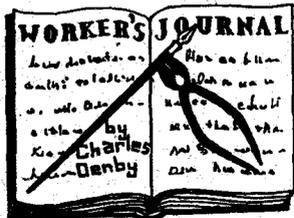


ON THE INSIDE

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Company is winner in benefit racket

by Charles Denby, Editor

Some workers who are now retired were discussing what corporations think of their employees while they are working for the company, especially from a personal point of view. All agreed that the union in its early struggles and organizing days understood the companies correctly when it said that the company's interests were opposed to workers' struggles.

This is still true today, although the union leaders have turned into the opposite of those early days. Now they say that workers should take special interest in the jobs where they work, because of all the benefits that workers are receiving from companies through the union's collective bargaining for workers with the corporations.

One retired worker said, "Many of those benefits are helpful to workers, but neither workers nor the public are fully aware of how much rip-off the company and union get out of workers. First, all of those benefits are paid by workers' sweat. After every contract, production is raised on workers. And of all the money that is taken out of workers' checks that goes into the company and union escrow for workers, about 50 percent of workers never get a dime of it.

"Just take the money that is taken out for compensation benefits. If and when a worker retires, he never gets a dime of it. If he or she retires after 65 they cannot draw a dime of SUB pay. One of the biggest gimmicks is that SUB pay gives a worker 95 percent of his basic pay when he is laid-off. There are only a very few of those laid-off who get 95 percent of their basic pay."

FORCED TO RETIRE

Another worker said, "Man, the biggest gimmick is in retirement. I saw on TV several weeks ago where Standard Oil of California had pressured some of its older employees to retire on early retirement. These were office and professional workers, ages ranging from 56 to 60 years old.

"One was saying how loyal he was to the company all of his 30 years. In fact, he said he loved the company so much he never bought gas from any other company in 30 years. Now the company had forced him out, and he was suing to try to get his job back.

"He had put money in with the company for stocks, and it was supposed to pay him full dividends if he worked until 65. But if not, he would lose two-thirds of his dividends. That had caused him to lose faith in the system. He said now he can understand what the Civil Rights movement of the '60s was all about."

As we were listening to those professional white-collar workers from Standard Oil, we had to think of how companies specialize in brainwashing their employees. In the case of the UAW, they have the help of the labor leaders. They have many workers saying that I only buy what my company produces. If not, I am buying against my own interest.

(Continued on Page 8)

Bureaucracy rules at labor women's convention

by Mary Holmes

Chicago, Ill.—On March 23, over 3,200 women came to the opening convention of the National Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), 1,000 more than had originally been expected. It was the pressure of rank-and-file women workers, in unions and unorganized, that forced the labor bureaucracy to rush in and control this organization.

The labor bureaucracy brought out its "big guns" for the meeting—Addie Wyatt, Olga Madar, Harriet Van Horne and Myra Wolfgang. So anxious are they to keep a stranglehold on this organization that Olga Madar is "stepping down" from her post as a UAW International Vice-President to devote full time to CLUW.

The union bureaucracy certainly widened the gulf between itself and its membership in the way this convention was organized. The registration fee was \$12, not including transportation, food, or lodging. Many of the women there were minor officers who had been "sent" by their unions, and would not rock the boat.

SCARED TO MEET IN DETROIT

The largest union caucus was from the UAW, as were most of the big shot bureaucrats, organizers, sergeants-at-arms, etc. Officially, Chicago had been

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Voters, vets, workers mount new revolts while politicians play with impeachment

by Michael Connolly

The stunning defeat on April 16 of James Sparling, Republican candidate and ex-Nixon aide, in the election to fill Michigan's Eighth Congressional district seat, revealed yet another aspect of workers' fury against the Nixonomics of recession and inflation. While newspapers and TV around the world analyzed the defection of rural Republican voters in a district held continuously by the G.O.P. since 1934, the truth is that Sparling was beaten by a massive anti-Nixon vote among workers in Bay County, where unemployment now stands at 15 percent, in Saginaw (11 percent) and in Lapeer (13 percent).



—News & Letters Photo by Terry Moon
Josefina Flores speaks at labor women's convention

Three days after the election, Nixon's own Commerce Department revealed the Gross National Product figures (GNP) for the first quarter of 1974. Despite Nixon's incredible and continued assertion that "there will be no recession in 1974", the figures proved what American workers already knew from bitter hours in unemployment lines—that the U. S. is in a severe recession. The GNP dropped 5.8 percent, a plunge exceeded only slightly in the near-depression of 1958, and far worse than had been predicted.

UNEMPLOYMENT MEASURES RECESSION

Even the bourgeois economists agree that the bottom has not yet been reached. Nor have the layoffs ended, especially in auto, as unemployment continues to grow. By March, the jobless ranks reached 4.75 million, over five percent of the U. S. work force. This figure, chilling as it is, does not represent the severity of the crisis. For production workers, the unemployment rate is now 7.2 percent; for minorities, 9.4 percent; and for teenage workers, 15.0 percent. In Michigan alone, nearly one-half million workers are on the streets.

The depth of the recession cannot be explained by the Arab oil embargo which is now "over"—leaving in its wake huge increases in energy prices. The Nixon administration had decided by last summer—long before the oil embargo—that the "overheated" economy would have to be slowed down by increasing unemployment.

REAL WAGES PLUMMET

The Nixon attack on American workers has not limited itself to driving up the unemployment rolls. Skyrocketing inflation, the worst in 26 years, has far more than wiped out any wage increases. In the last year, the cost of living jumped 10.2 percent overall. Food prices are up 22 percent, and fuel is up an incredible 59 percent.

The truth is that real spendable income is now dropping at the rate of five percent a year, the second biggest decline in the history of America. Factory workers today are making only 91 cents for every dollar they made in 1967. And for wholesale and retail workers, the figure is 67 cents. The "compromise" minimum wage bill passed by Congress last month, far from "lifting millions out of poverty" as Labor Secretary Brennan claimed, actually consigns millions to a slave-wage scale, as prices race far ahead of the minimum wage.

THE ILLUSION OF SUB

Enormous publicity has been given to the benefits that laid-off auto workers are receiving through a combination of unemployment compensation and the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) provisions of the UAW contract. It is impossible to pick up a newspaper or watch the TV news without hearing of the "full protection" from the hardships of layoff this plan offers. It is widely believed that every laid-off worker is getting 95 percent of his pay for one year.

For the 140,000 workers now laid-off in auto alone, such assertions are incredible.

More than half of the 80,000 workers laid-off by General Motors are not eligible for SUB pay at all, because they have less than one year's seniority. In Ford and in Chrysler, especially Chrysler, the percentage of those ineligible for SUB is even higher. At one Chrysler plant, when 2,300 workers were laid-off, only 650 were eligible for SUB. These workers have been forced to live on unemployment compensation alone, which in some cases means living on \$16 a week, and at best pays \$77 a week, no matter how large the family.

One bitter worker, laid-off from GM with SUB benefits told News & Letters: "The whole SUB propaganda you read in the newspaper is a complete fraud. Nobody gets SUB pay for a year. It depends on how much seniority you have. If you have enough to get SUB for a year,

(Continued on Page 8)

chosen as the meeting place in order to avoid UAW domination. But I got the feeling they were scared to death to meet in Detroit, where unemployed and laid-off women would have changed the whole direction of the convention.

The most serious restriction on attendance was limiting admittance to union members only—just eight percent of working women. This effectively excluded thousands and thousands of non-union women, including those actively engaged in trying to organize their shops. It also excluded the Brookside miners' wives who had wanted to speak to CLUW about their work in trying to re-establish the United Mine Workers of America in Harlan County, Ky. They decided not to come, since the odds were strong that they could not even get in the door.

Women from Welfare Rights Organization and Wounded Knee supporters were also told they were not welcome—all this despite CLUW's original statement of purpose touting "sisterhood" and proclaiming one of their main goals to be "organizing the unorganized."

FARMWORKERS FIGHT TO SPEAK

The specific issue which polarized CLUW long before March 23 was whether or not they would formally support the United Farm Workers (UFW). Throughout

(Continued on Page 2)

Commission sees Equal Rights as no rights

Oakland, Cal. — On June 1, 1974, new state-wide work rules are to go into effect which will change current laws on overtime pay to time-and-a-half after ten hours, rather than the current eight hours, and will eliminate break times altogether.

Since the 1800s women workers have fought for, and won, certain "protective laws" giving women and children protection on the job. In many cases these benefits have been extended to men simply because it was impossible to give them to the women and not the men, as in the case of breaks.

These regulations have been threatened by the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, (ERA), for under the guise of "Equal Rights," employers are "equalizing" conditions — that is, everyone will have it equally bad. To prevent these protective laws from disappearing altogether, a new law was passed this year extending these regulations to men.

The job of establishing these new work rules went to the Industrial Welfare Commission (IWC) whose job it is to set work rules for the entire state. This Commission, composed of five members, only one of whom is a labor representative, voted four to one to extend the working day for all workers to ten hours before they can receive time-and-a-half pay. It is clear that their interpretation of Equal Rights is NO rights for men or women.

An article on the hearings in Union W.A.G.E. reported that "Only four of the orders covering highly organized industries like manufacturing and transportation provide for overtime pay after eight hours. Six orders do not require overtime until after ten hours, three have no daily overtime requirement and, in industries related to agriculture . . . overtime provisions are waived if food is perishable — which in effect means no overtime. The two orders covering farm workers and household workers do not mention hours.

"Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality (Union WAGE) has been fighting for three years to prevent the destruction of protective laws proposed in these IWC recommendations . . . We have already lost a great deal and we will have to start again at the beginning to win back these benefits, to fight for legislation with teeth in it to limit hours, to limit the weight that can be lifted, to provide overtime pay and voluntary over-

time for all workers, to restore couches and lounges, meal periods and rest periods — all of the conditions which are necessary for the health and welfare of working people."

A woman hospital worker described the IWC's action: "We work and work, and for years have struggled for certain protections. Now they're being taken away. We earn barely anything as it is, and inflation eats up every raise. We have always had to put up with the job, and people trying to control how we think and what we wear. Now they even want to control when we go to the bathroom."

—From leaflet of News & Letters Bay Area Women's Liberation Committee and Union W.A.G.E.



Labor women's convention

(Continued from Page 1)

the conference, the UFW received the strongest, most vocal support from the women who attended. The only rank-and-file worker to address the convention was Josefina Flores, a Chicana farmworker-organizer from Chicago, who was "allowed" to speak before the final session began.

Her description of conditions in the fields was the only time that working conditions came up at all. She asked for support from CLUW for the UFW boycott of table grapes, non-union lettuce, and Gallo wines. She received a long standing ovation, and there were even crocodile tears on the part of the labor bureaucrats. But then it was "business as usual" as they tabled the whole issue and proceeded to jam through, among other things, their own "election." The singing of "Solidarity" after this debacle made me sick.

With all its fancy-printed programs, patches, and other mementos, CLUW is as far removed from the objective conditions facing working women—especially all the women who were not there—as was the distance between the posh hotel it was held in and the nearest factory, unemployment office, or welfare office in Chicago.

from 1872 until 1930—the year of her death at age 100, and still active in the class struggle.

WOMEN OF COAL

The coal miners claimed most of Mother Jones' energy and time, and she travelled through the nation's coal camps, urging the miners and their families to organize and fight the ruthless coal operators and the state legislatures they controlled. But among her favorites were the women of coal, who were often organized into mop and broom or pot and pan picket brigades to stop scabs from working—and on occasion to keep their own husbands from going to work. Much in the book is very real today, and nothing more so than the courage displayed by the women of coal in the current Brookside, Ky. strike.

If Mother Jones had been a man, she would undoubtedly have been murdered by the hired gunmen of coal—which included sheriffs and their deputies. As it was, she narrowly escaped death dozens of times as bloody class warfare raged around her. Equally amazing was her physical constitution, which had to withstand the chilling cold of mountain winters as well as months of sweltering heat in prison.

Nothing could deter her, whether she headed an army of children textile workers in Pennsylvania marching to New York to dramatize the horrors of child labor, holding up handless arms or fingerless hands of children six and seven years old; fighting with miners from Appalachia to Idaho; or tongue lashing reactionary legislators, ruthless coal operators—and even presidents of the U.S.

LEADERS AND RANKS

She also saw the growing division between labor leaders and the ranks. "The rank and file," she wrote, "have let their servants become their masters and dictators. The workers have now to fight not alone their exploiters but likewise their own leaders, who often betray them, who sell them out, who put their own advancement ahead of that of the working masses, who make of the rank and file political pawns."

Clarence Darrow noted in his foreword to this work: "In all her career, Mother Jones never quailed or ran away . . . Over and over she was sentenced by courts . . . She stayed in prison until her enemies opened the door . . . This little book gives her own story of an active, dramatic life. It is part of the history of the labor movement in the United States."

The Kerr publishers have performed an important service in reprinting this powerful work.

—Andy Phillips

WL NOTES

Saying "We must organize, we must have unity," and "We need land—and revolution!", poor women in India have taken the lead in action all over the state of Maharashtra. The women have forced merchants into lowering food prices, destroyed bootleg liquor shops, and led the growing peasant union movement.

Women employees at Harlem Hospital in New York City, angry at the omission of women from the promotion list and supported by the National Black Feminist Organization, have won several demands from the administration. Future goals are revamping the nursing school and child and health centers for the community.

Striking maids and other service workers have virtually emptied several major hotels in Paris, France. Because travel agencies rent blocs of rooms at reduced rates, workers lose money because most work for a percentage of the room rate. They are asking a minimum wage of \$69 a week.

In Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 3,000 women workers marched to the Emperor's palace. They marched for better working conditions and equal pay with men. Police dispersed them at the palace entrance, although a small delegation was allowed inside.

NY cabbies take over meet

New York, N.Y.—The last general membership meeting of Local 3036 of the Taxi Driver's Union showed the gulf which exists between the union leadership and the workers. We've had more than enough of President Harry Van Arsdale's leadership along with his 12 old men who are Vice-Presidents. None of these leaders have driven a cab for years, if they ever did.

Right from the start of the meeting on April 10, the conflict between workers and bureaucrats was made clear. When Van Arsdale proposed that we hear the reports of the officers, this was voted down in favor of an immediate discussion of the contract by the rank and file.

During the discussion many young drivers called Van Arsdale every name in the book. They raised these questions to cheers from the 1,000 drivers present: Why hasn't the union been able to negotiate a contract since the last one expired in November? Why has the percentage of the fare which the driver keeps gone down over the last few years? What happens to the dimes which are deducted from each fare (totalling millions of dollars a year) which are supposed to be for our pension and welfare fund? Why are pensions (maximum \$100 per month) and other benefits worse than in a lot of non-union places?

Van Arsdale answered by saying we don't know the "facts," as if we don't see how hard we work every week and how we're being robbed by the garages.

The leadership really has no answers. The meeting ended as a stand-off between Van Arsdale and the many young cab drivers who want to get rid of him.

—NY taxi driver

Uniroyal wants 125 percent

Detroit, Mich.—The crunch may be on pretty soon at Uniroyal. It used to be that any production over 110 percent (we work on piece-work rates) wasn't paid any extra, so that once you'd made that much over your quota you could stop for the day. But the company just cancelled that part of the contract.

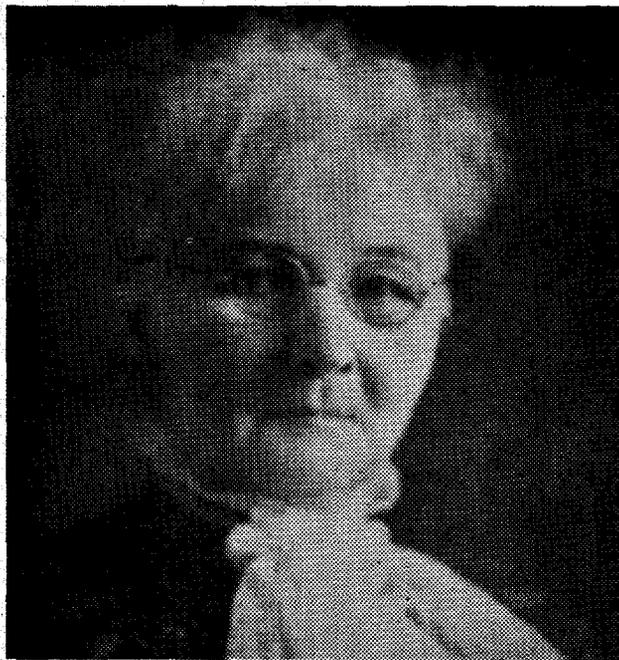
Now they can ask for 125 percent or even more if they want to. It's hard enough just to make out at 100 percent, but I also heard that there's a lot of pressure on the people who aren't making their quotas to get their production up.

Another complaint is that a lot of people say that they haven't been paid the full amount for their production. Also, many workers say that the company is really getting into these stupid little one-day lay-offs where they phone you up only a few hours ahead of time and tell you "We don't need you today, come in tomorrow." They also laid off the whole aircraft and truck tire departments for a week, blaming it on "shortages." If they force production up enough, we can expect a lot more of this.

—Uniroyal worker

BOOK REVIEW

Mother Jones — working class legend in her own time



The Autobiography of Mother Jones. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill. \$3.50

She was before my time, so I never heard her speak, but many miners told me tales of Mother Jones during my years as a miner in West Virginia.

"I can remember travelin' half way cross the state just to hear Mother Jones," one miner recalled. "An' man, you listened when she talked. I can tell you that by the time she got through layin' out the coal operators, you were ready to take on the devil himself to win the union."

Such was the power, the inspiration of Mother Jones—a legend in her own time. For her there was but one world worth living in and fighting for—the world of the working class. Through this world she fearlessly strode

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

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Flintkote workers risk life and limb in 'the pit'

Los Angeles, Calif. — The Flintkote plant where I work has a paper recycling mill, which, if you have ever worked anywhere else, is like moving from heaven to hell. To begin with, it is run 24 hours a day, seven days a week. You work on a rotating shift of seven days on, two off, with four days off every third cycle. The first seven are graveyard, then swing, and finally days.

We make a paper which is used in housing construction. In the beater room the old paper is dumped into a huge vat of hot water and acid, made into a pulp, and run through a screen onto a conveyer belt. The belt carries the pulp to a machine which reconstructs it into large rolls of paper. These are, in turn, cut into sheets one yard long and stacked up.

THE PIT—A HELL-HOLE

The paper making machine is a huge three-story job manned by nine men. The major work and problems come as the paper is running through the machine drying out. It frequently breaks, and when this happens the entire crew has to rush into "the pit". Each man has a specific job involved in either clearing out the broken paper or feeding a new segment through the machine.

In summer the pit gets to 120° and up. The rollers which you clear the paper from are hot enough to give you third degree burns. A great danger comes from the rollers when you feed the new paper through—if you push too far your fingers get crushed.

