam shortly before Hoffa was released from prison as part of this whole package for getting the union endorsement for the administration. Nixon, like most members of the Teamsters, knows that Hoffa is the greatest con man in the country, and he thinks Hoffa would do a better con job with Hanoi leaders than anyone else.

### NIXON OPENLY OPPOSES BLACKS

One worker said that Nixon is the first President this country has ever had who was openly against Blacks. We have had others who did not do anything to help Blacks, but none have ever acted against Blacks to the extent that Nixon has.

"He is responsible for that racist Alabama Governor Wallace; in four years of this administration, he has been changed from an anti-union Negro-hater into a Populist."

This worker said, "You can paint out all the spots on a leopard, but it does not change his nature, or the attitude of that beast. When any Democratic Party leaders expose the Administration's fake actions, all of Nixon's cabinet members come with such vicious answers it is almost frightening. I am thinking if he is elected again, he will try to destroy all opposition one way or the other."

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# NEWS

# LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

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OCTOBER, 1972

## Nixon plots, secret gambles forced by U.S. workers' rising anti-war sentiment

by Andy Phillips

Surprise, and then mixed reactions, followed the reports of the secretly arranged and suddenly cancelled plans for James Hoffa, former Teamster Union president, to visit Hanoi to try to negotiate the release of U.S. prisoners of war. Did Hoffa really remember class and anti-war solidarity? Was there a secret deal—and there is reason to think so—that, in return for his service in Hanoi, Hoffa's parole conditions would be changed by the federal government to permit him to quickly regain the presidency of the Teamster Union?

There have been, and will be, charges and counter-charges a-plenty, but this is unimportant. What is important is the widespread anti-war sentiment in the working class that shows itself in the enthusiastic response by workers to the anti-war steps taken by labor.

### WORKERS SPEAK OUT

An auto worker told *News & Letters*, "If Hoffa would have gone to Hanoi and come back with just one prisoner, it would have been worth it. And he just might have started a ball rolling that could end that crazy war." A Pennsylvania coal miner reported, "I didn't hear too many guys talk about the Hoffa-Vietnam deal, but we know that if Nixon had his hand in it, it was a play for votes. Sure, we'd like the mess in Vietnam to be over, but Nixon won't do it. Maybe Hoffa could have done something to help end the war."

And a Teamster Union member said, "It didn't surprise me when I heard about. It's part of a deal that goes back to the time just before Hoffa was released, when Teamster Vice President Harold Gibbons went to North Vietnam to test the water over there. Ever since then, our Teamster paper has been saying nice things about Nixon. It makes me sick when I read that stuff, because it's not true. It's good for nobody but Nixon. We can do a lot of things, but not if Nixon is mixed up in it."

This deep-seated anti-war sentiment held by the majority of the working class, precisely this, is what Nixon rightly fears, and what drives him to take secret gambles to try to put on an anti-war face to the workers. Nobody knows better than Nixon that Lyndon Baines Johnson dug his presidential political grave with the Vietnam war, and Nixon fears he may have glued that same shovel in his own hands, only more so.

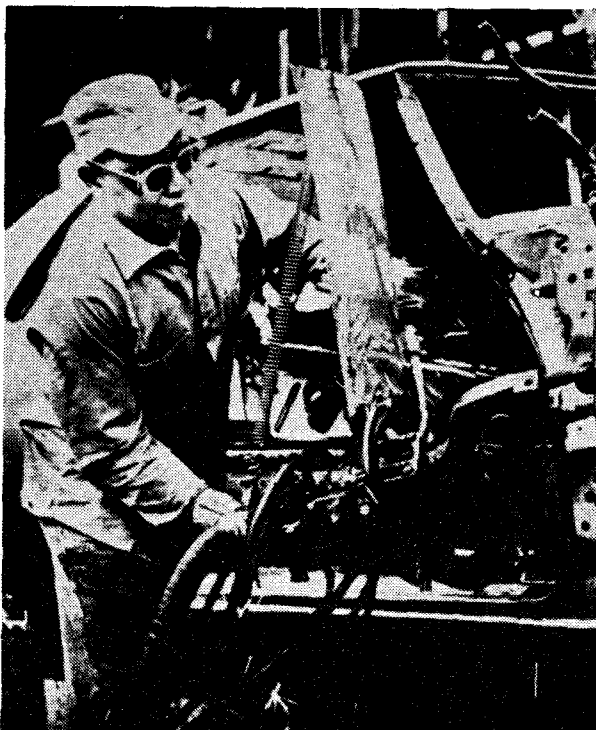
It is too late now for people to be tricked by Nixon into believing what he says. The brutal lie of Nixon's "generation of peace" is thrown into his face every day when the TV screen shows scenes of Vietnamese children running and screaming as charred flesh dangles from their napalmed bodies; shows hundreds of thousands of refugees streaming helplessly throughout the countryside of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to escape the horrors of the barbaric war, shows acres of pulverized rubble that look like wastelands on the moon but were once proud and populated cities and provincial capitals in South Vietnam.

### WOODCOCK HAS NO ANSWER

Nor can the workers put their faith in the likes of UAW President Leonard Woodcock. Far from supporting the genuine anti-war movement within the ranks of the auto workers, Woodcock not only fought it, he also removed from a top UAW post one of the most outspoken anti-war union leaders on the West Coast—Paul Schrade.

Now Woodcock speaks out openly against Nixon and the Vietnam war—only not as his own man, but as a

(Continued on page 8)



Life—and death—in the Auto shops. See Page 3.

Attention Detroit area readers—

## Philosophy and Revolution

WSU/U of M Adult Education Lecture Series

by

### Raya Dunayevskaya

"It is the totality of the present world crisis which compels us to turn to Hegel and his Absolutes. Our age is preoccupied with the question of man's destiny: What happens after a revolution succeeds? Are we always to be confronted with a new form of state tyranny against the individual's freedom?"

from *Marxism and Freedom*,  
by Raya Dunayevskaya

- I. Sept. 29—"The Philosophical Background"—from Hegel and Marx to Sartre and Marcuse
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## FORCE AND REASON

### WL demands a new humanism

This month, the women of the News & Letters W.L. Committees begin our new column, "Force & Reason." On Labor Day weekend, women from New York, California, Connecticut, Michigan and Quebec met together in Detroit during the News & Letters Convention. At that meeting, we all expressed a sense of urgency over the current direction of the W.L. movement, a concern that it is moving away from the original ideals of W.L. and, at the same time, from the masses of women all over who have seized these ideals as their own.

We decided, therefore, to inaugurate this column as a special place for theoretic debate and discussion, where the needed philosophy of Marxist-Humanism could be developed by us, as women, to further our struggle for freedom.

We chose "Force & Reason" as our title because we believe that women are both. It is precisely through their struggles for liberation that the ideas of what liberation means, and shall be, will emerge.

The failure to unite theory and practice threatens our movement today. We have only to look at the fact that many "official" W.L. groups are now removing themselves from the problems of the masses of women by turning to small "self-help" projects, or to lesbianism, pronouncing it as the revolutionary act.

In a different direction, certain old left groups, such as the SWP, have attempted, and with some success, to substitute the single-issue of abortion reform for the totality of liberation, thus exposing the movement to another deadend — like suffragism.

#### DIVERSIONS A DEAD END

The danger in this diversion has already been manifested. Since abortion reform was trumpeted as the only issue in New York WL, no one was prepared to continue the fight when the N.Y. legislators tried to repeal the abortion reform that had been won.

As Marxist-Humanists, we see these seemingly opposite phenomena — of self-help projects or sexual proclivity and single-issue mass demonstrationism — as essentially the same: diversions from the freedom struggle, brought about by the failure to grasp the dialectical methodology of revolution. That is, the failure to see the masses of women, and especially Black and working class women, as the source of freedom, both in numbers and in ideas.

While some in W.L. are caught up with diversions, the masses of women are demanding the realization of precisely those ideals with which W.L. began: totally new human relations, an end to the separation of thinking and doing (of doing physical work while men make all the decisions, etc.). In short, women are demanding a new humanism, a total change.

The new humanism that they are demanding, however, is not a Jean Westwood as chairwoman of the Democratic Party. While the number of women at the Democratic convention was impressive as compared to before, the problems of women simply were not on the agenda. Abortion and the challenge to the South Carolina delegation were ignored, while tokenism was the order of the day. (Needless to say, the Republican Convention did not even accord us tokenism!)

#### DIALECTIC AS METHOD

How do we achieve the new humanism which will mean our freedom? To begin, we must analyze the perverted human relations under which we now live. Without an understanding of the essential alienation — that is, the relationship of the human being to her/his own labor, we will continue to be caught up in diversions.

We will attempt in this column to analyze the development of women as a revolutionary force in history, and to relate our movement to other revolutionary forces because they are crucial to our freedom, be they Black hospital workers in Detroit or office workers in L.A.

We take as our ground the revolutionary philosophy of Marx, "a thoroughgoing naturalism or humanism," the philosophy whose dialectical method led to a truly revolutionary criticism, not only of capitalism but of vulgar communism or state capitalism.

