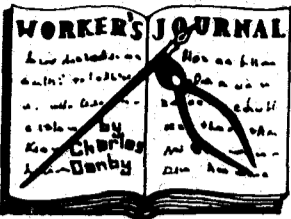


ON THE INSIDE

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Vietnam War isn't over for many GIs

by Charles Denby, Editor

The Vietnam War — not the new one with China, the old one with the U.S. — won't ever be over for many American GIs who went over there to fight. How true this is could be seen from the CBS evening news report special feature on what happened to some Vietnam vets ten years later.

They pointed out, it was an unpopular war because the majority of the American people were against it. Never in U.S. history had there been so many protests, demonstrations and activities against a war as there were against the Vietnam War.

Many young people were gunned down in the streets and on campuses — especially at Kent State and Jackson State — after President Nixon started yelling that the only true young Americans were the GIs fighting in Vietnam.

But the atrocities during that war were so great that the effects are showing up in many ways in the Vietnam vets. Some of the GIs are telling what they are going through now and what they feel and why they feel the way they do.

One GI said that every night he sees the face of the first Vietnamese he killed, and he sees the situation in his sleep as clearly as anything he has ever seen, and he wakes up screaming. He can't hold a job and is on skid row. He said that at the same time he killed the Vietnam man, the man's wife and children were killed by other GIs, and when he reported it to the officer in command, he said, "Hell with it, they're just gooks."

I couldn't help but wonder, would it be the same if these were white people? Just kill what you see and call them some name? I remember what Lieutenant Calley did in Vietnam, when he and his troops wiped out an entire village, and his defense was that his orders come from "higher up," and he had been told to clear out the village because some Vietcong had been reported to be there.

Yes, there was an outcry against that atrocity from some people in the U.S. and he was put in jail for a short time. But then President Nixon pardoned him, slapping him on the back and saying what a wonderful job he had done.

All of this is not just man's inhumanity to man, it's inhumanity to men, women and children.

I remembered a worker telling a group of us about a Vietnam GI coming home after the war. One morning after he and his wife had eaten breakfast, he got up and walked to his porch and was looking out in the distance. His wife walked up behind him and put her arms around his waist. His reaction was swift. He hit her a judo chop across the neck, breaking it, and threw her off the porch. She was dead when the police arrived.

I think it is what is in the consciousness of the GIs that causes many to react the way they do. As one said on the TV program, instead of being called heroes, they were called murderers of women, children and babies — some unborn babies, and if he would have known that's what he was going to Vietnam for, he

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Eyewitness report: Iran's ongoing revolution

Editor's Note: As we go to press, the revolution in Iran is moving to ever new stages, following the defeat of both the Shah and his stand-in, Bakhtiar. The anti-Shah coalition, which found a unity in what they were against, now faces the question of what the many different forces active in the revolution are for. The removal of the Shah was but the first act of revolution. As against the "unanimity" behind Khomeini which the daily world press has played up, it is now becoming clear that genuine, revolutionary class forces are contesting for leadership. The following letter, sent to us on Jan. 26 by an Iranian Marxist-Humanist, presents a view of an ongoing revolution that demands the support of revolutionaries throughout the world.

Abadan, Iran—The most obvious thing here is the unchallenged role of religious Mullas, their strong clamp on every sector of the revolutionary masses. This, in addition to misunderstanding and misrepresenting a philosophy on the part of the radicals has left the numerous groups of Left very confused.

In turn, this has provided an opportunity for now "dissolved" SAVAK agents to infiltrate both groups and build distrust. . . Unfortunately the Left is mostly under the influence of the pro-Russian Tudeh Party and different types of Maoists. This is the fruit of half a century of repression and dictatorship imposed by the Pahlavi dynasty.

The second obvious feature of the movement is the

self-activity, self-organizing and creativity of the masses of the people. It has amazed both revolutionaries and reactionaries. In every city and village you can find all kinds of self-created committees, councils, associations and other forms of organizations, such as Kanoon (which means focus) or Anjoman (soviets). Every strata has its own organization: students, writers, lawyers, teachers, bazaar merchants, bank and government staffs, and workers. Workers' committees have discharged all the government-made unions and called for formation of a "Confederation of Iranian Workers."