When the paper isn't going through the machine the pressure is really on, because no production is going out. Even if you are in the middle of lunch you have to stop eating and go in the pit and clean it up. The "tour boss" just tells you to take your lunch with you.

PRODUCTION-MADNESS

The excess paper from these breaks is called "hay". When too much hay accumulates in the pit, the crew has to go into the pit to clean it out onto a conveyer belt which carries it topside. No human being should have to go down there. They should develop the machines to get the hay out of the pit.

We are usually in the plant only eight hours and the men like that. But it means no lunch break—you just take it when you can, and if the paper breaks it is too bad, down in the pit you go. Why can't we have a relief group which would keep the machine going, since that is what the company wants, but give us time to eat?

If, when your shift is over, the man who is to replace you doesn't show up, you have to stay another eight hours on the job. When vacation time comes, the workers on two shifts work 12 hours while the man on the third shift is off.

I only wish the company was as concerned with safety as it is with production. They have this slogan—

The Only Way is the Safe Way — on yellow and black signs in the plant. Not long ago the foreman brought around a safety pamphlet the workers were supposed to read.

One item stated that if you didn't point out a safety violation you could get written up. Workers began putting up signs pointing out specific violations, such as grease on the handrails into the pit and unsafe stairs. The foreman took them down.

What is most shocking is that with all these inhuman sweatshop conditions the plant is unionized! The Teamsters collect \$10 a month after \$60 initiation fee. Something has got to be done.

—Flintkote Worker

Foremen foul up at Pier 50

San Francisco, Calif.—Soon after we began loading the ship on the night shift at Pier 50 we got the rumor that the job was an "early quit," that instead of leaving the job at the usual four in the morning we would be out much sooner. But longshoremen, having been offered this kind of "speedup carrot" before, are very skeptical. Only after determining how much cargo there was for the ship did it appear that the story was valid and all hands looked forward to leaving the pier early.

But then the "brains" that belong to the company intervened and things took a turn for the worse. An attempt was made to load big vans in the hold where it was obvious they couldn't fit. So they had to send out the first one to be replaced by a Hyster (a big lift jitney) to restow cargo already in the hatch to make room for the vans and then, before that could be done the Hyster had to be discharged. We saw the "early quit" estimation not only become illusion but soon realized we were going to be stuck. Sure enough, we didn't get out until six in the morning.

Events of this kind concretely raise the question of why these people should be deciding anything for us. Their main talent appears to be catering to the companies for their jobs and they accomplish that mainly by proving that they are 100% against us. The company superintendent who appeared most responsible for our wasted hours on the job in this case was stealthily, and not so stealthily, doing longshore work—this while longshoremen are not getting enough jobs. The night's events prompted one brother to mention that the farm workers had been demanding election of foremen on the job.

Another remarked, "If you went to some of these supers and asked them something personal, like 'How's the kids?' they'd figure you were off your trolley because that has nothing to do with tonnage." An old timer added to that one this way, "But they would talk about 'the kids' if they figured that would increase tonnage."

S.F. Docker



Cheap labor is international problem

by John Allison

The unresolved problem in the world today is cheap labor.

Now that unemployment is so severe here in Michigan we see it is a problem not just for the foreign workers who must work for low wages, or for Southern workers, but for highly organized workers here, as well. Cheap labor hurts our wages, our working conditions, and causes runaway shops and widespread unemployment.

UNION'S ROLE

The late Walter Reuther took the UAW out of the AFL over the question of "organizing the unorganized." He sent his brother, Victor, to Europe to try to get the trade unions there to link up with his union. They sent word back: Organize your own before you come to organize us. The European labor movement did not like George Meany because of his bull-like ways of insisting: My union or no union.

Meanwhile, to this day, the union bureaucracy has not organized workers anywhere, and the problem of "cheap labor" remains to plague labor throughout the entire world.

FOREIGN WORKERS FIGHT

Management and many politicians always talk about cheap foreign labor hurting American workers, as if it's the workers' fault instead of the capitalists who are always looking for cheap labor to exploit. It sure isn't the workers in the other countries who are happy to work for low wages. They're always fighting to raise their living standards the same as we do.

And as a matter of fact, a whole lot of the industries in the cheap labor countries are owned by American businessmen who have deliberately set up plants where labor costs are so low. They're the real culprits and power behind the mess of cheap labor, and that's where the fight to solve the problem ought to be waged—with our own capitalist class.

SUB benefits denied workers who refuse low-paying jobs

by Felix Martin

The last day of work at GM South Gate before a three month layoff for retooling for the Vega, we had a discussion of our SUB (supplemental unemployment benefits) and the attempt of the unemployment office to force laid-off auto workers to accept low-paying jobs.

Workers who had been laid-off earlier, during the energy crisis, had gone to the unemployment office expecting to draw both their unemployment benefits and SUB payments. But some soon found that they were being called up for low-paying jobs of \$2 to \$3 an hour. They were told if they refused these jobs they would lose both unemployment benefits and SUB. If they accepted them, the sub would be used to subsidize the job to 95 percent of what we were making at GM.

UAW GOES ALONG

We are being told that the SUB that we had already worked for, what we had fought for and used our sweat to build up, is being denied to us unless we work at whatever job they decide to send us on. Something we have already earned is being given to us only if we work some more.

The guys were really mad at the union. They can understand the corporation, which will benefit by not having to pay as much SUB, but now they are saying the damn union is just as bad, since they must have known what was going to happen but didn't do anything about it.

The union went along with GM in return for a dues checkoff system in the new contract which allows them to get dues taken out of our SUB.

"TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION"

Some of the workers want to take the whole thing to the Labor Board and claim taxation without representation. But there never has been a favorable decision handed down for labor during a Republican Administration.

We are going to be off for about three months and are classified as "long-term" with no definite call-back date. We may be forced to accept whatever jobs are thrown at us. In previous layoffs they would not force you to accept low-paying jobs. If you were a trim line worker they would have to find that type of work and at the pay scale you had at GM. Now they are using the SUB payments to force us into anything they find. The unemployment office and GM are working together on this, but what the hell is the UAW doing in their bed?

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich. — Last Saturday night a Black millwright was fired by a guard for supposedly breaking into a cigarette machine. It was impossible that this brother had broken into the machine because another worker had already reported that the machine was broken BEFORE the worker went down near the machine, but that didn't stop the guard.

The worker, Clark, had been sent to Zone 1, where the cigarette machine is, to look for a missing Hi-lo. He was in the area with his foreman's permission and instructions. While Clark was on his way to look for the truck, another worker came back from Zone 1 and told us the machine had been broken into.

Management sent a guard, Scott, to investigate the break-in but he just grabbed the only man in sight. He told Clark, "Give me your badge." The worker said his badge was in his locker, but he wanted to know whether he was fired or suspended. The guard just took the badge and said, "Don't report back to work tomorrow."

When he got back and we heard what had happened, some of us got together and said we wouldn't report to work the next day if this man was fired. We notified our Acting Chief Steward who said he believed Clark was innocent. Joe Zappa, Local 212 Vice-President was also called. Later that night, Rybicki of Labor Relations told the guard to stop the man's time at 9:15 or 10:15 and he was sent home on suspension.

Clark is still not back and we don't know if he is fired, suspended or what. This incident raises a big question: how can a guard fire someone for supposedly stealing from a cigarette machine which Chrysler doesn't own?

Most of us in 3610 feel that Clark should be reinstated with back pay. But many workers are saying it's worse to get fired by a guard than by management because the union doesn't do anything and then you never get your job back.

—Chrysler Mack worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—I have been on lay-off, and I met this guy who's still working. He told me "Be glad you're not working. Everybody is having a hard time in there. Hundreds are going out on sick leave, the job is so hard. You go out on sick leave for two weeks, go back for one or two days and you have to go out again.

"There is a new policy. If you're out on sick leave and someone else holds your job for 30 days, he gets it. Seniority doesn't matter. This is causing a scramble for jobs. There are so many workers out sick that the company is having a hard time running the line. They have to shut it down every day, even though they've got foremen working all over the place violating the contract."

This guy also told me that the people out on sick leave are having a hard time getting their checks. Some haven't gotten anything for weeks. I think they are trying to stop the sick leaves, because it's the way people are fighting the speed-up. What Fleetwood needs now is a good wildcat.

—Afternoon shift worker, Fleetwood

Things are so bad in the body shop since the big lay-off that the older workers are saying they have never seen anything like it. One day, there were 60 workers out on sick leave. Most of the workers who used to work in the body shop are on lay-off, and the place is full of people from Dept. 21 and from the cushion room. Most of them have 10 or 12 years seniority or more.

The speed-up means that we are missing a lot of jobs. Repair can't keep up, and they aren't being asked to work overtime any more. So the cars are coming out like scrap and I guess they'll be shipped out to the dealers like that. I wouldn't want one.

—Day shift worker, Fleetwood

EDITORIAL**French elections highlight European disarray**

The death of French Premier Georges Pompidou enabled President Nixon to upstage his globe-trotting Secretary of State Henry Kissinger by meeting with the heads of state of seven different nations in Paris on Sunday, April 14. But one day in Europe is no substitute for the "Year of Europe," declared in 1973 by Nixon-Kissinger to re-establish U.S. supremacy in Western Europe.

EUROPEAN DOUBTS GROW

That position had been held because there had been mutual concern and opposition not only to Russian imperialism, but also to working class revolt in each nation. In moving on its own for world domination, the U.S., and especially under Nixon, raised serious doubts about how far the U.S. would go in defending European interests when they conflicted with U.S. imperialist aims.