We have seen too many "almost revolutions," too many transformations of great beginnings into very old, very defeated ends. We refuse to allow the W.L. movement to take the same course. Therefore, as women, we are attempting a very new beginning. We invite you to join us, in our groups across the country and by writing in the pages of this paper.

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## LA women in union fight

Los Angeles, Calif. — We are trying to form a union in the office where I work.

It all started about six months ago when one woman was called for jury duty. The company first agreed and then refused to pay for her jury duty. All the women were very upset and wanted to have a walkout but were afraid they would all be fired. Many of them are very young and on their first job or are divorced with a family to support.

Action toward getting a union has now really begun. The company threatened to fire three women who were outspoken about wanting a raise and were thus considered "troublemakers." The three "troublemakers" began to discuss a union with their fellow workers in secret.

A majority of the workers soon wanted a union and authorization cards were sent to the Office and Professional Workers' Union. The union notified the company and named the three "troublemakers" as union organizers who could not be fired for such activities.

Now all hell has broken loose. Management is running around with a petition that says "We are not interested in joining a union" and asking all the workers to sign. They are talking to each worker alone, offering more money, threatening dismissal and so on. Some workers have signed. They are also watching the three women organizers like hawks, especially at break and lunch time.

There is so much tension that I feel I am on a tight rope all day. The election will be held in four to six weeks. I hope we make it. —Woman Office Worker

## Hartford insures boredom

Hartford, Conn. — Women in white collar jobs are told forever how fortunate they are to sit at a desk all day long, to wear nice clothes, to work and to bring large pay checks home for their "light labors." Management uses this illusion about "white collar work" along with racism and ethnic differences to keep women from organizing.

I work for an insurance company which employs nearly 8,000 people, mostly women. Many of the jobs in the industry are as boring, and some as physically involving, as factory jobs.

For example, on my floor, there are 12 women who open, sort, bundle and deliver the mail. Opening the mail in their unit has become a very definite series of actions which is strictly enforced as the proper routine. The man who wrote up their procedures manual said it took half an hour to describe it in proper form.

These women speak Spanish and very little English. Their supervisor speaks only English, yet she writes the reports on their attitudes and performance on the job.

They recently introduced a bonus based on increased production. First, they time you to determine your normal rate of production and anything over that qualifies you for a bonus. Many of the women don't realize when they are being timed, so when the men are standing over their desks, they panic and work at their fastest speed to make it look like they are doing their jobs well. In the long run, though, they can't keep up their "normal" rate and risk losing their jobs.

Most jobs done by women in the insurance industry have many similarities to the one I've described, even on the higher level jobs. The routine may be more complicated, but the monotony, the meaninglessness and the alienation are still there. —Sonya Milek

If you have a story, or want to contact News & Letters Women's Liberation Committees in Connecticut, Detroit, Los Angeles or New York, write to the addresses in the box, page 3.

## NY march reflects splits

New York, N. Y.—The third annual Women's Rights Day march down Fifth Avenue on Aug. 25 was small compared to the outpouring of women two years ago, when the demonstration proved that the women's movement was a real force. This year, it reflected the divisions in the movement more than its strengths.

The most noticeable split in the N. Y. movement, as elsewhere, showed up between lesbian organizations and others. Many in the march shouted and wore buttons saying "Dyke Power." They consider this the "radical" position, and lately have been unable to work with non-lesbians, such as the large and fairly militant branch of NOW.

Also at the demonstration were women campaigning for McGovern and Socialist Workers Party candidates. Bourgeois politics is another area into which a portion of the women's movement has been side-tracked. The McGovern campaigners didn't say why, when McGovern took Eagleton off the ticket, he didn't put on Sissy Farenthold, the candidate who received the second highest number of votes at the Democratic convention.

The press, as usual, interviewed only famous women such as Betty Friedan and Bella Abzug. They also got a kick out of interviewing men. One man, when asked why there were so few men marching with the women, replied, "Maybe the men are shy."

—Marcher, New York

## Coast dockers resist Teamster takeover bid

Los Angeles, Calif. — The West Coast Longshoremens are under threat of being merged into the Teamsters. The union president, Harry Bridges, came down in August to address the local on his proposal for merging. Since that time, this is all we talk about on the docks.

Harry tried to sell us the Teamsters by telling us we need it as our work is drying up and we won't be able to support our own programs, in particular the pension plan which we aren't supposed to have enough funds to cover.

But the fact is we don't contribute directly out of our own pockets to the pension fund. It is put in by the employers. And the way I look at it, the problem is not worrying about our work force drying up on us, but how much money we are going to force the employers to put in the pension fund so it remains in good shape.

At the outset of the mechanization and modernization plans of the 1960s our wages and welfare benefits were to be taken care of on a tonnage basis. (So much contributed per ton of cargo handled at the port.) But later the top negotiators abandoned this plan for one which would give us a lump sum of money. It was known at the time they agreed to it that the lump sum was not going to be sufficient. Bridges sold us this, saying it was a good pension.

We have to have some young guys go and say we don't negotiate on the old basis. We demand that our welfare and wages be taken care of by mechanization as it increased the tonnage of the port. Our attitude must be that you can increase mechanization but you don't peel off anybody. Otherwise it's inhumanity. If you keep taking people away how are they going to live? Be happy you invented machinery, but don't abandon us and throw us into the bay.

We were mauled around in our last contract and the strike took a lot of fight from us. But we still feel that we are the champs on the docks. We got up in spite of the Wage-Price Board trying to knock us out. We went 135 days on strike and the union is even stronger. The guys are united. The men are saying that regardless of what we had to go through we are not going to give our union to the Teamsters or anyone. As far as a strike, we are willing to go through another one. To give in would mean the end of us. This is a very healthy attitude.

The feeling about not going Teamster is very general in our local. If we do have another strike, it will be under different leadership. The present one doesn't want to fight. I don't think we can trust their leadership. Our contract is up in July, 1973 and we are getting ready to fight as Longshoremens. —L.A. Longshoreman

## Quebec employment program: Trudeau's re-election ploy

Montreal, Quebec — This fall will be "Election Comedy" time in Canada again. The new slogan of the federal Liberal Party for the October 31 election will be "A Powerful Nation," since, according to Pierre Trudeau, the former slogan of "The Just Society" is outdated.

Robert Stanfield (the Progressive-Conservative Party) will demonstrate that Canada isn't so "powerful" as all that. Their theme will be "Work for Canadians," a bit worn out as a theme, but it still sounds good.

While all this is going on, there is the threat of a new postal strike during the period preceding the elections, which could blow the whole show for the "Powerfuls" and the "Justies." In Quebec, the big question is independence, and the federal politicians recognize this very clearly as their common enemy.

About a year ago, with unemployment so high and elections not far away, the Liberals set up one of those "job programmes" called Local Initiatives or "Electoral Initiatives" by a lot of people.

Not only is it supposed to hide unemployment and calm down some of the less committed "radical" elements, it also tries to give people the insane idea that they can be their "own boss" in this value-system society.

The whole thing seems to be backfiring in a lot of places now, though, especially since local politicians have been using their absolute power over these programmes to reward and punish various people in their areas. Also, there has been a lot of discrimination against French-Canadians in Quebec (most of the projects accepted in Montreal were English-language).

At our own project, the 24 employees voted to use the regular working hours (the work itself is optional now) to discuss political questions around the programme, in general; prepare a report, and organize other activities with employees from other projects to expose the government before elections.

We may get a two-month extension now since the government is worried, but no one really gives a damn. All that counts is to show people what the Liberals are really trying to do. —Reine Lafteche

## Nixon 'work ethic': no jobs, divide and rule

By Felix Martin

President Nixon's Labor Day message was an attack on the working man and an attempt to divide us up. First he talked about the "work ethic" vs. the "welfare ethic." Mr. Nixon tried to make it appear that the reason there are so many people on relief is because they are too lazy to work. He never mentioned the real criminals, the corporations that are doing away with jobs so that people can't work because there is no job to work at.

The people on welfare are just on the other end of the working class. They are the surplus that the employers use. Our government together with the employers make sure that it is the workers who have to support this surplus which in turn is used to keep workers' wages down.

### CODE WORDS

Nixon also talked about quotas in employment, and busing. In particular there was a report that he was ready to scrap his own plan, the Philadelphia Plan, which is supposed to insure jobs for minorities in the construction industry.

The former Assistant Secretary of Labor, Arthur Fletcher, a Black man and a Republican, understood what Nixon was doing: "Busing is a code word which means whites don't want to have anything to do with Black folks. Opposition to low-cost housing in the suburbs is a code word for the containment of Blacks. And the new code word is quotas, and it means whites don't want to see any systematic way to deal with minorities."

The number one plan Nixon has is to get elected this fall. The way he is trying to do that is to get a chunk of the labor vote. In dropping the quota plan he is making a strong appeal to the hard hat worker.

Mr. Nixon states that workers' values are threatened and they have to understand the challenge. Yes, Mr. Nixon, we in labor know our values are threatened.

We know who froze our wages and let the corporations have freedom to raise prices at their will. We know who is taking back from the workers increases in wages it took years to reach.

