Some workers who have been laid off were discussing what corporations think of their employees while they are employed and the workers' support from their union at a personal point of view. All agreed that the union in its early struggles and organizing days understood the company point of view and yet that the company's interests were opposed to workers' struggles.

This is still true today, although the union leaders have turned into liberals since those early days. 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 these benefits are helpful to workers, but neither workers nor the public are fully aware of how much help the company answers for. For instance, all of these benefits are paid by workers' sweat. After every contract, protections are raised on workers. And of all the money it is a take-out of workers' checks that goes into the company and union escrow for workers, about 50 percent of workers are paid, yet not by the union.

"Just take the money that is taken out for compensation benefits. If and when a worker retires, he never gets a dime of it. But when he dies, he can have his wife draw a dime of SUB pay. One of the biggest gimmicks is that SUB pay gives a worker 95 percent of his benefits, whereas a worker who retires gets only 90 percent of those laid-off who get 95 percent of their basic pay."

FORCED TO RETIRE

Another worker said, "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 gasoline from another company in 30 years. Now the company had forced him out because he was wearing out 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 could understand what the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s meant.

As we were listening to those professional white-collar workers from Standard Oil, we had to think of how companies specialize in brainwashing the 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.— Over 3,200 women came to the opening convention of the National Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), 1,000 of those women had originally been laid off because of 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 Horn and others. Wolfgang Fromm was there 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 gulfs between women workers and the men. The way this convention was organized was this: registration fee was $12, not including transportation, food, or lodging. Many of the women there were-opposed to workers' struggles.

SCARED TO MEET IN DETROIT

The largest group we heard from was the UAW, as were most of the big shot bureaucrats, organizers, sergeants-at-arms, etc. Officially, Chicago had been chosen as the meeting place in order to avoid UAW domination. But I get 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 limited 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 Breakside 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)
**Commissions sees Equal Rights as no rights**

Oakland, Cal. — On June 1, 1974, new statewide work rules are to go into effect which will change current laws on overtime-paye time, and, a-half after ten hours, rather than the current eight, 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 making "equalizing" conditions — that is, everyone will have it equally bad. By preventing these protective laws from disappering altogether, a new law was passed which weakens extending these regulations to men.

The job of establishing these new work rules went to the Industrial Welfare Commission (IWC) whose job 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 Unison W.A.G.E. reported that "Only four of the orders covering highly organized industries like manufacturing and transportation do not require overtime until after ten hours. Six orders do not require overtime until after ten hours. Three of these are daily work and overtime and, in industries related to agriculture . . . time provisions are waived if food is perishable — which in effect means no overtime at all for farm workers and household workers do not mention hours.

"Unions Women's Alliance to Gain Equality (Union W.A.G.E.) has fought 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-

**BOOK REVIEW**

**Mother Jones — working class legend in her own time**

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 fa
cvories were the women of coal, who were often or-
ganized into mop and broom and pot and pan picket lines at night. They had a hunger 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 hanged along with many of her hired gunmen of coal—which included sheriffs and their deputies. As it was, she narrowly escaped death dozens of times as bloody class war raged in the coal rich mountain states of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Kentucky. She 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 and the workers of Pennsylvania marching to New York to dramatize the horrors of child labor, holding up handfuls of fingers and handfuls of children's faces and tears; fighting with men from Appalachia to Idaho; or tongue lashing reactionary legis-

**Leaders and Ranks**

She also saw the growing division between labor leaders and the ranks. This book is a valuable source of information for the world of the working class. Through this world she fearlessly strode, speaking to the workers, organizing the miners, and always fighting for the rights of workers.

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

—Andy Phillips

**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 begins.

Her description of conditions in the fields was the only time that working conditions came up at all. She said: "We toil through all three seasons, from the frozen arctic of table grapes, non-union lettuce, and Gallo wines. Our children are suffering from the exposure of working 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 slanging of "Solidarity" after this debacle made me sick.

With the CLUW out from under the table, the conflict between workers and bureaucrats was made clear. When Van Arsdale proposed that we hear the report 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 fares 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 union jobs?