Instead of consulting with the heads of Europe, Nixon arrogantly and unilaterally acted on a series of critical issues having potentially catastrophic consequences. He continued the drain on American resources by escalating the senseless war in Vietnam and extending it into Laos and Cambodia. Then, after stunning Europe and the world by his sudden policy switch which opened the doors to detente with China and Russia, he dropped another bombshell with his New Economic Policy of 1971.

The latter move, taken to stem U.S. inflation and halt the growing working class opposition to mounting unemployment, solved no problems at home, but did produce havoc in European and Japanese capitalist trade relations, as well as feed international inflation and unemployment. Working class struggles to maintain a decent standard of living swept throughout Europe as the economic crisis grew.

This irresponsible capitalist behavior on the part of Nixon understandably alienated further the European governments, and coupled with the Watergate trouble at home, doomed the "Year of Europe" to a stillbirth.

OIL EMBARGO DEEPENS CRISIS

Into this degenerating capitalist crisis was added a

new destructive element — the Arab oil embargo, which further fragmented the European nations as they scrambled to make separate deals. This disunity accurately reflects the growing revolt among the workers in each country, who have no confidence whatsoever in their own governments.

To head off this revolt in Britain, Prime Minister Heath tried to use the energy crisis to break the strength of the coal miners who were refusing to work overtime in protest to a government refusal to grant them a much needed increase in wages. Heath precipitated a direct class conflict, and called for an election he hoped would continue Tory rule as well as break the strength of labor.

While Heath was himself defeated, his successor, Labor Party's Wilson, rules a minority government, and cannot exercise any real leadership. In Italy, daily strikes have all but crippled the nation, which has just seen the collapse of its 36th government in 30 years. The next government will be no more effective than the last, and the quadrupling of the cost of oil from the Arab suppliers will add a staggering \$3.5 billion trade deficit this year.

Indeed, the global politics of oil insures continued economic dislocations, despite the desperate dealings by governments with the new sawdust Caesars—King Faisal of Saudia Arabia, Libya's military dictator Colonel Quadaffi, and the Emirs and Sultans of the other oil principalities.

For a while, West Germany's Brandt displayed leadership in easing tensions with East Germany and Russia. But inflation and unemployment created new class conflicts and a new left opposition has arisen in Brandt's own Social Democratic Party. Recent party election losses now bring into question his own continuation in power.

STRIKES USHER IN FRENCH ELECTION

In France, meanwhile, the May 5 election will be held in an atmosphere of increasing strikes which have even included bank employees for the first time. The

three major candidates are Gaullists Jacques Chaban-Delmas and Finance Minister Giscard d'Estaing, and Socialist Party leader Francois Mitterand. The Communist Party has joined in a popular front with the Socialist Party, and they could win by an aggressive campaign attacking the problems of unemployment, inflation, increased taxation, low wages and abortion reform. The French people clearly want a change in government.

While early indications show Mitterand leading his Gaullist opponents, this election may well be a repeat of the past when left candidates seemed to be ahead in the preliminary election, only to lose out to the Gaullists in the run-off election.

While the French people want a change, it is clear that nothing serious will be altered regardless of who wins the election. None of the candidates is campaigning on a platform of basic social and economic reorganization of the nation, and that is what is needed not only in France, but throughout Europe if there is to be any way out of the deepening crises.

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WORKERS AND 'OIL POLITICS'

The auto companies and the union didn't get caught with their pants down with the oil crisis. During negotiations for the last contract, for the first time in UAW history, the union put a dues structure on the unemployed which the companies would take out of any SUB. That was the first thing that should have made us realize that something was going on.

The second thing is that the companies have been trying to go into small cars for several years. But the problem was how to retool. How do they lay off 30 percent of the work force with no union squabble and no headaches?

What would have taken them 10 years to do without a crisis, they are doing in one year—retooling for the small car. And the retooling will mean permanent layoffs for many, because it always means more automation and less manpower. Meanwhile the union is getting \$5 out of SUB pay.

Former Auto Worker
Los Angeles

The self-appointed spokesmen for Scotland are entrapped by the sordid commercialism arising from the discovery of oil in the North Sea. This, they tell us, will provide thousands of jobs, as if that is why the tycoons from all over the world are staking their claims in some of the most beautiful parts of Scotland. There is no permanency in this kind of venture. The oil companies will go away and leave nothing but a mess behind them.

The Scottish Nationalists have lost all sense of proportion because they are dazzled by the dream of national enrichment based on the oil discoveries. Shouting slogans like "the oil is ours" is easier than having to take sides in the workers' struggles.

The problems of Scotland are not isolated from the problems of the world. And freedom will not flow from the North Sea, or come with a Scottish Parliament. It will come only with a new society which the workers can create.

Harry McShane
Glasgow

We now have a minority Labour Government. How long it will last nobody knows, but one thing is sure—Wilson and

Co. have no policies to deal with the crisis. This means that whoever is in Downing Street, be it Heath, Wilson, Thorpe or all three, the working class is going to have to fight like hell to maintain its living standards and rights, let alone make any advances.

Terry Liddle
London

AFRICA AND 'OIL POLITICS'

In your editorial on "Famine and Revolt in Africa" you write that "the final blow (to the underdeveloped lands) may well have been given by the feudal Arab powers . . . etc." One would have thought you might have expressed satisfaction with the control exercised by underdeveloped countries over their own resources. You might have mentioned that the Arab countries most interested in the continuation of the boycott were Syria, Algeria, and Libya, hardly "feudal powers".

Instead of blaming the Arabs for Africa's ills you might have examined: 1) the price of oil . . . ; 2) the Arab oil boycott as a revolutionary act, and its application against criminal aggressors; 3) the Arab answer to the energy problems of their African allies—a bank to loan money for their economic development; 4) the unbreakable cycle of more fertilizer-more energy.

The assertion that the plight of the underdeveloped lands "has become a thousand-fold worse today" is a ridiculous exaggeration that caps the sloppiness behind the editorial. The complexity of the issue is no excuse for simplistic accusations.

E. Nassar
Detroit

Your editorial on Africa in the last issue was excellent.

Ethiopian Student
Michigan

Editor's Note: Our April Editorial was concerned with the events in Africa, and did not elaborate our views on the "Politics of Oil." For a full discussion of that, see Lead articles in the issues of November, December, and March.

One phrase Peter Mallory used in your lead in the March issue was brand new to me: "feudal state-capitalism." I

never heard that one before, but it was a great help in clearing up the whole left illusion about industrialization, and about the oil countries being the "Third World."

Reader
New York

KRAFT BOYCOTT

A new newsletter is being produced in an effort to keep supporters of the Kraft Boycott up to date on recent developments in the boycott. We will produce it on a regular basis as the need arises. The current issue contains such articles as: a Kraftco recall; Women Employed challenging Kraftco's hiring practices; an Edmonton Kraft boycott benefit, and others.

It would be very useful to have an input from our supporters, and letters and articles are most welcome. This paper could be a useful forum for ideas and strategies to advance the boycott, but only if people make use of it. Contact us at:

Kraft Boycott News
P.O. Box 701
Kingston, Ontario

UFW BOYCOTT

Our UFW support work is having a discernable effect here. One chain has been buying both union and scab lettuce, and distributes it so that the non-union lettuce is sent to a store not yet reached by our leafletting. The union lettuce is sent to the stores covered by our leaflets. As more join us, we ought to be able to expand the boycott support to all the chain's stores in Gainesville.

Student
Florida

On April 15, 4,000 marched to protest cuts in the City poverty programs. We were surprised and happy to see so many people, since it was an opportunity to fight the rich and the government to save our dreams of life.

But we found out that Mayor Beame

Reader

was putting the money from Washington into other programs and cutting those for the poor. When we arrived at Beame's office the police told us we had to leave. But we wouldn't go until we talked to the Mayor. He didn't come out but finally sent some of his representatives. They said he promised not to make any more cuts in the poverty programs. We shall see.

Farmworker
N.Y.C. Boycott

After I came home from the CLUW conference I read reports of it in several left newspapers. You could tell the politics of the organization simply by how they related to the Farm Workers fight there.

The Trotskyists ignored the fact that the UFW was not supported by CLUW and stressed how great it was that the UFW and the Teamsters expressed "solidarity." The Spartacists carried on about the role that they played at the CLUW conference. They never mentioned however, that because they insisted on speaking for the Farmworkers they made it very difficult for them to speak for themselves. IS was critical but seemed eager to work within CLUW. Their idea seemed to be that if more militant people (IS) became involved and gained leadership positions, then CLUW would be truly representative. I am anxious to read N&L's coverage.

Feminist
Detroit

POSTAL DEATHS

The post office was another of Nixon's giveaways. It was grabbed up by the parasites who have raised the rates and cut down the services. Postage on a first-class letter is expected to go up to 25 cents in the next decade. Meanwhile personnel cutbacks have caused overwork that the National Association of Letter Carriers claims is responsible for the deaths of several carriers.

Reader
Nebraska

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION**
and **Marxism and Freedom**

*Editor's Note: A new biography of Jean-Paul Sartre, by Francis Jeanson, has just come off the press. So much of it rests on Sartre's own autobiography, *The Words*, that we felt this critique of the work written by Raya Dunayevskaya was appropriate to share with N&L readers, although space prohibits printing more than brief excerpts. We suggest that it be accompanied by a reading of Chapter 6 of *Philosophy and Revolution*, "Jean-Paul Sartre: Outsider Looking In." Now that Sartre calls himself a near-Maoist, it will be interesting to watch his actions in the May 5 elections in France.*

THE SHOCK OF Jean-Paul Sartre's autobiographical *The Words** is its seeming ambivalence on the author's famed concept of commitment . . .