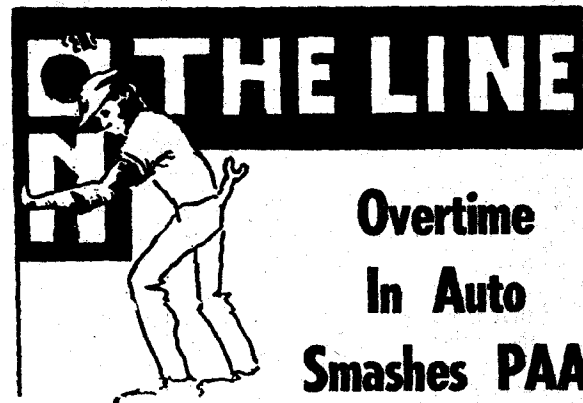
Mr. Nixon's attempts to divide up the working class aren't just an election tactic. The "work ethic" means he wants us to produce more for the corporations after the election too. To help this along he is going to set up a National Commission for Industrial Peace which will help decide contracts and deal with strikes. He hasn't defined it yet, but when he does, this board may make the wage price board look like only a small tool.

Some white workers are going along with this running against everything Black Americans stand for. Some whites are so sick with racism they cannot think. Don't they see that the more minorities work and support themselves, the less taxes that workers will have to pay to support the ones that don't have jobs? The know-nothing redneck worker who goes along with Nixon's brain-washing is so sick with fear of the Black man that he can't think right.

### ONE CLASS

The working people in this country are made up of all colors and kinds of people. We belong to one class, the working class. When one part of this class is held back the whole class is held back. We end up standing in one spot like a car spinning its wheels. When one part of the class is discriminated against the whole class suffers. Wake up, white red necks! Your racist ideas are hurting all workers. This includes you.

Mr. President, I believe most white American workers know that Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, Puerto Ricans, students and women—we all belong in this together. We know this one body has to move forward together or not at all. We know what you do to one section of this body affects the whole body. When you attack Black American workers you are attacking all working people. People like you think that people who work are stupid. Mr. Nixon, we are not as stupid as you take us to be. We will not be fooled.



by John Allison

The year 1972 has been very wearisome for on-the-line auto workers because of overtime in the Big 4 auto plants. Overtime is like a common cold, it leads to many things.

High taxes is one thing — all auto workers know this one. You work seven days and you get paid for six days, because it takes one day of overtime to pay your taxes.

### JOKER IN PAA

Another is PAA—paid absence allowance. Because you're working 10 hours a day, seven days a week, you just can't take that grind and you go to your foreman and ask for a PAA day. Now the contract provision states that every worker is entitled to five paid absence allowance days a year. But the joker in this deal is that the foreman has to approve the worker's request for a PAA day — it takes two signatures to make it legal, the worker's and the foreman's.

Management uses this section of the contract for their pets and friends first. The rest of the workers have to get their union representative to try to get what is supposed to be theirs under the contract. When there is no overtime, or work is slow, management goes around asking workers to take PAA days.

One of the reasons for PAA is that you can be ill for three days and not get any pay insurance, because that begins with the fourth day of illness. The thing about PAA is that you are supposed to use it any way you want to. You can take it a half day at a time, a full day or any combination of days—all together or separate.

### WORKERS WANT CLARIFICATION

But since the company is using its veto power in refusing to give workers the PAA days they ask for, it has kicked up a real ruckus in the plants. Local unions are requesting a clarification of the PAA section of the contract in the next round of negotiations.

Union members are also asking questions about just what SUB (supplemental unemployment benefit), overtime, and retirement all mean. None of the so-called improvements in the last three contracts has improved the unemployment picture.

That's the thing that really gets you. There's all of this overtime work that no human being can really take for too long, but still the auto companies refuse to hire any of the unemployed. All of these things that the union said were being done to help create more employment just haven't worked.

We've just got to go another route to solve a lot of problems in the shop. And it's time that rank-and-file workers started to be the ones to make the decisions. One thing's for sure — whatever we do can't possibly be as bad as what we have now.

## Hot spot—GM Southgate

Los Angeles, Cal. — It is that time of year again. The air is stifling, the heat almost unbearable. In sections like paint it is intolerable. And yet every year we have to go through it.

We have to sweat and sweat in the heat. And from their air-conditioned offices the cost analysis men, the engineers, the supervisors, the company officers, the flunkies, will all tell us that air-conditioning is impossible in the plant because it costs too much or is technically not a practical idea and so on.

We don't believe it. The mass of profits GM is making is enormous. Why not take some of these profits out of the air-conditioned GM board rooms, out of the air-conditioned stock brokers' offices, out of the air-conditioned bankers' back rooms and put it onto the floor of the factory in the form of air-conditioning for the workers.

Local News & Letters Committees can be contacted directly in the following areas:

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de Montreal, PO Box 134, Mon-  
treal 600, Quebec

## FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

### Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich. — There was a murder in the press room last month. I say murder, because the company was responsible for the death of a Black die setter as much as if they had shot him. The worker was killed when he was hit in the face by a piece of metal from the die. I didn't see it, but I have heard that his face was half gone.

Chrysler is already trying to say that it was the worker's fault; that he forgot to cut off the air in the bottom hose. The company spent a whole day meeting with the insurance company, and they argued over whether the company had to pay the double indemnity to the worker or if the insurance should pay. Workers do not know all the ins and outs of this insurance business, but one thing that we do know is that they are trying to cheat the family.

I know Richard had been setting dies for 15 years or more and if he forgot to cut the bottom hose off, it was because of the mad rush for production and the pressure that every worker faces in this plant. The company is saying that they will fix the dies so it can never happen again. But if the company was as interested in a worker's life as they are in their machines, the machine would have been corrected long ago.

There is one thing I would like to ask every worker. Chrysler is trying to hush it up because of the insurance. If any workers know more of the truth about what happened, please write it in to this paper.

—Press Room Worker

A group of us young Black Chrysler Mack workers are going to serve notice on the company and the union that it had better take some kind of action against the white racist superintendent in 9770. Some older workers have told us that they have been familiar with his actions for years. Mainly he has been against Blacks, but some whites have been hurt too.

Several months ago, he could not bear to see a white woman worker talk to Black men in the plant, so he fired her. At the same time we know enough to make it hot for him, too.

If anyone thinks we are such fools as to not know what is going on, they are in for a big surprise. We have plenty on him. We have raised the question several times with our Uncle Tom chief steward, Gene, but we got nowhere. Neither the company nor the union has done anything to curb him, but something will have to be done soon.

—Mack Worker

### Mahwah Ford

(Reprinted from the United Black Workers Newsletter)

Mahwah, N. J. — It was brought to our attention that supervisors in the Commercial Department, a department which we feel is one of the most racist areas here at Mahwah, are continuing to harass Spanish-speaking and Haitian workers; like the slave master tried to strip the dignity and self-respect from the field slaves, so these supervisors, with apparent management approval, are trying to do likewise with our Brothers.

Most of these Brothers speak little or no English, and come here to work and earn a living for themselves and their families, and not to be treated as less than a man by individuals who, by their actions, are saying that they themselves are not equal to our Brothers.

The Company position has been either to completely ignore these grievances, or slap the wrist of supervisors and allow them to continue these practices. The union leadership position has been equally ineffective. Now that we have a President who comes from the Commercial area, knows these foremen and their records, we are disturbed — no angry, that he too has not addressed himself to begin taking necessary steps to deal with the situation before it gets out of hand.

Many of you might recall the case of the young Black worker in the Chrysler Plant in Detroit who, last year was acquitted of the charge of murder after he shot two supervisors and a fellow worker. After hearing the conditions under which he worked, and was provoked, the jury found him not guilty.

With the walk-off-the-job in Commercial body shop, and the two walk-outs in paint and frame rack, Commercial is telling everyone concerned that we have had enough, and will keep silent no longer.

### Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—The company is continuing its policy of punishing workers they don't like by putting them on impossible jobs. There is one lady on the fourth floor who used to have a job wiping cars with gas. She broke out in blisters and they finally took her off that job.

But it seems as though they were mad at her for getting blisters, so the new job they gave her was one she could not keep up. First they gave her a week off, and then two weeks off.

This lady went on sick leave, and when she came back they put her on the same job again. They said it was her job, but it wasn't, since she never had it for 30 days. And they took the man who had the job off it, and he did have the job over 30 days. Everyone knows that they have put her back on this job just to get rid of her. They figure she will quit, or get fired.

Both the woman and the man have filed grievances on this job. It is high time that we ended special "punishment jobs" at Fleetwood.

—Fleetwood worker



**EDITORIAL****Terrorism and retaliation serve counter-revolution**

(Continued from Page 1)

exact vengeance, not merely from terrorists, but from the innocents as well.

Did she really think that the reprisals would hide the misery of those refugee camps that have existed now for 25 years? It has been just this misery that has given birth to such desperate acts as those committed by the mindless terrorists — who, in their turn, take advantage of the mass misery of the more than a million refugees to pretend that means mass following for their tiny numbers.