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

Unioyi wants 125 percent

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

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 produc-

**WL NOTES**

Women employees at Harlem Hospital in New York City have taken the battle to forge 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 meet-

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

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**CONNECTICUT:** PO Box 251, Hartford, Conn. 06101 (527-9868)

**LOS ANGELES:** PO Box 243735, Los Angeles, Calif. 90024

**DETROIT:** 1006 E. Jefferson, Detroit 48202 (313-3610)

**NEW YORK:** PO Box 5443, Grand Central Sta., New York, N.Y. 10017

Shell out a little money—$$10 to $25—your quota could stop for the day. But the company just cancelled that part of the contract this year.

Where they laid off the whole aircraft and truck tire de-

**WOMEN'S LIBERATION COMMITTEES**

**San Francisco:** 1435 Franklin Street, San Francisco, Calif.

**Los Angeles:** 510 First Street East, Los Angeles, Calif. 90012

**Chicago:** 2512 West Armitage, Chicago, Ill. 60622

**New York:** PO Box 5443, Grand Central Sta., New York, N.Y., 10017

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

Women employees at Harlem Hospital in New York City have taken the battle to forge better working conditions and equal pay with men. Police dispersed them at the palace entrance, although a small delegation was allowed inside.

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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 days. In the beater room the old paper is dumped with back pay. But many workers are saying it's worse to he was fired or suspended. The guard just took the badge was in his locker, but he wanted to know whether told Clark, "Give me your badge." The worker said his brother had broken into the machine because another into a cigarette machine. It was impossible that this into a huge vat of hot water and acid, made into a pulp, and run onto a conveyer belt. The belt carries the pulp to a machine which reconstructs into large rolls of paper. These are, in turn, cut into sheets only long and thin to feed into machines set 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 off the belt. When the paper is running out, it frequently breaks, and when this happens the machine has to be shut down to push it 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. You never know when the machine is going to shut down or go out of the pit. The rollers which you clear the paper from are hot enough to give you third degree burns. A great danger comes from the rollers which you push too far your fingers get crushed.

When the paper isn't going through the machine the people who are on third shift are being told to stop eating and in the pit and clean it up. The "pit" is a place where men go to eat. They shouldn't go.

**PRODUCTION-MADNESS**

The excess paper from these breaks is called "hay." When too much hay accumulates in the pit, the crew has to go down there and clear it out. The 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 breaks—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 regular lunch break? That's easy. It's being done strategically. In the beater room the old paper is dumped with back pay. But many workers are saying it's worse to he was fired or suspended. The guard just took the badge was in his locker, but he wanted to know whether told Clark, "Give me your badge." The worker said his brother had broken into the machine because another into a cigarette machine. It was impossible that this into a huge vat of hot water and acid, made into a pulp, and run onto a conveyer belt. The belt carries the pulp to a machine which reconstructs into large rolls of paper. These are, in turn, cut into sheets only long and thin to feed into machines set up.

**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 the job in the hope of getting back to work, had no choice but to accept it. 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 turned "early quit" estimation not only become illusion but soon realized we were going to be stuck. Sure enough, we didn't get out until after nine o'clock.

Events of this kind concretely raise the question of why these people should be decided upon us. Our 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 as so, looking to the company, and this company could be going out of commission on the job.

Another remarked, "If you went to some of these superintendents and showed him your kids' they'd figure you were off your trolley because that has nothing to do with tonnage." An old timer who led to that one way. "But they'd talk to about the kids if they figured that would make tonnage down."

**SUB benefits denied workers**

We make a paper which is used in housing construc-...
WORKERS AND ‘OIL POLITICS’

The auto companies and the union didn’t get caught with their pants down when the oil showed its teeth. During negotiations last year for the last contract, for the first time in UAW history, the union put a dues structure on the employers, 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.

A second thing is that the companies have been trying to go into small cars for several years. But the problem was how to extend. How do you delay 10 percent of the work force with no union audible and no headaches? We’re only 10 years to do without a crisis, they are doing in one day, or one year, in Europe.

And the retooling will mean permanent layoffs for many, because it always means more automation and less power. 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 world conspiracy of the North Sea oil. They tell us, ‘we will provide thousands of jobs, a Scottish Parliament, and overthrow all over the world their staking their claims is a moral act, is a beautiful part of the world. Scotland: there is no permanency in that kind of venture. The oil companies will grow and leave nothing but a mess behind them.

