

Schrade's UAW report missed significant leftward trends

The article by Paul Schrade on the UAW convention (ITT, June 1) really should have been labeled "opinion." As such I can understand its being in the paper.

As a report on the UAW Convention it was inadequate.

The headline was horrible... "The UAW Ducks the Issues." What issues? The collective bargaining contractual demands? These issues are discussed and demands drawn up for the negotiations in advance of the termination of the contract. The delegates elected by their members are reconvened for that purpose. Just as they will be reconvened after an exhaustive discussion of whether

No changes?

Other points: The quote of Bob Weissman of Local 22 that "now, 40 years later, the auto industry is still noted for its high wages and horrible working conditions" is the standard hack attack on the UAW. I can't speak first hand about the auto plants, but I do know about agricultural implement plants and many parts supplier shops, and I disagree vehemently with Weissman's charge that conditions have not changed in 40 years. As to auto, I spent time with the Safety and Health Local Union rep. of the Chevie Parma, Ohio, plant in Sweden last year. His stories of what they were doing showed one hell of a change. I have talked with the international representative and the local union president of the huge Ford stamping plant in Chicago Heights, and I have read their local agreement. This document is one of the best, and most comprehensive protective contracts on health, safety and anti-noise pollution I have ever seen. I have read the Local 45 Cleveland Fisher Body local union agreement, and here, too, management prerogatives and working conditions have

DIALOG

The economic crisis will put the UAW on the front line.... It is our duty to build a socialist consciousness pointing to broad social change...

or not the UAW should return to the AFL-CIO.

The resolutions of substance on domestic and international affairs were passed over, Schrade said. These resolutions—on full employment and national planning, rededication in the fight for full equality for all minorities, the \$600,000 gift to the Martin Luther King Center for Change, the call for meaningful disarmament, and no return to the cold war, negotiated settlement in the Middle East, against oppression and racism in South Africa and Rhodesia—are all good, immediate demands, and all passed.

I was disappointed at the lack of discussion on the full employment through national planning resolution. Irving Bluestone, UAW vice president, who was in the chair, patiently waited for a hand to be raised asking for the floor. Sam Myers, president of Local 259 saw what was happening and opened the discussion. He wanted to be among the last, but could not see so important a resolution just being formally adopted. The lack of discussion from the floor was a shortcoming. In previous conventions delegates would have talked more on the issues. I asked delegates why they did not go for the mike. Their answer was.... "I've never talked on a floor mike" or "who can argue with what the resolution says but a few who just like their names in the record." These local leaders speak often and at great length at their own local meetings, but are reluctant to speak at a national convention of 3,000 delegates.

Doug Fraser, the new UAW president, spoke about problems that face the union; Fraser clearly considers the development of a committed socially conscious new leadership as his major responsibility. When Fraser's term ends, all of the old-time leaders of the UAW will be gone. If a Reutherite tradition is to continue there has to be a real educational program. For Paul Schrade not to recognize that there will be a different in Fraser's term is surprising. Schrade sat on the UAW Executive Board and knows his depth of conviction.

been altered.

I don't know the circumstances at Weissman's Local 22 Chrysler plant, but if, as president, he has not changed working conditions in his plant while in office, his leadership is at fault.

On this I can speak from personal experience. When the Melrose Park, Ill., International Harvester plant management tried to speed-up at Local 6 through retiming jobs when they changed a part number, we took them on. In a long strike (77 days) we received the solid support of the skilled trades and non-production workers. We won. This was back in '52 and we haven't had a serious challenge on standards since then.

I am not saying that conditions are rosy in auto. All factory work is monotonous and boring. Rationalization of production makes work very hard. But to say that nothing has changed in 40 years is pure nonsense.

GMC and Ford auto assembly plants have the most intensive rationalization, but no two plants are identical. Militancy of local unions determine the line speed and quotas on individual machine production.

In the past few years health and safety issues have come to the fore in the autoworkers union. Here, again, one could fault the UAW Social Security Department for not being vigilant enough or adequately staffed (one certainly could not say that the UAW hygienists are not on the ball and militant in their concerns for the health and safety of the autoworkers), but changes are being made. There are some wonderful local union leaders who understand the dangers of hazardous materials, carcinogenic substances, decibel level dangers, pollutants, etc. Forty years and no change? Bullshit.