**ANTI-SEMITISM, TERRORISM, IMPERIALISM**

The stench of racism and anti-Semitism hung heavy over Munich, that infamous spawning ground of Nazism, no matter how it might try to explain away the complete bungling of the rescue attempts. It hung heavy, too, over the 20th Olympiad, no matter how much it tried to "live down" the memories of the 1936 Olympics. The very fact that white, American, reactionary Avery Brundage — who had earlier invited Rhodesian participation and later excommunicated two American Black runners (see Black/Red Views, p. 7) — could insist the "games must go on" despite the carnage, shows that Nero's fiddling while Rome burned was not just a Roman affair, or just ancient history, but characteristic of class rule in decay.

As for Israel, long before the week was out, Mirage and Phantom fighter bombers roared off to pour bombs, rockets and machine gun fire into ten towns in Syria and Lebanon, allegedly to hit at terrorist camps, but in fact hitting the very Palestinian refugees who had already languished there 25 years. The scope and depth of penetration of the attacks made them the heaviest strikes since the 1967 war, and clearly showed that they were aimed at the Arab countries and not just at "terrorists." In 20 short minutes, 66 were killed and over 40 wounded, many of them women and children, though Israeli military authorities continued to insist that their targets were guerrilla "troop concentrations, training centers and supply depots."

That this was only the beginning was clear from the invasion of Lebanon a week later; the booby-trapping of an Israeli diplomat in London; and the warnings from both sides of more to come.

The terrorist murders and the swift Israeli retaliation mark Terrorism and Imperialism as two sides of the same coin; and the bloody week had made it clear that neither terrorists nor Israeli rulers had any intention of seeking peace in the Middle East.

**MIDDLE-EAST: THE CONSTANT CONFLICT**

Though it is true that the terrorist attack on the Israeli athletes could hardly be described as anything but hatred of Jews, despite their claim that they are only against "Zionism," not against "Jews" — it was also a message to any Arab governments that might be toying with some idea of peace in the Middle East, if they were ever to regain some of the occupied territories.

At a time when, in the world as a whole, there is a move toward an ending of some of the divisions between East and West, and toward a semblance of "peace," if only as "truce" (as in East and West Germany, North and South Korea) — the tension in the Middle East is never allowed a moment's respite. Both sides keep it never-ending.

It is just this constant tension and division between Arab and Jew that makes it possible for Israeli and Arab rulers alike to keep the genuine revolutionaries within their own countries from establishing any solidarity with each other. The super-powers, for their part, do everything possible to narrow the struggle to Arab vs. Jew so that they can synchronize all conflicts to fit the Big Power global time-table.

It is true that the voices of dissent in the Arab lands are difficult to hear because they languish in prisons — where, in Israel, the opposition to Israeli imperialism continues to make itself heard. Before 1967 the divisions in Israel were clear, but each threat to "push Israel into the sea" forges a false unity, and makes it easier for the forces that are moving Israel to the right to silence the opposition from below. A New Left has nevertheless been persistent in protesting the inequalities within Israel, as well as the colonization of the occupied lands and the plight of the Palestinians.

**TERRORIST ELITE VS. MASS REVOLT**

It is these genuine revolutionary voices that the so-called "revolutionary" terrorists and their allies are

helping to silence. They degrade the concept of social revolution — which is a mass action for freedom — to "bomb-throwing." How could their total disregard for human life possibly serve as a focal point for a new society? How could such racist, anti-Semitism possible release the revolutionary forces within Israel, as a genuine Arab revolution would? Their repulsive elitism exposes their total lack of confidence in the masses, the only force and reason that can possibly create a new social order.

On the same degenerate level are any "revolutionists" who, though they "know" the difference between a mass upheaval against a class system and a terrorist act against a few civilians cornered in the dark of night, nevertheless opportunistically join with the "Arab side," as if the Arab rulers and the people they oppress are one and the same — or as if there is no Left in Israel, and the Jews who came to Palestine fleeing the Nazis, were "American CIA agents."

A Left that fools itself that this is revolution is a Left that is helping to perpetuate the racist, rotten, decaying state-capitalist society that it is up to our age to end.

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**MUNICH, VIETNAM, & RACISM**

I join in mourning the deaths at Munich. But the world's grief over the Munich dead should not blur our minds into forgetting the daily toll of death and maiming in Southeast Asia.

The Indochinese tragedy has been going on for decades, first under a European power and now under the leadership of both Republican and Democratic Presidents. And while the American ground troops have been withdrawn, our planes and ships continue to drop death on innocent civilians in several Southeast Asian countries.

Is there any better way to show our horror at the Munich murders than by stopping our even greater bloodbath in Southeast Asia?

Civil Rights Veteran  
Michigan

\* \* \*

I've been convinced the local management of Detroit's NBC TV station was racist and reactionary ever since they gave their half-hour Sunday newscast over to a Wallace political program on the eve of the Michigan primaries. The way it was done they not only had a "captive audience," but if you didn't tune in at the very beginning, you sat there thinking it was "news."

Now they've topped that. They fired their popular sportscaster Al Ackerman, for editorializing on the subject of the two American Black athletes who were barred from future Olympic competition by the IOC. The day the news was released he received so many calls from viewers who were enraged by the actions of the two Blacks, that he took time on his show to point out that the wire services had been reporting all day the athletes meant no disrespect. He said that in view of this and because of the murder of 11 Israeli Olympians, he could not share their rage.

Apparently the General Manager, De-Groot, did.

Disgusted  
Detroit

\* \* \*

A lot of people here were amazed when they read the interview of Michel Chartrand, who has a reputation of being a sort of revolutionary unionist, which

appeared in the Quebec-Press of September 3-9. In this interview, he talks about how "the Jews" are responsible for all the suffering of the Palestinian refugees, and that they are part of an "international conspiracy" (sound familiar?)

He had told several Palestinian comandos that "... you are also helping Quebec to free itself," and that "the Arabs are more civilized than the Quebecois." Chartrand also said workers in the Arab countries are more "advanced" than Quebec workers (those same "backward" workers who made a general strike this last spring right here in North America). Then a few days later over the radio, he called the Munich terrorists "heroes."

It is a real disappointment to see such a person turn into a raging anti-Semite, and doubly so to see the editors of Quebec-Press, a union-financed newspaper, subtly supporting his position the following week in an editorial entitled "Terrorism, the War of the Poor."

Reine Lafleche  
Quebec

**TWO TRIALS**

On July 13, six members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War—Scott Camil, John Kniffen, Bill Patterson, Peter Mahoney, Alton Foss, and Don Perdue—were indicted by a federal grand jury in Tallahassee, Florida. The six were charged with conspiracy to cross state lines to incite a riot at the Republican Convention in Miami, conspiring to destroy property and to possess unregistered firearms and firearms made without payment of a tax.

Scott Camil was also charged with teaching and demonstrating how to make and use an incendiary device. Four other members have been held without bail for refusing to testify at the grand jury hearings.

Needless to say, the charges are absurd and ludicrous. The trial for the six indicted veterans is scheduled to begin on October 10 in Gainesville Federal District Court, and much financial help will be needed to stop Nixon from rail-

roading the brothers to jail. Please send aid to:

Vietnam Veterans Against the War  
National Defense Fund  
GPO Box 3076  
New York, New York

\* \* \*

What is being done to defend Ruchell McGee? McGee is an outspoken Black revolutionary and a political prisoner whose voice has been stifled by the California authorities, yet few seem to be championing his cause. Ruchell McGee has spent most of his life in prison for the "crime" of being Black and poor. Indicted for a very small robbery over a decade ago, he was railroaded to jail. His court-appointed lawyer refused to even call his witnesses. Every attempt he made to get justice on appeal resulted in more persecution.

McGee knew he could never get justice from the system. That is why he took the chance to escape at the Marin County Courthouse. What is not known, is that McGee spent the time he had the judge at gunpoint trying to argue his case. It was literally the first time he ever had the chance to defend himself in an American court!

Originally, McGee was Angela Davis' co-defendant in the so-called "kidnapping." Suddenly, the Angela Davis defense was separated from the McGee defense and McGee was never heard from again. Today Angela is free, an honored guest in Moscow, and McGee is still in jail, on trial for his life. Why this separation? Where are all those who shouted "Free Angela and all political prisoners"?

Does anyone know of a defense committee address where we could send money and get information? Let's break the conspiracy of silence.

N&L Member  
Coin.

**Reader's****SELF-DETERMINATION**

Why do the North Vietnamese continue to fight, despite continued bombing of farms and cities and bridges, mining of harbors and the attempted blockade? Probably for the same reason that the Irish continue to fight the British in Ireland — because a superior military force is trying to impose its will on a smaller nation. Catholic casualties are three times higher than the Protestants'. Vietnamese deaths outnumber Americans ten to one or more. This says something about "aggression."

Ireland and Vietnam illustrate the same principle. You can't bring peace to a nation with military action. In Vietnam, all that the air war has done is to increase the casualties on all sides, and the number of P.O.W.'s. In Ireland, the increase of British troops has only increased the number of deaths — Catholic, Protestant, and British.

Is what they all want so unreasonable — self-determination?

Bob B.  
New York

**THE ELECTIONS**

I caught some of the Dick Nixon Variety Show, live from Miami. Somehow the convention floor looked to me like a Munich beer hall, circa 1938, with the four-finger Nazi salutes. "Do we have a king?" "Yes, we have a king."