The Scottish Nationalists have lost all sense of proportion. They are dazzled by the dream of national enrichment. They live in a world of empty slogans like “the oil is ours” is easier than having to take sides in the superpower struggle.

The problems of Scotland are not isolated from the problems of the world. They are not isolated 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 in Scotland. It 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, their move is going to have to fight to keep hold of their standards and rights, let alone make any advances.

Terry Liddle
London

AFRICA AND ‘OIL POLITICS’

In your editorial on “Famine and Beyond” you say that the time of the final blow (to the underdeveloped lands) may well have been when the Arab oil producers cut their taxes. I would like to see some other factors. One would have thought, if you have expressed satisfactions some of the underdeveloped countries over their own resources. You might have mentioned that the Arab countries have a habit of cutting their losses. I think that in the continuation of the boycott were Syria, Libya, and Libya, hardly “feudal powers”.

Instead of blaming the Arabs for Africa’s ills you might ask: “Does the price of oil...” 2) The Arab oil boycott as a revolutionary act, and its application to anti-capitalist aggressors: 3) The Arab answer to the energy problems of the underdeveloped countries over their own resources. You might have mentioned that the Arab countries have a habit of cutting their losses. I think that in the continuation of the boycott were Syria, Libya, and Libya, hardly “feudal powers”.

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E. Nasser
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, January, March.

One phrase Peter Mallory used in your letter to me: “feudal state-capitalism.” I never heard that one before, but it was a great help in clearing up the left confusion 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 concern is that Kraft has no political commitment, such articles as: a Kraftoic recall; Women Employed challenging Kraftoic’s hiring practices; an Edmonton Kraftoic boycott benefit, and others.

It would be very useful to have an input from our supporters, 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: Kraftoic boycott News P.O. Box 761 Kingston, Ontario

UFW BOYCOTT

Our UFW support work is having a discernible effect here. One chain has buying both unions and seafood, and distributes it so that the non-union lettuce is not advertised by our leafletting. The union lettuce is sent to the stores covered by our leaflet. They more than made up the deficit and able to expand the boycott support to all the chain’s stores in Galveston, Texas.

Kraft boycott News P.O. Box 701

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 the poor.

But we found out that Mayor Beame was putting the money from Washington into programs and cutting those that the people related to the Farm Workers fight there. The Trotskyists ignored the fact that the UFW was not supported by CILW and stressed how great it was that the UFW won! The Trotskyists praised “solidarity.” The Spartacists carried on about the rule that they played at the CILW 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. It was the Trotskyists who needed each other to work within the CILW. Their attitude was to be that if more militant people (15) become interested in the FarmWorkers positions, then CILW would be truly representative. I am anxious to read.

NJW's coverage.

Feminist
Detroit

POSTAL DEATHS

The post office was another of Nixon’s giveaways. It was grabbed up by the air mail companies and cut down the services. Postage on a first-class letter has increased from 25 to 26 cents in the next decade. Meanwhile postal workers have been evicted, cut down the services. Postage on a first-class letter has increased from 25 to 26 cents in the next decade. Meanwhile postal workers have been evicted.
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 Jeamson, has just come off the press. So much of the life of Jean-Paul Sartre is already familiar to many readers who, because that we felt this critique of the work written by Raya Dunayevskaya was appropriate to share with N & L readers, selected out of the numerous brief excerpts. We suggest that it be accompanied by a reading of her autobiography, Philosophy and Revolution, and of Jean-Paul Sartre: Outsider Looking In. Now that Sartre calls himself a near-Marxist, it will be interesting to watch his actions in the May 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 ideology, or autobiography, rather than autobiography. Great sections seem to be written as if they were illustrating various existentialist theses.

The words of Jean-Paul Sartre at this point in his life, the present tense. A master wielder of the pen, Sartre so interweaves the next projection into the present and the present tense that the reader is sure what is actual experience and which analysis.