The author has created a strange admixture of reminiscence and recollection that is more ideological essay than autobiography. Great sections seem to be written as if they were illustrating various existentialist theses . . .

The remembrance of things past is written not alone in the present, but in the future tense. A master wielder of the pen, Sartre so intersperses the next projection into the retelling of the past that one isn't always sure which is actual experience and which analysis . . .

The descriptions are too "objective", too distant, as if not the child, but the adult philosopher of existence, was substituting a constructed existence for a lived one. This is the cause of the ambivalence of the book as a whole, and the last section in particular.

When the book first appeared in France the ambivalence made the reviewers sit up with a start. Sartre's statement, "I have changed," seemed to them to refer, not to the change from the bourgeois child to "Marxist",

**The Words* by Jean-Paul Sartre, translated from the French by Bernard Frechtman, (George Braziller, New York, 1963) \$5.

The non-conversion of Jean-Paul Sartre

but from writer to one who values literature very nearly for its own sake. "For the last ten years or so," wrote Sartre, "I've been a man who's been waking up, cured of a long, bitter-sweet madness, and who can't get over the fact, a man who can't think of his old ways without laughing and who doesn't know what to do with himself. I've again become the traveler without a ticket that I was at the age of seven . . ." (p. 253). When the reviewers implied that he had changed his position on commitment, Sartre felt impelled to grant an interview to *Le Monde* in which he not only restated his old position, but questioned the value of any literary creation "in a society that is hungry." Later, in refusing the Nobel prize, he once again restated his choice of sides between "socialism" and "capitalism."

DUE WEIGHT MUST, of course, be given to both statements. Nevertheless, it is inconceivable that so great a master of language could not have expressed with precision and from the start exactly what he felt and thought. *The Words* will have to stand on its own feet.

D. H. Lawrence expressed most profoundly the problem we face here when he was confronted, in his *Studies in Classic American Literature*, with the contradiction between teller and tale: "An artist is usually a damned liar, but his art, if it be art, will tell you the truth of his day."

Sartre was born in 1905. *The Words* tells the story of the first twelve years of his life, but the book does not limit itself to these years. Various other years are brought in, generally quite suddenly, but not contingently. Each year beyond 1917 that is referred to has its special reason for being. One especially is brought in several times. Its purpose is to serve as a turning point of darkest life, the transition from a bourgeois, meaningless existence to one where the writer as artist goes beyond a situation, projects himself, is witness to being uprooted. The year is 1935.

The crucial reason, for making a veritable philosophical category of the year was that it is the year Sartre wrote *Nausea* . . .

THIS IS THE PERIOD also, although Sartre does not mention this, when he returned from his stay in Berlin. Just as he and Simone de Beauvoir had gone for vacation in Italy—and gone "without scruple"—because Mussolini had cut railway prices 70 per cent to attract tourists to the Fascist Exhibition, so he proceeded to Hitler Germany to study at the French Institute. It wasn't that he sympathized in any way whatever with fascism. Quite the contrary. He considered himself of the Left and was saddened during his stay in Germany when Dollfuss crushed the Austrian socialist revolt. As Mme. de Beauvoir puts it quite frankly in her memoirs: "We would not set our own shoulders to the wheel of history, but we wanted to believe that it was turning in the right direction; otherwise we would have had too many problems to rethink." (*The Prime of Life*, p. 146)

So instead, Sartre went off with the study of Husserl's

(Continued on Page 7)

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA is the Chairwoman of NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, which practices the unity of worker and intellectual, and of philosophy and revolution, and totally new human relations. NEWS & LETTERS is edited by a Black production worker, CHARLES DENBY. It was born in 1955, the year of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, on the one hand, and the wildcats against Automation, on the other. It is a monthly publication which does not separate reports of the activities of workers, Blacks, women and youth against capitalism, racism, sexism, and imperialist war, from the activity of thinking and working out theory for our age. Participation in the freedom struggles and the creation of a forum for all the new voices from below by the publication of the paper, pamphlets and books are all forms of activities we invite you to join in working out with us.

Views

TESTING GROUND?

This area looks like the testing ground for a new round of reaction to head off the growing protest over inflation, corruption and prejudice. In California, welfare restrictions have been tightened and enforced work attempted. The Industrial Welfare Commission has interpreted the ERA to eliminate all kind of gains won by working women over the years. The Attorney General has called for "an end of permissiveness in discretionary Judicial sentencing," in effect since 1965.

In the Bay Area, the National Lawyers Guild has had to distribute a pamphlet entitled "The FBI is in town, don't talk," to counter the attempt to use the SLA as an excuse for a witch-hunt. The Black Panthers headquarters in Oakland was raided at 5 a.m. on April 17 by police who confiscated mailing lists, and held 14 people, including women and children for 30 hours before the Prosecutor announced there was not enough evidence to hold them. Now the police have begun stopping and searching all Black men that supposedly look like the Zebra killer, which even Alioto calls "a police action without parallel in S.E. history."

Politico
Berkeley

In January, uniformed Nazis wearing swastikas appeared at the SF Board of Education meetings to protest desegregation of the schools. They passed out leaflets which openly called for the killing of Jews and Blacks, "shotgun blasts into the guts of 'mixmaster' principals" and "hand grenades lobbed into . . . the Supreme Court."

Yvonne Golden, a Black teacher, took the microphone and asked the Board to evict the Nazis. Workers Action Movement got into a fist fight with the Nazis and were arrested as was Yvonne Golden who is now undergoing her second trial for "inciting a riot."

The Nazis "rights of free speech" are being upheld by the courts and the American Civil Liberties Union. None were arrested, even though they blatantly call for genocide of both Jews and Blacks,

and for the violations of all the laws of this county.

Our collective response will indeed be crucial in determining the extent of repression.

Alarmed
Bay Area

ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

The letter-writer in the Jan.-Feb issue who called Israel "racist" is both bigoted and ignorant. Israel, like virtually every independent state in the world is a national state. The Arab states are obviously national states, and affirm it in their constitution and their membership in the Arab League . . .

No doubt there is some discrimination against the Arab minority in Israel although they are full citizens by law, vote in the elections, and sit in Parliament. Compare their situation with that of the Jewish minorities in Iraq and Syria where Jews are killed by the police for no other reason than for being Jews . . .

The Palestinian Arab guerrillas are financially, politically, and militarily supported by the Arab governments; the main contributors are Saudi Arabia and Libya. With the notorious exception of Kissinger, Jews are not allowed into Saudi Arabia, not even on the American base there . . . How can the guerrillas be revolutionary when their funds come from King Faisal and Colonel Qaddafi? Or when they set up military bases in capitalist Lebanon to fight Israel rather than Lebanese capitalism?

Aaron Margulis
Philadelphia

The Israeli government has fooled almost all Jews in this country into believing that Israel has the most to fear from the Arabs because of the Arabs, rather than because of its government's fascist, Zionist policies towards the Palestinian refugees and all the Arab peoples living in the territory the imperialist Israel government conquered

in the '67 war. Golda Meir, Abba Eban and Moshe Dayan are far from caring about any "people", their own included.

Concerned
Los Angeles

I'm willing to bet you get letters from Israeli patriots condemning you for being "anti-Israel," and from Arab supporters blasting you for being "anti-Arab." As for me, I consider your political analysis of the Middle East the only one I've read, among either bourgeois or radical papers, that is principled. You insisted on Israel's right to exist yet were not afraid to condemn the imperialist-like stand of that government in the years after '67. Above all, you make no bones about the stupidity of the Left which has manufactured some kind of "Arab Socialism" that includes the most reactionary regimes. And you have been unafraid to point out the Arab oil embargo has hurt the real Third World the most of all.

Supporter
Detroit

NOT MADNESS

I was incensed upon reading "Hitler's Kind Still Around" in the last issue in which Ethel Dunbar calls a racist a "madman". As an ex-mental patient who has been called mad by both friends and the psychiatric establishment, I object to labelling people with whom you disagree as mad. That's what the establishment does when it psychoanalyzes radicals. It's sad to see radicals acting the same way. If you disagree with someone, just say so. Don't call him or her "mad".

Member, Boston Mental
Patients Liberation Front

FARMERS AND BIG BUSINESS

I read the article in the April issue of N&L on beef prices and it's not true that the big companies can hold back the beef and not "lose money." The crime is that they can absorb that loss for tax advantage. Once a steer hits its prime market weight it becomes quite costly to keep it 'cause they eat more and gain less and if they get too big they get a lower per pound price. Most of the large investor-owned companies, are in the beef business to lose money. It

is the small independent farmer who is really hurting now.

For example: Ralston Purina sets up a company to raise beef or poultry or hogs in order that they can sell this company Ralston Purina feed. They don't care whether they make money on the livestock, but they really rake it in on the feed. If the subsidiary loses money, Ralston Purina takes it as a tax loss and actually comes ahead both ways. Several million hogs are being raised now outside of St. Louis under such an arrangement, by a subsidiary of Ralston Purina.

This really hurts the small farmers, because it floods the market. Watch what happens to pork prices soon. Big business is forming a monopoly in livestock and is squeezing the small farmers to death.

It is interesting to recall that Earl Butz, Secretary of Agriculture under Nixon, was a former director of Ralston Purina.

Former Salesman for Purina
Products, Springfield, Ohio

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

I went to a conference recently where there was a session on Mao. It is funny how you can have all the "facts" about China and still go off the beam. The speaker talked about the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, but not once did he mention the Sino-Soviet split, and ended up with Mao being something like an "Equalitarian Authoritarian Dictatorship" — whatever that may mean. I took the floor briefly. I had brought along *Philosophy and Revolution* and sold nine copies.