Then I found people in this town actually carrying little "I am a card-carrying American" cards, complete with "printed in USA by capitalism," on one side. I suddenly thought of when I lived in Brazil and the government issued "carderas" (ID cards) to everybody they thought was a loyal citizen. Then they made a law that anybody who didn't have one must be a Communist. So if you were ever checked at one of their roadblocks by sub-machine-gunning police and didn't have your card, you disappeared.

# TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya  
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

(Editor's Note: Below are excerpts from the Introduction and Part I of the *Perspectives Report* delivered to the Convention of News & Letters, Sept. 2, by Raya Dunayevskaya. The full report can be ordered from N&L for 50c plus 15c postage.)

## LORD NIXON, OR SUPER-PATRIOTISM AS LAST REFUGE OF SCOUNDRELS

We've all recently suffered through a deluge of words from the euphoria-ridden Republican Convention, which deprived all words of any meaning.

From the start, "honorable peace" meant to Nixon transformation into opposite: 1) Vietnam war turned into a full-scale Indochina war; 2) bringing of the wars abroad home against the anti-war American youth, against Blacks, and finally against labor; and 3) Vietnamization — i.e., carrying on the Vietnam War to the last Vietnamese, or exchanging the color of the dead bodies.

To see these in a world context, we need to take into account still another word—invented by Kissinger as cover up for the greatest nuclear colossus of the world: **Pentagonal**.

Whatever Freudian slip of the pen entered into the coining of a word bearing such striking resemblance to our Pentagon-run world, the intellectual had in mind, not the residence of the military staff of the imperialist colossus. Rather, the intellectual was out to prove the existence of the many powers . . .

## A PENTAGONAL WORLD? OR A STATE-CAPITALIST WORLD IN CRISIS AND DISARRAY?

Let's begin with Japan, since that is the country to which, it was said, just last year, the 21st century belonged.

In industrial strength, Japan certainly is a giant. Came 1971, and that nuclear imperialistic colossus, USA, slapped a tax on Japanese imports that forced the Japanese industrial giant to discover its clay feet, stuck in the quagmire of too many exports in a world market that is both Western-oriented and state-capitalistically controlled. At once, politics and economics fused . . .

# Lord Nixon and state—capitalist crisis

No, Japan is not a "pentagonal" power in a non-existent pentagonal nuclear world.

**FOR THAT MATTER**, take a true nuclear titan which certainly is challenging the U.S. the world around —Russia. We have heard a great deal as to how "superior" Russia is to the U.S. in some fields, how it is the only one to make headway in the Middle East, and has more submarines, and the equivalent of MIRV —and how we just must not stop doing the same.

People, however, do not eat ICBMs. The discontent of the Russian masses, though not as obvious as that in the East European countries, is there. . . . The truth is that both in absolute terms and in decisive industries, Russia is "receding", not "surpassing" the USA.

Where Russia does have the advantage over the U.S. is on the ideological front. Counter-revolutionary state-capitalist society was born out of a revolution; though it was transformed into its absolute opposite, Russia does remember the betrayed revolution's words. Leszek Kolakowski may still hope Communism can be "reformed" (under pressure, of course!). Trotskyism may continue to speak of revolution while it tail-ends Stalinist nationalized property. And Herbert Marcuse may remember that one needs at least one technologically advanced land whose proletariat "could" help the third world, which "should" learn about some sort of "peaceful co-existence" with such a land as Russia. But the truth is that Russia is out for world mastery just as is U.S. imperialism.

**FOR THAT MATTER**, so is Mao's China, which, at least since the 1960's, has been motivated by a single "principle", that it has never openly announced but always practiced: Russia is Enemy No. 1, and must be so recognized by the "revolutionary movement" the world over. Just now it is gloating over Egypt's expulsion of the Soviet "advisors." Sadat did not expel Russian imperialism for revolutionary perspectives, but only in order to exchange, or at least bargain for more, be it from American imperialism or Qaddafi's militaristic Islamism . . . China does more now to clothe outright imperialism and genocidal warfare a la Pakistan in Marxist language and play the Uriah Heep "little

people" game than even Russia, which has the greater counter-revolutionary experience.

It is no accident that Mao, who understands power very well indeed, wanted first and foremost to learn all about atomic power. His disdaining any fear of it may have shocked Nehru straight out of his wits in 1957, but insofar as Mao was concerned, the moment it was clear that Russia would not let him be privy to that power, the parting of the ways of the two "Communist" powers was inevitable.

And it is no accident that though in all other respects, China is still a most backward country where per capita income is one of the lowest in the world — \$145 per capita per year, China at once gave priority to the military . . . In three years it did what it took more industrialized and richer France eight years to achieve. And this year, 1972, China deployed a handful of new missiles with a range of 2500 miles. (Moscow is less than that from Chinese soil.)

This does not mean that they are yet a match for Russia's awesome nuclear power, but China did begin to look like a serious threat to Russia in the wake of China's flirtations with U.S. imperialism, which was transformed by Mao from Enemy No. 1 into one for whom the red carpet was rolled out.

**IN A WORD**, whether it is Russia, which has become an industrial power, but not the equal of U.S. imperialism, or whether it is China, which is nowhere near the U.S. or Russia—the "equalizer" in a nuclear world is the bomb . . .

But would the beginnings of nuclear know-how — if you were in the center of Europe, faced Russia on the one hand, and, on the other hand, did not have the so-called nuclear umbrella of the U.S.—really make you a global power by economic strength alone? Let's examine Western Europe and see. Let's go on the assumption that it is a unified pentagonal entity — which it isn't. But it is an economic power. Its GNP is no less than \$640 billion — that is, two-thirds of the strength of the U.S., no mean wealth.

1973 is supposed to be its "year of decision", as not only Great Britain becomes part of the Common Market (Continued on Page 7)

# Views

That may seem paranoid, but that's the flash I got from the whole business.

Student  
Colorado

Nixon's attack on quotas is going to have an effect where I work at UCLA. The University is funded on Federal programs and has had to institute an affirmative action program to fill in these quotas on Blacks, Chicanos and women.

They have had this program for years, but if you go there the Blacks and Chicanos are still the custodians and food service people.

That program was the only thing we had to hang onto to fight the university. This is what the union would use to fight. The maids and custodians were trying to use this program to upgrade themselves. I don't think Nixon's new pronouncements will help us at all.

Technicians  
UCLA

The laws are made to work against the Black people and the poor Whites. To sane people some of the laws look crazy — how else can you explain taking so much tax out of the poor working people's pay checks, and using it to rule over them and keep them poor forever?

Nixon is trying to arrange things so the country can be run by one man — himself. Whatever he says will have to be done. What a messed up world that will be! There will be no end, if that day comes, to wars and rumors of wars all over the world.

And around Detroit, the white people have gone wild for George Wallace. They think they can change things back to where they were before the riots. They think they can keep Blacks in "their place" forever.

Politicians like Nixon and Wallace may fool some of the people some of the time, but they will never fool all of

the people all of the time. The people in this land are looking at the Republicans and the Democrats as they never have before. They can have all the polls they want to. The one that told the truth was the one that showed that politicians are the least trusted people on earth.

Ethel Dunbar  
Detroit

I was very much interested in Ethel Dunbar's column last issue. It is interesting to me that McGovern and a legion of newspaper and TV commentators failed to mention all the U.S. presidents who have had a history of nervous disorders or breakdowns (John Adams, Pierce, Lincoln, Hayes, Wilson) and grave physical illnesses (FDR, Eisenhower, JFK). The willingness of McGovern to cave in so quickly under the pressure to dump Eagleton makes me wonder if the real target wasn't the American workers rather than any politician. When unemployment is as high as now, a history of nervous disorders provides employers a convenient pretext for refusing to hire workers.

Concerned  
Detroit

Despite what the national opinion polls may be saying, the Sept. 14th McGovern-Kennedy rally in Kennedy Square showed me that the key to this year's election will be whether or not workers come out to the polls in large numbers to vote.

The rally was large—over 10,000 people—and quite enthusiastic. There were many Blacks, many workers in overalls, Young and Old, and several union locals had prepared their own signs, like UAW Locals 212 and 600, AFSCME, and others.

In other words, all the forces of the "traditional" Democratic Party coalition were represented. So the big question remains: will white workers vote

"racist" by going for Nixon and his anti-Black, anti-busing line? Will they for the same reasons just stay home? Will the Black Community turn out for McGovern?

Observer  
Detroit

The so-called revolutionary Vanguard Parties that were so busy "stopping McGovern" at the rally should think about that.

## A WORKER'S LIFE . . .

A convalescent center in California has implemented a plan of sensitivity training for the staff. Each member must play the role of patient for a full 24 hours. The experience is to get the staff to see things through the eye of the patients.

I'd like to advocate that automobile executives, boards of directors, etc. go to the assembly lines for a minimum of three months. The four-hour day would be quickly effected—if any of them were alive after the man-killing ordeal of the assembly lines.

Reader  
Nebraska

In California they are experimenting with forcing welfare people to work. Reagan claims that they will be doing jobs that otherwise wouldn't exist. But right after that statement, he said that he hoped that employers wouldn't misuse the program. That means that real jobs will be eliminated and recreated as special jobs for welfare people at half the wages. Reagan says this will restore the work ethic!