This type of wild charge has made the United National Caucus ineffective and irrelevant—as irrelevant as the sectarians who marched outside the convention hall shouting, as in Alice in Wonderland, "Oust the Bureaucrats."

Social presence.

It is our duty to build a socialist consci-

ousness within the UAW. They have it in Canada. There are issues that can bring consciousness to the 3,000 delegates who came from the shops. In the UAW there are no staff reps seated as delegates as in Steelworkers and other unions. The delegates are local union leaders. To make them look as if they were just zeroes is wrong.

Schrade did not report on an event of great significance that occurred at the convention. The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee held a meeting where there was an excellent turnout on the morning after the convention election celebrations. As vice chair of DSOC, I opened the meeting and told what DSOC was, and why a socialist presence in the U.S. was an absolute necessity for social change. I then introduced the newly elected vice president Martin Gerber, who in turn introduced two International Executive Board members and the president of the Ontario Federation of Labor. The latter spoke about what the New Democratic party meant to the UAW members in Canada. Gerber then introduced Michael Harrington, who gave a hard-hitting speech on the need for a left push on Jimmy Carter. Harrington pointed out the need for a movement for full employment, for Carter to live up to his campaign speeches, for social priorities over corporate priorities. The speech was very well received. All day those present complimented DSOC and Harrington.

I am optimistic about the prospect of the UAW. I believe the economic crisis will put the UAW right on the front line in the fight for necessary immediate demands. Committed socialists must see that the union does not end with just immediate demands but goes further to basic structural changes and a change of the system.

This letter will enrage sectarians who live in a world of their own, a world where every settlement is a sell out, and only they have a finished program. The trouble is that it was finished years ago. A new approach that involves good union officers and members making a real fight is needed now. IN THESE TIMES can play an important role in this task.

—Carl Shier

UAW International Representative

Wolfe's 'Trader-Prussian' image distorts record of history

Alan Wolfe needs to do his homework in American history before he writes more columns like that of May 25. He argues that "Viewing the world as an integrated capitalist system is something new for foreign policy intellectuals." He is wrong. The interest of the "trader" in global capitalism dates back to the turn of the century and is central in all American overseas adventures since the Spanish-American war. The problem of surplus capital, which became clear with the 1890s depression, led American political and business leaders to seek the international expansion of the business system in order to secure social stability and profitable levels of investment. They saw the "open door"—wider and freer world markets—as the way to provide outlets for excess production capacity as well as a means to prevent ordinary business competition between the industrial nations from developing into commercial or general war.

Men like Paul Nitze and Paul Warnke who are heirs to this corporate internationalist outlook may differ over means (e.g., the nuclear capacity needed to maintain the security of world capitalism and in their assessment of the degree to which the Soviet Union represents a threat to global stability) but not on their basic objectives. There have been similar differences within the corporate ruling class before (debates over the League of Nations, the Vietnam war, etc.) but no "responsible" politician or policy-

oriented intellectual has questioned the necessity of the globalization of American corporate capital.

A close examination of Paul Nitze's career since the 1940s indicates that he has been an archtypical corporate internationalist. His initial concern as a policy planner during the Truman administration (as deputy director of the Office of International Trade) was with developing plans to organize world trade on multilateral lines. He played an important role in alerting his chiefs in the State Department to the danger of a collapse of the Western European economies in early 1947 and took part in the framing of the Marshall Plan. Nitze, like his superiors Dean Acheson and William L. Clayton, was preoccupied (in Wolfe's words) with "preserving the strength of all the major trading partners" of the U.S. in the interest of world capitalist stability. Hardly the concern of a "Prussian," but very close to our present-day "trilateralists."

Nitze's views in 1947 were nothing new; they had been a basic feature of American diplomacy since the 1890s. American rulers recognized then that American capitalism could not flourish except in a world market inhabited by other relatively strong industrial capitalist nations. Though such nations have functioned as commercial-industrial rivals, they have also served as major export investment outlets for American industrialists, and through their own overseas investments, have injected 'effective demand' into the world market.

Accordingly, American business and political leaders have tried to frame policies that assure substantial markets abroad but that also meet the market-investment needs of their rivals and partners (through such means as tariff-bargaining, joint-investment projects, etc.). Within this tradition, Nitze and other American leaders' concern for European recovery makes perfect sense: Without complete Western European recovery, the U.S. would find an inhospitable and narrow world market.