Marxist-Humanist
San Francisco

I am generally very critical of what I read, but I am overwhelmed with *Philosophy and Revolution*. I don't want to sound like a babbling fool, so I will try to cut out the superlatives — there are none to describe the work, anyhow. The best I could say is that Marx would be very proud of it.

Student
New York State

Vets fight phony Nixon patriots

The Vietnam veterans are abused in many ways from the time they get their separation papers. I know. I am a Vietnam vet. The first thing they do is look for a job and what they find is long unemployment lines. If they do get hired, they're most likely to get laid-off because they don't have the higher seniority that non-veteran workers have. Approximately 300,000 Vietnam era vets are unemployed.

Those who decide to go to school through the GI Bill don't get what they think they will. From the time they enroll they can wait at least three months for their first check. A lot of them drop out because of financial desperation because for many it is their only source of income.

Over three million soldiers, sailors and fliers served in the Southeast Asian Theater. 331,000 of them came back disabled. President Nixon in 1970 told us when we went into Cambodia that he would do everything possible for "our boys." However, in early 1973 the Office of Management and Budget released a proposal to cut disability compensation rates by \$160 million for severely disabled Vietnam era veterans. Public and congressional outcries forced the administration to withdraw its proposal.

In 1972 the President pocket-vetoed the Health Care and Expansion Act which would have provided \$113 million for veteran health care needs. Congress appropriated \$25 million in October, 1972 for the Veterans Cost of Instruction Program designed to help colleges recruit and establish special veterans' programs. Nixon impounded the funds in February, 1973 but was forced by a federal district court to release the money.

The Veterans Administration says it is an inde-



'GIVE THE PASSWORD? I BELIEVE IT'S 'VETERAN'... ISN'T IT?'

pendent agency, above petty politics. Then why did it hire a dozen ex-employees of the Committee to Reelect the President? Their credentials: one headed up the Veterans for Nixon Committee, another worked on "security operations" for James McCord of Watergate fame.

At this writing we are told that Veterans Administration Director, Donald Johnson, will resign. Even if he does, he is a scapegoat being used to try to relieve the pressure of letters and demonstrations. This is mere personnel shuffling as usual and will not change the attitudes and policies of the Nixon Administration. As long as Nixon is in office, veterans will keep up the pressure for better treatment.

—Vietnam Vet

UFW boycott support grows in SF

by Chris Norwell

San Francisco, Calif.—Close to 300 farmworkers and supporters of the United Farm Workers of America held a Good Friday service and demonstration at Gallo's Bay Area distribution office. The demonstration was the first in a new phase of UFW boycotts against scab produce.

On April 8 the AFL-CIO officially endorsed the boycott of table grapes and lettuce, in return for the UFW giving up its secondary boycott rights. The UFW has been trying to regain their contracts from the lettuce and grape growers and Gallo wines ever since the growers signed sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters union.

The UFW had concentrated its efforts in the cities, picketing stores that sell scab products, and asking people not to shop at those stores, which is a secondary boycott. The AFL-CIO didn't like that tactic, since many union employees work in the stores that were UFW targets.

What all that means is now the UFW has to concentrate on a primary boycott, and inform everyone that there is a strike and boycott of grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wines.

Carwash a 'hellish' job

Cleveland, Ohio—I work at a carwash-gas station complex which is organized by the mighty union-busting Teamsters. Our wage is \$1.65 an hour and union dues are as high as \$2 on every \$30, not to mention what the government rips off.

We have absolutely no benefits or rights and up to now have never seen a union official at all. I once called up the union about some complaints, but all that bureaucrat told me was to go through the proper channels and contact some union official and see what happens.

In the front of the place where the cars come off the conveyor belt, it is living hell. There is a blower which dries the cars with a deafening sound making verbal communication impossible. The first several weeks I worked there I thought I'd go crazy.

It's hot in summer but the worst is during winter. Frequently the boss won't turn on the heater and it is just as cold inside as outside — about 10°. You can imagine how we feel with soaking wet towels wiping wet cars. Our hands go numb from the cold, not to mention our feet which also get soaked. And then we have to watch out for flying ice from the blower, which can be very painful.

We always have to be careful where we place our feet, since you can get your foot caught in the conveyor belt. I once got it caught there and would have had it crushed if I hadn't jerked it out just in time. And not to mention how often the car tires roll over our feet.

Probably worst of all are the noxious gasses. The whole place is just seething with car exhaust. If you inhale it, it can make you mighty ill. And then there is the boss who is always on our back complaining and raving about our laziness.

The night shift is mainly composed of Black teenagers, while the bosses are all white. The bosses exploit both Black and white workers.

—Carwash Worker

But the farmworkers have one resource that growers will never have, support from working people. The Bay Area already has seen people standing in line on roadways, freeway entrances, sports stadiums, shopping centers, etc., each holding a huge sign calling for support for the boycott — "human billboards." Thousands of leaflets are being distributed wherever people congregate, informing them of what's to be boycotted and why.

The farmworkers I talked to feel very confident that they will win this year. With the harvest strikes starting now, they don't think this new agreement ending their secondary boycott power will hurt their struggle. How much support the AFL-CIO leadership will give remains to be seen, but the farmworkers will continue their struggle in the fields.



Farmworker tells of field conditions

(This story is by a California farmworker who now works in the UFW's Brooklyn Boycott office—ed.)

Brooklyn, N.Y.—Ever since we can remember, we have worked in the fields, from one side of the San Joaquin Valley to the other. Most of the time we didn't have time to go to school and many times we would work in the morning before and after school. This was the only way we could support ourselves. And sometimes not even this effort would give us enough to eat.

Before our union, we worked for as little as 80¢ an hour, or less than \$10 a day. This would be after a 13 hour day, from sun up to sun down. When we got home at night we wouldn't even have the strength to lift our hands to eat. And if we didn't go to work the next day, we would lose our jobs.

During the harvest season, they worked us every day of the week. But when winter came, we didn't have enough work to pay our bills. When there was a little work, they would get us up early and we would go wait out in the fields, when it was raining, so we could work a few hours.

We can remember when we picked oranges and they sprayed the trees with pesticides. We would be all white and dusty, and we'd be sick with headaches, and our eyes would cry and we couldn't breathe very well.

In order to come to New York, we had to leave our families, friends, and home behind. We left Delano, Cal. in August with 500 other farmworkers who are also on strike, to spread throughout the country in hopes of winning some justice.

The Teamsters and growers who make money at our expense try to get people confused. The issue is very simple, we are farmworkers and we want the United Farm Workers Union.

READERS:

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

Movie reveals Cuban life

The Cuban film "Memories of Underdevelopment" has been playing to large audiences in New York, partly due to the U.S. State Department, which prevented a U.S. critics group from presenting an award to Tomas Gutierrez Alia, the Cuban film director, either here or in Cuba. They refused the director a visa to receive the award and threatened the critics with the Trading with the Enemy Act if they sent him the small monetary prize. The controversy guaranteed the film a far larger viewing in New York and other cities than would have been otherwise possible.

The film views the Cuban revolution until the 1963 Cuban Missile Crisis through the eyes of a rather confused Cuban bourgeois who stayed behind while all of his friends chose to leave revolutionary Cuba. Through his eyes we see the power of the notion of national liberation.

ONE OF the main character's friends, about to leave "before the blow-up," says he never expected the revolution to succeed in overthrowing Batista and certainly not to hold off the U.S. colossus. He concludes that at best it can turn out like Haiti, where a tiny people defied and defeated the great Napoleon but slid into barbarous dictatorship and underdevelopment.

Much of the film shows the main character with three women friends and the day-to-day life of Havana, which is one of poverty, but without the lie of a fabulous night life designed and maintained for the wealthy foreign tourist.

POLITICS INTRUDES directly even on the main character during the Missile Crisis, when we see him and all of Havana waiting silently and fearfully for the outcome. One feels the terror of impending nuclear destruction as the entire city of Havana sits in silence while the great powers negotiate and Castro broadcasts to the world "we are not afraid." Castro's rhetoric makes him a somewhat ridiculous figure here and elsewhere in the film, which pokes fun at many aspects of Cuban society. Even the title seems to be ironic, since underdevelopment is more than a "memory" for the Cuban people.

"Memories of Underdevelopment" gives us an often revealing view of reality in one part of the Third World—Cuba.

—Jack Macbride

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BLACK-RED VIEW Second Black convention

by John Alan

The further Black "leadership" gets away from the Black masses, and most particularly the Black working class, the more splintered and inane they become. The second National Black Conference, held in Little Rock, Ark., March 1974, is a living example of this. Quite a bit of their time was spent with pleas to the prominent Black leaders, who did not attend, to please return to the fold (this Convention had only 1,000 delegates as compared to 6,000 delegates in 1972), or by denouncing the absent ones as "Neo-Colonialist".

Two years ago a wide spectrum of Black leaders and delegates had attended the first Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind. There was an air of great expectation, although it was called during a low point of Black mass activity. Too soon the Convention degenerated into an arena where delegates with varying ideologies clashed and sought to gain their particular hegemony over the meeting. Nothing came of this great showing at the Convention except disagreement, and a statement of denunciation of the Black condition in the United States—then adjournment, to see if some agreements could be made among the warring leaders.

If this first Convention had proved anything, it proved that mere Blackness does not automatically bring about Black unity. In such a disparate atmosphere of clashing ideologies, which ranged from Black capitalism to ambitious politicians to Black separatists, all without any ground in the mass Black movement toward freedom, all that could be born was a number of egotistical personalities, trying to claw their way to "leadership".