Reader  
California

What is often missed in discussion of unemployment is the plight of young people or many Blacks and Puerto Ricans who have never worked full-time at a decent wage for more than a year. I've worked whenever I could since 1970 when I finished college. I keep getting laid off. This last month I went to unemployment and all they could offer me

was \$17 a week. Many young people can't collect anything at all.

While we need a total social revolution and I hope one comes soon, one thing we need right away is unemployment based on an average U.S. wage upon leaving school if you're not able to find work.

Semi-unemployed  
Connecticut

Since my husband and I both work we decided to see if we could get someone to live-in to help us take care of the kids and the house. We went through an agency and they sent us an "unmarried" Guatemalan woman, who speaks only Spanish.

(In California, there is so much household employment of Spanish-speaking people that there books on how to say in Spanish, "clean the bathroom," etc!)

Because we know a little Spanish we found out that this woman is married and is trying to support six kids and a husband by "living-in." How can we ask this woman to take care of our house and kids, and then go home and take care of six more? We need help, but not at her expense!

The horrible thing is that the agency has told her that this is all she can hope for. In her own country she was a teacher.

WL Activist  
California

## . . . AND DEATH

There should be a story in your paper about the Mack worker who was killed in the die room last month. I was at his funeral and his face was ripped apart so bad by that accident that they could not even open the coffin for viewing. And, the Company had the gall to list him "dead on arrival" at the hospital, when every worker knows he was killed instantly.

These conditions in the plant have existed for years and years. Something must be done about them.

Black Chrysler Worker  
Detroit

(Editor's Note: See story, page 3)



# YOUTH

## Veterans lead Miami protests

Miami Beach, Fla. — During the week of August 21, the ruling party held a mock convention in Miami Beach. As the Republicans convened in the multi-million dollar convention hall, Vietnam Veterans led a few thousand Blacks, women, youth, and old folks in exposing Nixon for the lying murderer that he is.

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War organized "The Last Patrol," three coordinated convoys from various parts of the country, to move members and supporters down to Florida. After being shot at, threatened with arrest, and generally harassed most of the way, the 600 participants arrived at Flamingo Park on Sunday, the 20th, to join with the 5000 other "non-delegates" in non-violent disruption of the Convention.

### VETS LEAD THE WAY

Although there were other groups which participated in saying "No!" to Nixon's wars at home and abroad, the Veterans' generally working-class background and personal experiences as combat soldiers combined to create an atmosphere of seriousness, confidence, discipline, and just plain common sense that the others lacked. The Conventions Coalition was ostensibly running the entire show, but no serious business would have taken place if the Vets hadn't led the way.

The Vets organized a genuine gauntlet through which all delegates had to pass. They simply blocked most of the entrances, and led delegates into a quarter-mile long human funnel towards an open gate. The impact of a couple thousand people shouting, "Guilty! Guilty!" at them, pouring all kinds of abuse on them, must have had some kind of effect. Some so-called 'people' in shiny black Cadillacs drove through the



—LNS photo

### Vietnam vets march on Convention Hall

crowd at high speed and callously ran down and seriously injured several protestors.

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War were not only the leaders in activity, but also in principles. They didn't stop at exposing the war they had been made to fight, as they specifically related that war directly to Nixon's wars on Black America, workers, and women. They had come to Miami with the purpose of non-violent, militant action against Nixon's lies, and not even such scurrilous creatures as American Nazis could sway them from that objective. Where others wanted to cream the pathetic idiots, the Vets set up a protective ring around them and then firmly but non-violently ejected them from the park.

### COPS GAS EVERYONE

Wednesday night, coronation night for Almighty Dick, was pretty much a disaster tactically, because the delegates were not stopped from entering the hall, but the sheer brutality ordered by Nixon and his gang of thieves speaks for itself. The crowd outside of the hall, originally peaceful, was unprovokedly fired upon by State Troopers armed with poisonous, toxic gases — the same ones Nixon uses in Vietnam every day. They then proceeded to saturate the entire area with the same gases, and when protestors were sufficiently blinded and suffocated, they charged in and dragged people down the street, beat them, and packed them into police wagons like cattle. Their fervor in gassing led them to directly affecting at least half the delegates, and then forcing the shutdown of the convention hall ventilation system.

The most hideous crime was committed not against the demonstrators, but against the citizens of Miami Beach, most of whom are very aged. We had to laugh when Nixon said something to the effect that he's going to give senior citizens dignity in their retired years, because no more than three blocks from where he was making his acceptance speech Troopers were indiscriminately gassing old people's neighborhoods. Though many, many people were put in the hospital by a gas that was designed to knock out young, sturdy demonstrators and Vietnamese, their defiance was as brave as any act we had witnessed that night. As we ran up the streets warning people inside, many stopped us and said, "What do you have to tell us about poison gases? We fought in the World Wars, we'll show those troopers!"

If the demonstrations in Miami proved anything, it was that Nixon can't even have himself nominated at a convention in his own country without someone coming to try to stop him. The fact is that he will have to be stopped now if he ever is to be stopped. That is the immediate priority.

## Solidarity behind bars in Miami mass arrests

Miami, Fla. — The Republican Convention was the second time in recent history that a huge gathering of people attempted massive civil disobedience for which they were prepared to go to jail. The May Day demonstration in Washington in 1971 was organized for the purpose of blocking the normal street traffic of the capital, and thousands of people were arrested and herded into large improvised stockades.

More than 6,000 people came down here to Miami Beach for the week of the Republican Convention to protest the genocidal wars at home and abroad of Tricky Dicky. On the last day of the Convention, the coronation of King Tricky, many people planned to sit down in the streets in front of the delegates' buses and thus get arrested. They got arrested, but so did many others who hadn't planned on it, me included.

### UNITE NOW, LEAVE LATER

After going through the red tape required for reserving a room in the Dade County Jail, we found out that over 1,000 people had been busted that night. We all decided that we might as well unite now, for the first time, since we were all in this together. Several people had gotten felony charges placed on them, and others had their bail set real high. We decided that no one was going to bail out until everyone was released, and all charges dropped.

The officials didn't want 1,000 screaming rowdy radicals filling up their jails so they tried to break us apart. They lowered some people's bonds down to \$10. They didn't bail out. Then they lowered almost everyone's bail to \$10. Our solidarity remained strong. Then they started physically evicting the tenants, so we barricaded the doors with mattresses so the guards couldn't get in. On the third day they couldn't stand it any longer, so they let everyone out.

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## DOING AND THINKING

### Munich and the Left

by Chris Norwell

The fascistic murders of 11 people at Munich this month by "revolutionary" guerrillas shocked the entire world and brought many expressions of horror and sympathy from working people all over the world. One group of people it didn't seem to affect was the Socialist Workers Party, who stated in the September 15 issue of *The Militant*, "The deaths of 11 Israeli participants . . . brought forth a hypocritical uproar of indignation from government officials and news media . . . The purpose of this campaign is to make . . . Israel appear as the victim of Arab violence rather than the criminal oppressor of the Arab peoples."

The editorial goes on to attack Israel and the U.S. for oppressing the Arab people, and ends with a mild criticism of the terrorism at Munich, stating that ". . . it is necessary to oppose terrorist tactics as ineffective and in fact harmful to the Palestinian struggle." Not once in the entire article does it condemn the murder of 11 human beings, nor does it say anything about the elitist mentality of these guerrillas who have resorted to suicidal schemes because they have lost the support of the masses of people they're supposed to represent. And the *Militant* is certainly not alone among the Left in this position.

West Germany, Israel, Egypt, and the U.S. and Russia too, have all shown that they don't give a damn for human lives anywhere in the world. What's really disturbing is when "revolutionaries" who are supposed to be on the people's side, substitute their own adventurist notions for the genuine movement for freedom among the masses of people. Then you start wondering "Which side are they on?"

No one can blame the Palestinian people for struggling to gain back their freedom and their land. The Israeli government and the Arab governments have combined to force the Palestinians into a subhuman existence in refugee camps. However, when a few self-styled "leaders" decide that the masses are "too slow" for them and they embark on a direction which leads them into terrorist acts outside their country, then the masses will reject these "leaders" and will be forced to find new ways of struggle despite them.

The *Militant* did have one sentence towards the end which said, "A handful of revolutionists cannot substitute their own action for action by the masses." How true. And neither can they substitute their own thought for the thought of the masses, for it is masses as reason that is going to dispose of all leaders and create a new world, in the Middle East and here at home.

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Under the attack of an article in *NEWSWEEK*, which attempted to link the Fourth International to acts of terrorism around the world, the Sept. 29 issue of the *MILITANT* published a two-page spread in which they finally present the principled Marxist stand, which has always been unalterably opposed to terrorism. They correctly point out that such acts are precisely what the ruling class uses to launch its own attacks on the entire Left. This is why principled revolutionary politics demands no ambiguity or opportunism on such questions.