The descriptions are too "objective," too distant, as if the current events of the French and American strikes, were substituting a constructed existence for a real 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 statements are so forcefully delivered, so sure that the reader is convinced that the words are true that it is hard to assure oneself they refer to the present, not the change from the bourgeois child to "Marxist*.

"The Words" by Jean-Paul Sartre, translated from the French by Bernard Frechtein, (George Braziller, New York, 1965)

"The Words*" can be considered an attempt at "explaining" Sartre's political evolution.

"The Words*" is its seeming ambivalence on the author's political and philosophical evolution. The Words* will have to stand on its own feet.

The crucial reason, for making a verifiable philosophical category of the year was that it is the year Sartre wrote "Notes on N
capitalism and the University." Our collective response will indeed be crucial in determining the extent of repression.

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*This is the period also, although Sartre does not mention this, when he was confronted, in his Studies in Classic American Literature, with the contradiction between tetter and tale: "An artist is usually a damned failure at his art, if he be a truth-teller, 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 events are brought in, generally quite suddenly, but not contingently. Each year chosen by Sartre has special significance for being. One especially is brought in several times. Its purpose is to serve as a turning point of darkest life, the day" was one of this significance.

The year is 1934.

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-The Words* written by Jean-Paul Sartre, translated from the French by Bernard Frechtein, (George Braziller, New York, 1965)
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 when they find it is long unemployment lines. If they do get hired, they're most likely to get laid off because they don't have the same 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, which is reviewed 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. According to the Washington Post, 62,000 of the Vietnam injured veterans went into Cambodia that he would do everything possible for "our boys." However, in early 1973 the Office of Manila has 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, and informing them of what's to be boycotted and why.

The farmers work for less than $1 an hour and union dues are as high, as $2 on every $100 in income. What all that means is now the UFW has to concentrate on a primary boycott, and inform everyone that secondary boycott power will hurt their struggle. How much support the AFL-CIO leadership will give remains to be seen, but the farmers will continue their struggle in the fields.

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. The night shift is nare 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 no local or any contract. We call in the local every Friday after work to just call up the union about some complaints, but all that bureaucrats told me was to go through the proper channels and contact the Teamsters union directly.

In the front of the place where the cars come off the line there's a door which dries the cars with a deafening sound making verbal communication impossible. The first several weeks you could barely hear each other above the din. It's hot in summer but the worst is during winter. Frequently the boss won't turn on the heater and it is just too cold to work. The cars would come in, it would be snowing outside, and then the cold is finally off. Probably worse than all the noxious gases. The whole place is just seething with car exhaust. If you inhale it, it can make you dehydrated. And then there is the boss who is always on our back complaining and raving about our laziness.

The management is composed of Black teenagers, while the bosses are all white. The bosses exploit both black and white workers.

UFW boycott support grows in SF

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 service was held as a result of the UFW boycotts against scab produce.

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, in stores, in shops, and at some demonstration at Gallo's Bay Area distribution office. The service was held as a result of the UFW boycotts against scab produce.

[Further text discussing the support for the UFW boycotts and the work of the farmworkers]
**Black-Red View**

by John Alan

The further Black “leadership” gets away from the Black masses, and most particularly the Black working class, the more splintered and tiny they become. The second National Black Convention, held in Little Rock, Ark., March 1974, is a living example of this. Quite a bit of their time was spent with plans 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 9,000 delegates in 1971), or by denouncing the same ones as “Neo-Colonialist”.

This year a wide spectrum of Black leaders and delegations had attended the first Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind. There was an air of great expectation, although it was known that to create unity would be a major mass activity. Too soon the Convention degenerated into an area wherelegates with varying ideologies clashed and sought to gain their particular hegemony over the meeting. Nothing came of this great showing at the Convention. The only result was a re-statement of the denunciation of the Black condition in the United States—and 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 unresolved crisis for our people” for which the white politicians offer no hope for change. Their statement said, in part: “On every side, in every area of our lives, the American leadership, which we have placed our trust in, are unable to cope with the crisis they have created by their single-minded dedication to profits for some and the Republic for all.”

But the alternatives presented were no man’s land of the agreement that Black workers and companies and the steel union leadership, wherein the companies agreed to pay $1 million in compensation to minority workers and young black magicians, and the steel companies had committed, plus a promise to upgrade the discrimi­nated-against workers in the future, providing that no Black worker would be employed by the steel corporations.