One of the most positive aspects of the second Conference was the correct assessment made "of the unrelieved crisis for our people" for which the white politicians offer

As Others See Us

Philosophy and Revolution: three reviews

Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 20, 1974

This is a book about heroes who became villains, saints who became sinners, and undefiled revolutionists who became impure counter-revolutionaries. A few characters in Madame Dunayevskaya's volume of essays retain her admiration, Marx and Hegel and an African or two.

But as for Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Mao, Fidel, Nkrumah, they are fallen angels who might have led us to paradise but in one way or another betrayed their vocation and debased their mission.

The rhetoric and jargon of this book frequently make it difficult to remember that these betrayals and debasements are not simply debates about philosophical and dialectical problems but affected the lives of millions of people who became victims of monumental ideological foulups.

A DEBATE OVER nationalism in the Soviet Union between Lenin and Bukarin is treated as a problem of dialectics here, but what was at stake was the right of some people, Bashkirs, or Kirghiz or Georgians, to national self-determination.

Bukharin "created the theoretical premises for Stalin, who did turn the wheels of history straight back to capitalism." That formulation has its meaning, too, for millions of Soviet citizens.

The author, a well-known theoretician of Marx and other Socialist writers, is no irritating euphemist. She is widely read in Marxist and revolutionary literature. Her scholarly credentials are high. What Madame Dunayevskaya exemplifies is what happens to language in revolutionary situations . . .

no hope for change. Their statement said, in part:

"On every side, in every area of our lives, the American institutions in which we have placed our trust are unable to cope with the crisis they have created by their single-minded dedication to profits for some and white supremacy above all."

But the alternatives presented were a no-man's land of confusion whereby Blacks would act as a "swing force" to determine the outcome of either the Democrats or Republicans in the 1976 Presidential elections! Once again they are reckoning without the potential of the Black masses, who as force and as reason, are steadily demanding their freedom.

Recently I saw a network news show that polled rank and file Black workers about how they felt about the agreement just concluded by the steel companies and the steel union leadership, wherein the companies agreed to pay \$31 million in compensation to minority workers and women for past discriminatory practices the steel moguls had committed, plus a promise to upgrade the discriminated-against workers in the future, providing that no more suits would be brought to the courts against the steel corporations.

The Black workers interviewed, without any equivocation, denounced this agreement as far too little! (Incidentally, the NAACP has urged the Black workers not to accept the agreement). What was visible in the background, behind the TV interview, were literally hundreds of Black men, streaming into the plant to go to work. You couldn't help being aware that it was the Black workers who were a potent and self-assured group of people—a group which had its own ideas as to what should be done.

Those were the forces—and the reason—that were missing from both Gary and Little Rock.

IN HER PROVOCATIVE book, the author tells us that "it has been clear ever since the Hitler-Stalin Pact opened the floodgates to World War II that there are no fundamental differences between private capitalism and state-capitalism"—the latter a description of the Soviet system.

On the next page, it appears there are fundamental differences: "What is new under state-capitalism is the totalitarianism that permeates the whole society—economics, the arts, the student youth—not only public but even private life."

WHERE THIS STUDY of modern revolutionaries fails is in its wordlessness before the calamitous events since that day in 1917 when Lenin arrived at the Finland Station . . .

Is there something in Marxism, in Leninism, Stalinism, in Maoism, in Titoism, Castroism, Nkrumahism which makes calamity inevitable? Or is it that the ideology is fine, but the ideologists go astray? . . .

—Arnold Beichman

Kirkus Service, August 15, 1973

An anarchist-syndicalist-Trotskyist leader of a small U.S. sect of revolutionaries, Dunayevskaya proceeds to apply the force of European snobbery to the unwashed of this hemisphere. Her stress on Hegel is undoubtedly an advance over mindless doing-my-thing leftism—but she gets little further than finding the essence of Marx and Hegel in the notion of "contradiction". To this she adds erratic if sometimes brilliant critiques of Lenin, Trotsky, Mao and Sartre. Her favorite epithet for the U.S.S.R. is "state capitalist" . . . The book's idea of revolution is a wishful whirlwind which Dunayevskaya sees gathering in Africa, a "new praxis" in Eastern Europe, and insurgent constituency groups in the U.S. A controversial work: some will take it as definitive theory, others will choose to peel off the revolutionary crust, puncture the European cachet, and find ordinary apple-pie American pluralism. Ah, poor Hegel!

Independent/Press-Telegram, Long Beach, Calif., January 21, 1974

Liberals and radicals who cannot accept the setup under which we now live and feel disgust with what the Communist countries have become, will find this book to their liking. Raya Dunayevskaya, expert on Marxism, argues for a re-evaluation of the philosophy of Hegel and details the misuses of that philosophy by followers of Marx and Lenin that have led to bloody totalitarianism.

We apologize for the typographical error in the final paragraph of the review by Louis Dupre which appeared in our last issue. That paragraph should have read:

AFTER READING her provocative work one cannot but wonder whether this is "scientific" or "Utopian" socialism. Today's communist leaders will certainly dismiss her interpretation as "utopian". So would perhaps Engels have done. Nor am I entirely sure that the author would have received Marx's own support. Yet in the long range that may not be too important. For at least this intuitive study brings into the open the difficulties which traditional interpretations of Marx's dialectic expose themselves. In a truly creative way she attempts to cope with them.

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

philosophy in whose phenomenological style Sartre was then writing, "The Transcendence of the Ego." Evidently they were either unconcerned or unaware of the fact that the philosopher whom they so admired was barred from the library of his university since he was a Jew and thus was not permitted access by his most famous pupil, Martin Heidegger who was then Rector of the University and an active Nazi.

Now, Sartre was surely not an anti-Semite; he was apolitical, totally so. The shaking off of what his grandfather imposed on him when he was a child—bourgeois idealism, writing at destiny's calling, which Sartre refers to as his "imposture," books as a substitute for life as well as the catharsis of literary creation that he experienced when he was on his own, which he felt first when he reached the age of thirty and wrote Nausea, all this and more made him famous as writer.

BUT IT IS NOT this which established him as very nearly the spokesman for a generation. That only came with the Resistance and directly after liberation when he became "committed." This is the "conversion" that is crucial. It is true that that period is not within the province of **The Words**, but not a single marker is set up for it while many are set up for the year 1935. **The Words** does not give us the slightest sense of inner crisis; it doesn't give us that man, and this isn't because Sartre has changed again. Sartre makes no effort of any kind to give us the quality of that inner crisis because there was no "conversion." Sartre remains—Jean-Paul.

The "I" that changed, the quality the critics saw as a reversal on the question of political action, is but a continuation of apolitical politics. The Resistance was broad enough in its composition and intense enough in its action, in its enforced sense of urgency, that no philosophical clash of the various political tendencies emerged. The minute the war was over, however, and the varied tendencies clashed, that minute Sartre's inherent evasiveness reappeared.

This evasion was not merely one about taking sides between "others", the varied tendencies within Marxism. The evasion, the flight from contradiction was a flight into his own existentialist philosophy and its concept of individual freedom as against Marx's concept of humanity's freedom. Note, please, I said Marx's not Marxist; I did so because Sartre is often double-tongued on the question. A quick look at a major philosophical essay in the period after Liberation will show what I mean.

DEVOTED TO EXORCIZING the materialist "myth" from the philosophy of revolution, **Materialism and Revolution** appears to argue against Communists and Trotskyists, but is, in fact, a direct attack on Karl Marx. Thus Sartre writes: "Let us make no mistake; there is no simultaneous transcendence of materialism and idealism here . . ." (p. 401) In a footnote he refers to the fact that Marx thought otherwise, but, instead of quoting him, Sartre quotes Communist interpretations of Marx. Had he quoted Marx, Sartre could not, of course, have made the point that, without existentialism, the human element gets swallowed up in "dialectical materialism."

Marx went to great length in his **Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844**, to show why he does not consider Communism "the goal of human development, the form of human society;" why he insists, instead, on designating his philosophy as a "thoroughgoing Naturalism or Humanism" which distinguishes itself from both Idealism and Materialism: "it is, at the same time, the truth uniting them both." Sartre's criticism of Communists, on the other hand, went hand in hand with his reiteration that the Communist Party was "the only revolutionary party." (p. 429) Again: "We shall call revolutionary the party or the person in the party whose acts intentionally prepare such a revolution . . . In the same way, we cannot call the American Negroes revolutionaries, though their interests may coincide with those of the party which is working for the revolution." (p. 406) . . .

What should be obvious is that the contradiction in Sartre is not between philosophy and action. The gulf is between two opposing philosophies: Sartrean existentialism and its corollary, the myth invented by it of the Communist Party being "the only revolutionary party," and Marx's Humanism which sees no need for bourgeois or Communist idealism manifested in a party of the elite, "a party to lead." . . .

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

Ukrainian Opposition

We have received the following letter which speaks for itself:

Recent years in the Ukraine have seen an increasing opposition by workers and intellectuals to the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy. This opposition, which has manifested itself in strikes and workers' demonstrations calling for "All Power to the Soviets" (the Bolsheviks' slogan in 1917), has been answered by a wave of repression resulting in numerous arrests and imprisonments.

Among the victims of the repression are two writers of working class origin, Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chornovil.

Ivan Dzyuba was first arrested in 1965 for allegedly sending the diary of the late poet Vasyl Symonenko to the West. He was later released probably because of his acute tuberculosis. Dzyuba is author of *Internationalism or Russification?*, a Marxist critique of the bureaucracy's nationalities policy. Rearrested in 1972 he was sentenced, in March 1973, to five years imprisonment. However, it was announced in November of that year that he had been released—a release secured only at the price of a self-denigrating recantation.