## Sailors, protestors say: 'Stop Enterprise!'

Oakland, Calif. — The demonstration to delay the U.S.S. Enterprise, the world's largest warship, took place on September 12 at 5:30 a.m. at the Alameda Naval Base. About 200 people showed up before sunrise to protest this floating death carrier, with its load of 5,000 men, 100 bombers, 6 million pounds of explosives, a nuclear powered island of destruction the length of three football fields and weighing 90,000 tons.

No generation gap was present in this militant group of white haired men and women, toddlers carrying S.O.S. signs (Stop Our Ship), and many youth. Five women unfurled a 30 foot black and white banner proclaiming "Not one more death! Stop the war now"—and eager hands helped carry it. One woman, 78 years young, lay down at the Base entrance and was forcibly removed. Sailors and workers cheered the group while police and agents busily took pictures of everyone.

Defying the Coast Guard, the Navy and all the port brass, about 20 small boats became a flotilla and went into the Bay to try and delay the Enterprise. With kayaks, rowboats, and sailboats, manned by about 30 people, half of them women, they raced up and down and around the ship's course, until, chased by the Coast Guard and helicopters, their boats were capsized.

Presently thirty sailors from the Enterprise are being held for investigation of "sabotage" and their security clearances revoked because they legally discussed the war in Indochina and G.I. Rights in a bulletin they distributed.

The Enterprise was not stopped, but the demonstration brought the message to millions, and even though the House Appropriations Committee just approved the largest military budget since World War II, protests will go on and on, until Nixon's "secret peace plan"—a watery grave for all Vietnam—is stopped.

—Demonstrator



# BLACK-RED VIEW

## Olympic 'politics' reflect world capitalist crises

by John Alan

The Olympic Games, just concluded in Munich, Germany, were another bloody political episode in the inhuman mess that world capitalism perpetuates. It has shown how very short the distance is between the Olympiad's eternal flame and the burning villages of Vietnam; it focused the continuing racism in America and Africa, and the cretinism of individual terrorism that mesmerized the thinking of the Palestinian Arab middle-class.

The goal of the XX Olympics was "a festival of peace, in the spirit of Olympic ideals, characterized by understanding, reconciliation, and the brotherhood of all peoples," so declared the Lord Mayor of Munich, Hans Hocken Vogel. In the face of the realities of the world situation, the sentiments expressed by Dr. Ruge reveal the unspeakable depths of hypocrisy by the ruling classes, rejected by sane people all over the world.

At this very moment the American imperialists in Vietnam are pursuing the most barbarous war in the history of the human race, babies and the elderly are indiscriminately cremated alive with napalm and bombs. **RHODESIA AND RACISM**

Among the realities the rich old men—who control the International Olympic Committee—had to face was the issue of racism, and characteristically, they tried to compromise by sweeping it under the rug, in this case the British Flag. When Black African and American athletes demanded the withdrawal of Rhodesia from the Olympics and threatened a boycott, because of the apartheid policy against the Black majority of that country, the I.O.C. offered a mockery compromise: Rhodesia would be designated as a British Colony and be permitted to enter the Olympics under the British Flag!

This transparent fiction was too much. And, within the threat of boycott it was implied that some big "Socialist" countries might score political points by walking out with the Blacks.

Some naive sports writers are lamenting that the Olympics are becoming "political . . . and politics and sports do not mix." Modern Olympics have been a political expression of National chauvinism from its very beginning in 1896.

General Douglas MacArthur in 1928 when he headed the American Olympic Committee, could not rise above this type of Nationalism. And in Hitler's Germany of 1936, the Berlin Olympics were tailored to fit the needs of Nazi imperialism, and the United State's Avery Brund-

age (still on the I.O.C.) helped to stifle the strong American movement to boycott.

As long as the political power of the Olympics remained firmly in the hands of the I.O.C.—a faceless autonomous organization, composed mainly of old, wealthy men—little or nothing was said about Olympic "politics."

### MEXICO—THE TURNING POINT

The 1968 Olympics, held in Mexico City, was a political turning point—it was there that the revolutionary Black consciousness, born out of the American Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's, was symbolized by the action of the two Black American athletes, who, while awaiting their awards on the victory stand, gave the Black Power salute of a raised clenched fist while the U.S. National Anthem was being played.

The generally apolitical quietism of athletes had shifted to a new awareness which challenged the sham internationalism and individualism which the waxen men of the I.O.C. had been touting for 64 years. The implications of the challenge were immediately grasped by the I.O.C. They immediately shipped the two winners back home.

Despite the slaughter at Munich, it was in Mexico, 1968, where the bloodiest of all Olympics took place. The pre-game student demonstration—which threatened to jeopardize the profits of the Olympic backers—was put down by the Mexican Government with such ferocity that hundreds of students were shot dead and hundreds more arrested. Many of them are still incarcerated after four years.

In Munich, two Black U.S. winners, Vince Matthews and Wayne Collett, chatted during the award ceremony and the playing of the U.S. National Anthem. For this "unconcern," the I.O.C., with concerned hypocrisy, expelled them for life from future Olympics! Collett said he "would not stand at attention because he did not believe the words of the Anthem represented the true attitudes of whites toward Blacks in the U.S.A."

Olga Connally, now an American citizen, and the U.S. standard bearer in Munich, was winner of a gold medal in 1956 for Czechoslovakia. This year, she tried to organize a peace movement in the Olympic Village but her efforts were thwarted by officials. She aptly summed up what modern Olympics are all about:—"Olympic officials speak the words of brotherhood and peace, this is political mouthwash. From the inside you become disgusted to see that the Games, a kind of Circus Maximus, are not conducted for anything else but commercialism, medal counts and for political profit."

# WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Even in Nixon's highly publicized Philadelphia Plan, that was supposed to force the construction industry in a given city to hire Blacks according to the percentage that live there, we have witness that this was just lip service. Now he has changed it to require that Blacks be hired in relation to the percentage that live in the whole state. He is just saying to the white construction workers, "Now you have a new and lawful way to keep Blacks out."

### WATERGATE DEAL

No one can make me believe that the Watergate bugging business wasn't a part of Nixon's doing. His hand-picked Attorney General takes it as some joking matter, asking that the trial be delayed until after the election. What would have happened to the average citizen if he was caught in the same act?

When has there been a President that used his office for such shady deals, then thought the public would be fool enough to believe him? Sargent Shriver said while he was here in Detroit that the only people who can get in to see Nixon are people with power.

As one worker put it:

"I can tell you that many of us rank-and-file members are not voting for Nixon. We are hoping that the people of this country won't be duped into putting him back in office, because every progressive thing that is in the interests of working and Black people will be voided before the next four years are over."

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# TWO WORLDS

(Continued from page 5)

ket, finally, but both France and West Germany face elections after very critical periods, especially in "Social Democratic" West Germany which initiated so phenomenal a turning point in post World War II politics as Ostpolitik.

Nevertheless, far from meaning a united West Europe, West Germany's new independence in its political stance was the major reason for France finally voting Great Britain into the Common Market . . .

What was needed, in France's eyes that looked at the land mass all the way to the Urals as "Europe", its Europe, were a great many "counterweights". It is smiling at NATO again and rushing headlong right back to deGaulism, as it fears that May 1968 may not be quite as dead as it had thought.

That Russia now considers Ostpolitik a great victory for itself (and has made East Germany toe the line accordingly) itself shows a very changed world from 1964 when Khrushchev's very mention of contemplating a trip to West Germany contributed mightily to his downfall.

But what kind of change? Ah, there is the rub.

**THE REALIGNMENTS** are not of a class nature. They are inter-imperialist, inter-state-capitalist realignments, all aimed against the proletariat, the internal class enemy. And that class enemy, not in Ostpolitik of West Germany, but in true East Europe, has not stopped revolting for two full decades . . .

There is no doubt whatever that it is precisely because of the economic crisis, the class discontent, the alienated restless youth, new forces of rebellion (watch how the nationality problem worries a Tito and brings ever new strains in both East and West Europe)—that the changes have come. But to conclude from this that the Cold War is over, that there are multi-centers of nearly equal power, is to substitute the convolutions of one's own head, for the class reality.

The class reality shows that the richest, the mightiest super power, U.S. imperialism — West Europe's, like Japan's "nuclear umbrella" — has not only not escaped from any of the ordinary ills of private capitalism, but likewise has had to plunge into a form of state-capitalism.

Let's examine the Nixon-style in the NEP, so tightly tied to the ceaseless Vietnam War, and we will see that there has been no stopping of what Marx long ago called "the law of motion of capitalist production", which like a tidal wave carries capitalism to its downfall, even where this concerns the single mightiest power on earth.

## Perspectives, 1972-73

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Introduction: Lord Nixon, or Super-Patriotism, Last Refuge of Scoundrels

I—A "Pentagonal" World, or a State-Capitalist World in Total Crisis and Disarray?

II—The U.S. Colossus Has More Than One Achilles Heel: Nixon's Genocidal Vietnam War; the Hectic, Contradictory, New Global Probing; the Plunge into State-Capitalism; and the War on Black America

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## 'The Sorrow and the Pity'

This is a film documentary of the Nazi occupation of France during World War II. Mostly composed of interviews with people who experienced the period and of old newsreel films, it continually emphasizes the extent to which the French government and a substantial portion of the French people, collaborated with the Nazi counter-revolution.