The Black workers interviewed, without any equivo­cation, denounced this agreement as far too little! Inci­dentially, the NAACP has urged the Black workers not to accept the traditional interpretations of Marx and his successors, “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.

As Others See Us

**Philosophy and Revolution: three reviews**

Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 20, 1974

A book about heroes who become villains, saints who become sinners, and unfulfilled revolutionaries who become impure counter-revolutionaries. A few characteristics in Madame Dunayevskaya’s polemic: lack of mass activity, 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 betrayal and debasement are not simply debates about philosophies and dialectical problems but affected the lives of millions of people who became victims of monumental ideological illusions.

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

But the author, a well-known theoretician of Marx and other Socialists, writes, is no irrationalist. She is widely read in Marxist and revolutionary literature. Her scholarly credentials are high. What Madame Dunayevskaya adds is what happens to language in revolutionary situations...

IN HER PROVOCATIVE book, the author tells us that “it has long been clear ever since the Hitler-Stalin Pact opened the floodgates to internationalism 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, that the totalitarianism which permeates the whole society—economies, the arts, the student youth—not only public but even private life exists.

WHERE THIS STUDY of modern revolutions falls is in its wordlessness before the calamitous events since December 1972 when Lenin arrived at the Finland Station...

Is there something in Marxism, in Leninism, Stalinism, in Marxism-Leninism, Trotskyism, Sartre, that 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 force the application of the Leninian approach to the unwatched social crisis, which Marx and his colleagues had so far been unable to comprehend.

An advance over mindless doing-my-thing leftism—but she gets little further than finding the essence of Marx and Lenin 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.”

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 from 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 a Marxist...

But the author, a well-known theoretician of Marx and other Socialists, writes, is no irrationalist. She is widely read in Marxist and revolutionary literature. Her scholarly credentials are high. What Madame Dunayevskaya adds is what happens to language in revolutionary situations...

**TWO WORLDS**

We apologize for the typographical error in the final paragraph of the review by Louis Dupe which appeared in our last issue. The author writes...

AFTER READING her provocative work one cannot but wonder whether this is “scientific” or “Utopian.”

We apologize for this and thus dis­mit 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 intuitional strategy brings into the open the difficulties which the 1930’s introduction of the Great Depression exposed themselves. In a truly creative way she attempts to cope with them.

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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 accompanied 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 alleged 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. Re-arrested in 1972 he was sentenced, in March 1973, to five years imprisonment. However, it was announced in November 1973 that he had been released—a release secured only at the price of a signed renunciation.

Vyacheslav Chornovil, former member of the editorial board of the Young Communist paper Messa, was first arrested in 1966 for refusing to testify. 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 terrorist methods employed by the KGB during the anti-war years of 1965-66. In 1973 he was sentenced to seven years imprisonment plus five years exile.

Both were held, during which timeinclude starvation diets, overwork, the drugging of food, and the denial of visits and medical treatment—of life in the Soviet camp. For Dzyuba, it means either death or commit suicide before their time is up.

Dzyuba and Chornovil are but two of these priso­

ners, perhaps hundreds more, who are 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 3RZ.

Terry Liddle.

... A new pamphlet, Ukraine Unrest And Repres­
sion by Andrea Martin, which includes more infor­
mation on this repression, 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 cartels' intimate partnership with the authoritarian oil states has resulted in their coerced investment in military hardware to be used against any form of dissent. The steady flow of Russian and East German aid against the movement for national self-determination in Kustan, which includes oil-rich territory.

The Atlantic Alliance, marked already by com­
petition for the favor of the oil states, is now threat­
ed 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 a profit from the Prime mover of its foreign policy and is still under the impact of the embargo, is being forced to maintain cutbacks in its foreign aid because of a crippling trade deficit caused by the energy crisis.

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 powers. Where most third world countries are even less able to deal with sky-high oil prices. The energy crisis is also a weapon in the third world that doesn't happen to have pools of oil underfoot who's 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 collapse. The Indian government is now being forced to make massive cutbacks in its foreign aid because of the energy crisis.

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