Paul Nitze's intense hostility towards the Soviet Union must be seen in the same light. Its origins lie in his perception that the Russian socialist sphere of influence in Eastern Europe was profoundly subversive of multinational capitalism. It offered developing nations alternative paths into modernity; it impeded Western European recovery (by temporarily closing traditional markets and raw materials supplies) and removed a large chunk of Europe from the capitalist world market. These factors, plus the impression that Soviet activity in Eastern Europe was symptomatic of an international communist threat, led Nitze and others to see the Cold War as a conflict over "who will be the builder of a new international order...to take the place of the one that was shattered in the two world wars." Nitze's model for an appropriate world order was the pre-World War I British Empire, which provided political security for global trade and investment and, through its monetary system, assured easy convertibility of currencies.

Wolfe's "Trader" vs. "Prussian" breakdown of American corporate leadership is ahistorical. If Warnke had reached maturity as a corporate leader during the '40s, he might also have become a "Cold Warrior." But the world balance of power has changed since then and so have American diplomatic needs. Fundamental policy objectives have not changed and will not so long as American capital requires overseas investment outlets—that is, so long as capitalism exists in the U.S.

The novelty of Trilateralism is its recognition of the need to accommodate emerging Third World national capital. Trilateral leaders understand that by opening their markets to Third World industry, and by helping to stabilize raw material prices, they can secure the allegiance of such capitalists. "Prussians" like Nitze and Eugene Rostow do not repudiate this strategy, but see a "hard-headed" stance toward the Soviet Union as necessary to create a framework for great power cooperation.

—William Burr
Dekalb, Ill.

Barbara Ehrenreich

The Marketing Man in your life really cares about your non-desires

Have you ever felt that no one cares—about you? I mean really cares—about everything from your inmost feelings to the smallest details of your life. Have you ever felt that people change the subject when you talk about yourself, or that they sit there planning what they can say about *themselves*? Have you longed for someone who would take a deep and abiding interest in *you*—with all your quirks and habits and secret fantasies?

Well, there is someone who cares. You would not recognize him; you will probably never meet him. He is a Market Research man.

Let me give you an example. Several months ago I switched cigarette brands from Vantage to Merit. I don't know why I did it. Maybe there were Merits around to bum at some critical moment. Maybe I was embarrassed that I kept slipping and asking for "Vanguard" cigarettes. Anyway, I barely noticed the change—which was part of an odyssey that began in the late '50s with Camels and had worked its way southward in the tar charts to Marlboro, Winston, Newport and, briefly, True. Nor was the switch noted by even my closest friends.

So I was startled to read in the *New York Times* business section that the tobacco industry is now spending so much money on market research that, according to one industry analyst, "Every time someone changes the brand he is smoking it is probably recorded in the annals of some cigarette company."

And I thought that nobody cared! It turned out, as I read further, that my Vantage to Merit switch was by no means

an incidental, personal event. Phillip Morris' Merit and Reynolds' Vantage first crossed filters in 1976 and have been locked in mortal combat ever since. At this point Merit has a commanding lead with an 111.7 percent annual growth rate, compared to Vantage's feeble 14.1 percent. So now I understood, from the perspective of market research, that in switching I had unconsciously joined a *mass movement*. Without knowing it, I was part of tobacco industry history. And most amazing of all, the tobacco industry knew about *me*—one tiny digit in that 111.7 percent growth rate—and perhaps was even now investigating the subconscious reasons for my switch—that deep-down ambivalence towards Vanguards... or Vantages.

There are those who would say that the market research man's function is non-productive, parasitical, voyeuristic—one more decadent excrement on the rotting trunk of late monopoly capitalism, or something like that. But this is grossly to underestimate his true role. I see it like this: On the one hand we have the collective American id, seething with unresolved Oedipal strivings, primal fears, libidinal energy, narcissism—love, hate, hope, desire, etc. On the other hand we have all the things—the products that American business has made for us to buy—from Merits to Honeycombs, Stay-free, Dippity Doo, Thrill, etc. Now the job of the market research man is no less than to connect up the id with the things. In B-school language, every emotion in the id, no matter how repressed

or inchoate, has a sort of "product module": a primal fear of rejection can match up with Lavis. Sadistic impulses plug neatly into Brut. A craving for nurturance matches up with Caress. And so on.