The reactionary Petain government passed stronger anti-Semitic laws than the Germans and set up its own concentration camps. The film portrays Nazism not as an aberration constructed by mad Germans in "civilized" Europe, but as a real possibility in any crisis-ridden advanced nation. Such could exist in the U.S., where the Wallace movement is as "American" as the Petain government was "French."

One aspect of the French collaboration which this otherwise honest film ignores is the role of the French Communist Party. Its leader, Jacques Duclos, is interviewed; however, neither he nor any of the interviewees mention that for the first year of the Nazi occupation, the French CP collaborated with the Germans, following Stalin's policy of detente with Hitler reached in the Moscow pact of 1939.

The ways in which the Stalinists turned the workers' movement into its opposite both in Russia and in France created a mood of despair, which played no small role in helping along both the outbreak of the barbarous Second World War and the "very French" fascist government at Vichy. —Jack MacBride

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## WORLD IN VIEW

By Eugene Walker

## Polish miners' grievances: thousands filed and forgotten

Direct from our correspondent in East Europe comes this report:

Gierek's Poland is indeed different from that of Gomulka in many ways — but most of the basic facts of life remain the same and offer evidence that the class character of the state has not altered at all.

Take the case of the miners. Officially, they are very much a preferred trade. However, the president of the miner's union complained recently that trade union authorities register yearly about 5,000 complaints. To this should be added roughly 1,200 demands for intervention received by editors of the miners' union paper *The Miner*, many thousands

of grievances sent to the management of particular mines, to the ministry, to regional party committees and to the central committee as well as to different newspapers.

Also, there have been about 300 miners' lawsuits last year. Besides this, the miners union department of legal consultation receives daily around 30 miners complaining in person.

About 80 percent of the grievances reaching the union presidency have been found justified, as have 70 percent of the lawsuits. Most of the complaints concern violation of collective agreements, improper distribution of bonuses, ill treatment by management, etc. Conciliation committees in the

mines decided in two-thirds of cases in favor of management — fearing reprisals by the directors on whom they depend.

The president of the miners' union is quoted as saying: "Our trade demands a very high degree of discipline. This creates a special atmosphere. The management has a greater discretion for decision. We have to realize that in this climate the risk of autocratic behaviour of the managers becomes greater. We have done much in teaching the working people what their duties are and we have to continue to do this. But now time has come to teach them, too, what their rights and privileges are."

## Italy

Absenteeism among industrial workers appears to be a world wide complaint among capitalists. Castro in Cuba, Czechoslovak Communist leaders as well as Detroit auto makers are reacting to it. In Italy the Fiat auto company reports that out of a labor force of 180,000, of whom 147,000 are factory workers, there is an average absence each day of 14,000. After a recent vacation period absenteeism was 20,000.

Out of the Italian labor force of 20 million, 800,000 do not show up on a given work day. At beginnings and endings of the week it reaches 20 percent of the work force.

To Italian management, as to those in other countries, the problem is "lack of effective controls to prevent workers from malingering." But the real problem is not "shirking work," but the disgust workers in Italy and world-wide feel with assembly line discipline and the conditions they face in the plant. To management it is the workers who must be molded to fit the assembly line, while the workers, whether out on strike or absent from work, are saying that it is the assembly line which must be changed if human beings are to work on it.

## Japan

The recent summit meeting between Japan and the United States and the upcoming meeting between Japan and China have to be seen in the

context of Japan's growing role in East and South Asia. The rate of growth of Japanese investment in these areas far outweighs all but the U.S. and its rate of increase will soon outdistance America.

The percentage of total imports coming from Japan to South and East Asia is close to 30 percent and is estimated to be 40 percent by 1980. Over 40 percent of the imports of Taiwan, South Korea, and the Philippines come from Japan. Over 35 percent of Thailand's imports, and about 25 percent of China, Indonesia and Burma's imports are from Japan.

In turn the countries of Asia sell the vast majority of their raw materials to Japan. Indonesia sells 80 percent of her oil exports to China. But this in turn is only 12 percent of Japan's oil needs. The relationship between the countries of South and East Asia and Japan is rapidly becoming one where they are heavily dependent on Japan, but Japan is actually becoming less dependent on them as a percentage of its total exports.

## Freedom Notes

Argentina—The aftermath of the killing of 16 guerrilla suspects in jail has been mass demonstrations and numerous arrests. The government claimed the 16 were killed in an escape attempt. However an Argentine weekly reported that one of those killed had had the back of her head smashed in and another had many bullets in his back. The paper has since been seized. Elections are due in March, but it remains to be seen whether the government

of General Lenusse will allow them to proceed and, if so, whether they will have much meaning in a country under military power.

Brazil—The government has cracked down on the single major newspaper that has consistently defied vague and largely unspecified censorship rules. The paper *O Estado de Sao Paulo* is now read as it comes off the press and only authorized for distribution after it has been cleared.

British Columbia—The New Democratic Party, (NDP), the most liberal of those running in B. C., won a stunning political upset by kicking out the Social Credit Party which had been in power for over 20 years. The NDP now governs in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia.

Chile—On the second anniversary of Allende's rise to power the government is facing its severest crisis yet. The opposition has mounted protests of housewives and student youth over some food shortages. The falling price of copper on the world market has meant that little foreign exchange has been earned and resulted in shortages of certain commodities within Chile.

Uganda—The Amin government has ordered the expulsion of Asians from the country. Claiming that the Asians in Uganda controlled too much of the country's commerce, President Amin ordered expelled all those who still held British citizenship. Around 50,000 Asians will be affected. Tanzania, Uganda's neighbor, has branded the action as racist.

## Nixon plots, secret gambles forced by U.S. workers' anti-war sentiment

(Continued from Page 1)

spokesman for presidential candidate George McGovern. Far from demonstrating independence in any serious way as a working class leader, he is merely supporting the line of another capitalist politician.

Nor have the workers, and especially Black workers, forgotten Woodcock's "independence" in failing to attack the anti-labor and racist record of Alabama Governor George Wallace when he campaigned for the presidency in Michigan—the supposed political stronghold of the UAW. The UAW did print hundreds of thousands of leaflets exposing Wallace, but did not distribute them to the rank-and-file on orders from the top UAW leaders.

Compare this kind of "independent" leadership to the great effort launched by Woodcock in getting delegates to the special UAW political meeting in Detroit's huge Cobo Hall to endorse the presidential candidacy of George McGovern. This is hardly the kind of "independence" that workers feel will change their lives in any important way.

## BLACK WORKERS SHOW WAY

On the other hand, there is the never-ending and truly independent struggle that the Black workers especially carry on daily. This is where white workers can see that there is a movement for a total change in the conditions of both life and on the production line.

Nobody knows better than the Black workers how much Nixon has done to make racism respectable.

"Every important appointment that Nixon has made, and every one of his important bills has been aimed at knocking down the few advances Black people have made over the past ten years," a Black auto worker said. "We know this bird. We've lived with him too long not to know him."

Another Black UAW worker said, "I'm from Mississippi, and I never voted before. But I'm registered now and I did it for one reason: to be sure to be able to vote against Nixon. A lot of people are saying that Nixon is going to win, but I think they don't know what they're talking about."

It is hard to say how white workers will act. "There are plenty of racist whites in my plant," a Black GM worker said. "I know we'll have to get together if we're

ever going to make any important changes. I thought we would move closer together when the unemployment situation got pretty bad. It's bad now, and there's not a whole lot happening. There's no sense kidding ourselves, because the fact is that there are some white workers who still don't know what side they're on."

## RACISM HURTS ALL WORKERS

It is true that no one can predict with certainty what the white workers will do. What is certain, however, is that Black workers continue to suffer from racist management policies in the plants as well as from racist attitudes on the part of white workers. It is also clear that this division of worker against worker hurts them all, white as well as Black. It has always been so, from the early union organizing days which could never have succeeded unless there was a unity of Black and white workers, to today when the need for unity is so crucial for the future of America.

There is no question about Black workers, who will not go a single inch with Nixon. Black workers are giving leadership to the movement to change conditions in the plant and in life. Under the impact of this battle, white workers can finally remember what class they belong to, and work to forge that new unity so necessary for the creation of a new human society.

Without that unity, life in and out of the plant will continue to produce one crisis after another, leading not to a new human life, but to a deeper barbarism.

## BLACK, BROWN AND RED

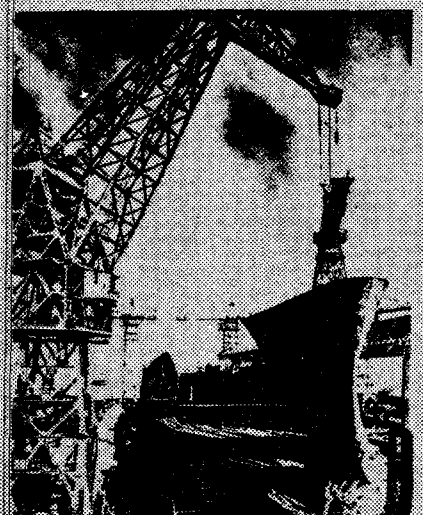
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