Vyacheslav Chornovil, former member of the editorial board of the Young Communist paper *Moloda Gvardia*, was first arrested in 1966 for refusing to testify at a closed trial. He received three months. Arrested again in 1967, he was sentenced to three years, later commuted to eighteen months. Chornovil is noted for *The Chornovil Papers*, a collection of documents exposing the terroristic methods employed by the KGB during the secret trials of 1965-66. In 1973 he was sentenced to seven years imprisonment plus five years exile.

Such are the horrors—which include starvation diets, overwork, the drugging of food, and the denial of visits and medical treatment—of life in the Soviet camps that many prisoners die or commit suicide before their time is up.

Dzyuba and Chornovil are but two of these prisoners. An international campaign in their defense is now being waged by socialists in North America and Europe. Readers are urged to contact the Committee to Defend Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chor-

novil, 83, Gregory Crescent, Eltham, London, SE9 5RZ.

Terry Liddle.

A new pamphlet, *Ukraine Unrest And Repression* by Andrea Martin, which includes more information on this question, may be obtained for 25 cents from the above address.

Politics of Oil

The "politics of oil" epitomizes the newest stage in the degeneration of world state-capitalism. The U. S. oil cartel's intimate partnership with the authoritarian oil states has resulted in their accelerated investment in military hardware to be used against any form of dissent. The steady flow of Russian arms to Iraq is being used against the movement for national self-determination in Kurdistan, which includes oil-rich territory.

The Atlantic Alliance, marked already by competition for the favor of the oil states, is now threatened with outright war between Greece and Turkey over oil rights in the Aegean Sea. Even Denmark, one of the few industrial countries that refused to make oil the prime mover of its foreign policy and is still under the impact of the embargo, is being forced to make massive cutbacks in its foreign aid because of a crippling trade deficit caused by the energy crisis.

Far from being a weapon in the hands of the third world against the industrial societies, the energy crisis has resulted in cutbacks in aid by the industrial societies at a time when most third world countries are even less able to deal with sky-high oil prices. The threat of famine throughout much of the third world that doesn't happen to have pools of oil underfoot shows who is going to suffer the most from the energy crisis.

Even India, long thought of as a "bulwark of stability" in the third world, is on the verge of a total economic and political crisis. Coming after the recent overthrow of the Gujarat state government, the imminent famine, caused by the shortage of fertilizer and fuel for the pumps that irrigate the wheat fields, portends an even deeper revolt.

For now, however, the energy crisis is a weapon used by the state capitalists against the workers in their own country and a new obstacle to the development of the unindustrialized countries.

Canada

In Canada the airlines are shut down with a strike of the airport firefighters, who are unhappy with their pay in relation to municipal firemen. The air traffic controllers are threatening to strike. The St. Lawrence River pilots, who are required to navigate the foreign ships arriving in the Great Lakes are also on strike. If anyone wants to complain they cannot because the postal workers union is out on strike and there are no mail deliveries in all of Canada.

All of these striking workers have one thing in common, their employer is the Canadian Government. All contracts worked out by the unions must be government-approved.

The big issue with the postal workers is the introduction of an automated mail handling system which sorts the mail by machine, using fewer workers in a different category, paying 54 cents an hour less than the workers are now getting.

The Government is beefing about the inflationary cost of wage raises but has no solution to the better than 10 percent rate of inflation that affects the pocketbook of every Canadian worker.

Japan

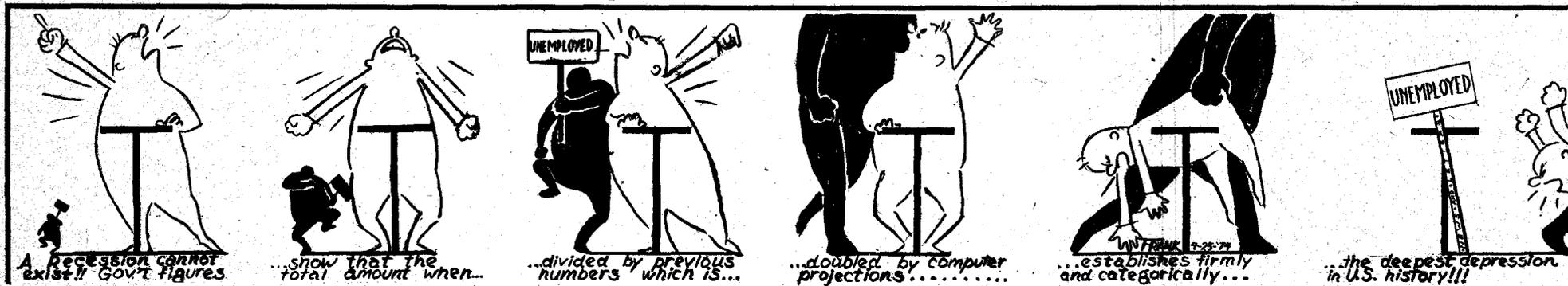
Premier Kakuei Tanaka is even lower in the popularity polls in Japan than Nixon in the United States with only 20 percent of those polled having any confidence in him.

This year's "Spring Offensive", the annual period when new wage demands are made, saw the country practically shut down in a wave of strikes. Inflation is increasing at a rate of 20 percent a year.

Over 6.3 million workers, including those that run the railroads, airlines, busses, and the postal and communication services, stopped 98 percent of the country's transportation—which, in turn, kept 40 million people away from work, in a general three-day stoppage. They demanded a 30 percent wage increase to make up for the 26 percent increase in prices since their contracts were signed a year ago.

The Tanaka government has been forced to act against price-fixing cartels in oil and material firms whose profits have been soaring. Firms like Mitsui and Mitsubishi have been called before the Diet to explain their huge profits.

UNEMPLOYMENT BLUES AND BLAHS by Frank



Voters, vets, workers revolt; politicians play impeachment games

(Continued from Page 1)

you're not laid-off. I only get 22 weeks of SUB credit, and the union keeps putting out the rumor that GM SUB funds are getting low, and it will run out before your credits are used up.

"The company and the union are trying to discourage us, trying to make us think we'll never get back. They even hold up your SUB checks until you turn in your safety glasses and earplugs or pay for them. They want you to quit and find another job. But there aren't any jobs."

NEW STAGE OF REVOLT

It cannot be denied that American state capitalists have a strong sense of class consciousness, and it is certainly true that when they negotiated the Unemployment Compensation—SUB benefits they intended them to serve as a brake on the militancy of workers. And the labor bureaucracy which touts SUB as its symbol of progress certainly wants not only the continued dues income, but shares with management the fear of "un-managed" revolt. Some in the Left, whether "New" or "Old", have been worrying that U. S. capitalism has found a way through the benefits to stop the revolt of workers against the system.

The truth, however, is that far from SUB meeting the economic needs of unemployed workers, and even further from it "pacifying" the shops, a new stage of revolt is now evident across the country.

On the same night that the Republicans were losing another Michigan seat in Congress, 1,500 striking workers at Dow Chemical in nearby Midland, Mich. were marching on the plant to defend strike pickets under attack by state police, who had already arrested over 100 workers in the month-long strike. And in Detroit, workers left

behind in the auto shops, facing a new and horrible level of speed-up, have responded to the lay-offs by calling-in sick in droves. Day after day, there are not enough workers to start the line when the shift begins.

No Nixon speeches about "bringing the boys home with honor" have been able to check the serious and growing revolt of the Vietnam veterans. When Nixon declared "Vietnam Veterans Day" on March 29, thousands of vets responded by marching on Washington, and denouncing Veterans Administration (VA) policies, which have resulted in medical maltreatment and useless educational benefits. They demanded, and have evidently won, the removal of VA director Donald Johnson.

WHOLE SYSTEM NOW QUESTIONED

The questions being raised all over America are fundamental ones. It is not just that people are "cynical" about politics and politicians, although that is certainly true. There is a questioning of the whole system of state-capitalism in chaos; and it is a revolt so deep that the same "leaders" of this country who were declaring only a few months ago that "the nation can't stand impeachment" are now demanding impeachment in the hope that this will finally bring an end to the disarray.

For Nixon's part, while he has evidently decided to "confront" Congress on the issue of Watergate, he is frantically re-shuffling his economic advisors in an attempt to find some solution to the crisis. Treasury Secretary Schultz, who touted recession as a cure for inflation, is out; and William Simon, the Wall Street bond lawyer famous for helping the oil companies to unheard-of profits, is in.

Neither the impeachment show of the Democratic Congress, nor the stalling and "musical chairs" games of the Republican administration have anything to offer

the millions for whom malaise and disbelief has now turned to anger and new forms of revolt. Where these new forms will lead is the question that everyone, on both sides of the class line, will be asking in the months ahead.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Take our retirement. Many of us still wonder how workers exist who retired some six or seven years ago on \$400 a month, especially if they were under 65 years old. It was shocking to learn that if you have not reached 65 when you are forced out or voluntarily retire, there are still deductions and taxes that come out of your monthly check until you are 65.

As one of the workers in this discussion pointed out, he had 33 years with the company. When he was 59, he retired on 30-years-and-out with \$500 a month. But he actually received a check from the company every month for \$441 after taxes and other deductions—plus he had to pay over \$180 in income taxes.

No, these companies do not give a damn about their employees except what they can produce and the services they can render. When there is someone that can produce a little more and a little longer than you, then it is the hell with you.

It is like the former Standard Oil employee says, but there is more to it than losing faith in the system. It needs to be changed to where workers will have the control of what they produce, control of their own lives, in and out of production.