If these two things—the collective id and the ensemble of existing commodities—should become disconnected, if the urges should unplug from their product modules—then the economy will collapse. It's as simple as that. The job of the market research man is to see that this doesn't happen: to maintain the "fit" no matter what it takes—new products, or new urges.

But to get back to cigarettes... The market researchers recently averted a near-crisis in the tobacco industry. As we know, the industry spends tens of millions of dollars a year to discover what we, the smokers and potential smokers, *really want* from a cigarette. And I don't mean the things we think we want, like flavor and that deep bronchial satisfaction only true inhalers know, but the things we don't even know we want ourselves. After four years of research, they discovered that what we want is not (surprise!) sex appeal, self-confidence, nurturance, adventure, prestige or even a chance to ride around on horseback in a yellow slicker. What we want, deep down, is *not to smoke*. The market researchers put it to their bosses more tactfully of course. They said that we wanted a "natural," "healthy" cigarette—which is like asking for a "natural" silicone implant, or a shot of herbal whiskey, or a refreshing form of cancer.

You can see the problem here. The desire *not to smoke* cannot be met with a cigarette or, most likely, with any conceivable product, because it is a desire *not to need* some part, however small, of the commodity ensemble. But were the market research men baffled by this curious anti-need, this furtive stirring of rebellion? No! Not on your life. They set themselves to the enormous task of devising a kind of *non-cigarette* on which we can slake our need *not* to smoke.

So they are bringing us Decade, which claims to be so low in cigarette-like ingredients that it will be almost healthful to smoke. Soon Reynolds will be releasing Real, the first "natural" cigarette, which cost \$40 million to develop and promote (which is about what it takes to run a good-sized general hospital for a year). These act just like cigarettes. They can be lit, inhaled and stubbed out dramatically—and they will cause mice to die dutifully in their plastic laboratory cages. But they will not be the *cigarettes* which market research has determined we don't want; they will be the *non-cigarettes* we must want instead.

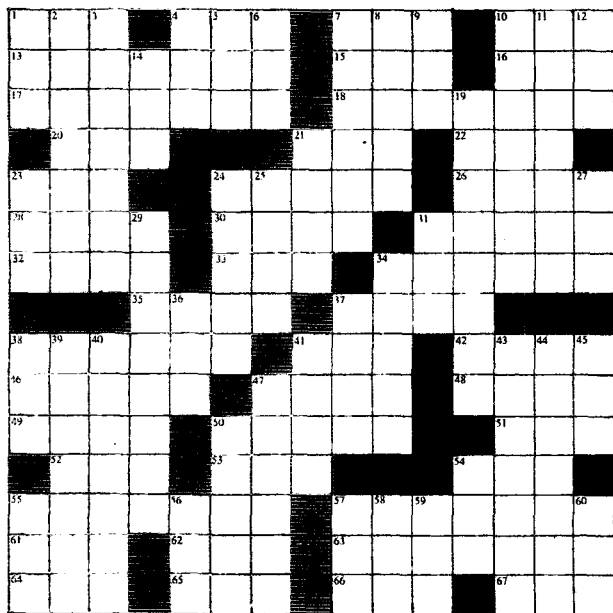
And so, as they are not so likely to say in B-school, the struggle continues! Our desires elude them, they change their tactics—try a new product—or change our desires. But I've got to go now. There's a Procter and Gamble man here at the door to discuss my shampoo orientation and creme rinse problems.

Barbara Ehrenreich is co-author of *Witches, Midwives and Nurses*. Her column appears regularly.



Julie's Justice

Composed by David Mermelstein



Across:

- 1 Blockhead
- 4 Kind of sack
- 7 Frequently (in poetry)
- 10 Way: Abbr.
- 13 Where it was held
- 15 French king
- 16 Surprised utterances
- 17 The Judge
- 18 A Defendant
- 20 Two equal a qt.
- 21 New Deal agency
- 22 Collection
- 23 Soho's expect
- 24 A Defendant
- 26 Josip Broz
- 27 Prehistoric mound
- 30 Of an epoch
- 31 Remus rabbit *et al.*
- 32 Gaelic
- 33 Deg. in soc., econ., etc.
- 34 Recurring features of capitalism
- 35 Athletic org.
- 37 Bric-a-
- 38 Money lender
- 41 2nd century Roman date

Down:

- 42 Bede or Smith
- 46 Citizen led by 26 Across
- 47 Lounge
- 48 Party or drive
- 49 Cozy
- 50 Gagged Defendant
- 51 Historic period
- 52 Prefix meaning up
- 53 Question
- 54 Small fish
- 55 Drenched quality
- 57 A Defendant and family
- 61 North of Afr.
- 62 Direction
- 63 A Defendant
- 64 _____um or _____mmetry
- 65 Nautical chain
- 66 Opposite of offs
- 67 Swine pen

7 One can either succeed

8 Prosecuting Attorney

9 Spanish uncle

10 A Defendant *et al.*

11 Stage arena

12 Curve

14 Space-distance-time abbr.

19 Pertaining to medicine

21 Establishment legal org. *et al.*

23 Suffix denoting origin

24 Stop again

25 Bear

27 Precursor of CIA

29 Levitated in '67?

31 Bathing suit part

34 U.S. surgeon

36 Light bed

37 Defense Lawyer, to friends

38 Money used to buy huitres:

Abbr.

39 Errand runner in Odyssey

40 Defense Witness:

Joe

41 Wooden pin

43 Crowns

44 Show _____ (be

indignant)

45 Moon plain

47 Renter

50 Impudent

54 Branch of army: Abbr.

55 Indiana Native American

56 Werner Erhard's org.

57 Reporter's question

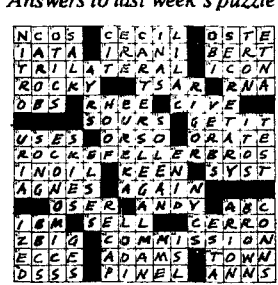
58 Long time period

59 First of threesome, with

ands and butts

60 Curved plank

Answers to last week's puzzle



From our Circulation Desk

We now have just over 7,000 subscriptions, which brings our total circulation to about 9,000 with local newsstand sales through our 50 local distributors. We also have several "mini-distributors" and a growing number of direct bookstore accounts.

As we've urged before, *IN THESE TIMES* needs your participation as readers and supporters in order to survive this crucial first year. If each of our readers would help us in just one of the following ways, we'd be in good shape.

* Become a mini-distributor (see ad below). You pay us in advance for 50 percent of the cover price of three months' worth of *IN THESE TIMES*, and then keep the rest when you sell the papers. It's a good deal for both of us.

* Join the subscription contest. So far we have 10 contestants, but we need more. Remember, even if you don't win a big prize, you can hardly miss winning a great *IN THESE TIMES* t-shirt!

* Solicit a bookstore account in your neighborhood for us. Go to a bookstore, show the manager the paper, and convince her/him to take it on a regular basis. Then send us the store's name and address and we'll take it from there. Our bookstore terms are: minimum 5 copies; 20¢ for the store; no returns; we bill monthly.

* Send in names of 10 friends who might subscribe if they saw a copy of the paper.

Speaking of our "10 friends" campaign, people have asked for a report on its status: Because of the considerable amount of work

it takes to type labels from the scrawled lists people send us, to label the papers in bulk, to staple, stamp, etc., we've only been able to send out 1,200 so far. We have at least 2,500 more names just waiting to be processed. So, Chicago readers, take note—we're asking for volunteers to come in this summer to help us catch up with this important work.

Of the mere 1,200 people we've sent sample copies of *IN THESE TIMES* to, we've gotten 65 subs. That's a return of 5.4 percent, which is not bad...especially since it costs us nothing except labor.

One final request: we want to do a campus circulation blitz in the fall—find distributors to hawk the papers, to solicit subs, to generally promote the paper on campuses, where *IN THESE TIMES* has a potentially huge readership. We have to find people to do any or all of these things. If you yourself or anyone you know could act as a contact for us on a local campus, let us know.

—Torie Osborn
Circulation

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★
BE A MINI-DISTRIBUTOR OF ITT
★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

Order bundles of 5 (10, 15, up to 25) copies of *In These Times* to be mailed directly to you every week for three months. You pay us in advance, at 20¢ a copy, and help us expand circulation.

Are you a natural?
Then fill in the coupon below:

Name _____

Street _____

Town/State/zip _____

Send me a bundle of (check one):

☐ 5 ☐ 10 ☐ Other (up to 25) _____

I enclose 20¢ each, for 3 months \$ _____