In their resolution they have declared that even though they accept Khomeini as the leader of the revolution, they would make their own decisions about the strikes. Here are some of the demands they want the future government to respect:

- Freedom of organization and strikes.
 - Removal of a \$3 a day minimum wage and setting of a new one "many times higher" to be decided by the workers' council.
 - Totally free health insurance both for workers and retired and every member of their families.
 - Extension of vacation time to at least a month every year plus time off for sickness or emergency.
 - Maximum work of 35 hours a week for all workers (7 hours daily).
 - Equal rights and wages for the working women.
- These and many other progressive demands are to

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NEWS LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'

VOL. 24—NO. 2

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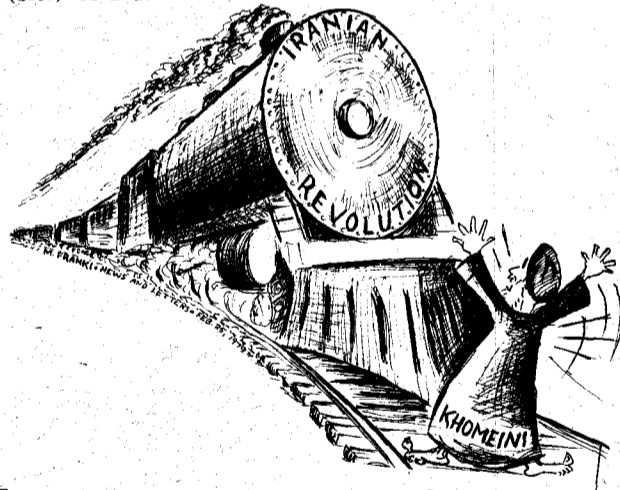
MARCH, 1979

Opposition mounts against Pope's attack on women's rights, 'liberation theology'

by Mary Holmes

During a recent trip to Mexico, I had the opportunity to speak with several feminists. Some said they thought Pope John Paul II's visit to Mexico had been a sharp blow to the movement there. Ever since his coronation, this Pope has shown himself to be an active foe of the women's movement, beginning in Italy where some of the very first pronouncements of his reign were directed against the right to divorce and abortion.

And in Mexico, among the Pope's most abhorrent remarks in speaking to the impoverished and rebellious Latin American masses, were those on birth control and abortion, when he declared himself to be against "reducing the number of those invited to the banquet (sic!) of life."



Earlier this year in Rome, within hours of the Jan. 10 fire bomb attacks by fascists on women who were broadcasting a radio program on birth control, 3,000 people converged in protest at the hospital where the wounded women were taken. The next day, students joined women in a demonstration of 10,000 against fascism.

While the Pope's response to these events was his notorious speech on "motherhood is women's eternal vocation," the continued mass demonstrations by women and students that followed, against fascism and against the Communist-Christian Democratic coalition, helped to bring down the Andreotti government, which collapsed the first week of February.

OPPOSITION IN MEXICO

While I can't report any such massive outpouring in Mexico, where millions turned out to see the Pope there, it was by no means the total success it was played up to be in the world press. Thus:

• A mass gathering of workers loudly hissed the Pope when he spoke about "the simple joys of the poor" in their "humble shacks" and rejected the interpretation of Christ as a revolutionary.

• When John Paul II spoke in Spanish to a rally of Indians at Cuilapan, his claim to be the "voice for those who cannot speak" was more a reflection of which side he stood on in the actual peasant struggles, since Spanish is a foreign dialect to the Indians. Many left before the rally ever began.

• At Puebla, the radical priests and bishops who had been excluded as delegates from the Third Conference of Latin American Bishops (CELAM) organized their own dissident conference, and stated their intention to continue their opposition work no matter the outcome of the official conference. While the final CELAM document was totally vague as to how to end "social injustice," it was very specific in rejecting Marxism, and three bishops walked out during a sermon attacking Catholic "liberation theology."

• Even several nuns came to Puebla to confront both the Pope and the bishops in conference. A group called "Women for Dialogue" protested CELAM's total lack of discussion of issues related to women, and organized their own meeting. And a delegation of women from Argentina asked that CELAM's prelates join in their work in locating over 15,000 "desaparecidos" (disappeared persons).

Only four days before Pope John Paul II arrived in Mexico on Jan. 25 to deliver the Vatican's message of counter-revolution to CELAM, over 10,000 mourners in El Salvador transformed the funeral of Rev. Octavio Ortiz Luna into a protest against their murderous government. Ortiz Luna, along with four teen-age youth, was slain by army troops who stormed his parish hall, claiming it was a cell for guerrilla training.

The Pope said no prayers for Ortiz Luna, the fourth Salvadoran priest to be murdered at the hands of right-wing forces in the last two years. And in Latin America as a whole during the past decade of revolutions, from Nicaragua to Argentina, over 800 church activists—men and women, clergy and laity—have been killed, tortured, or exiled, because they have joined with the masses in their struggles.

In Chile and El Salvador, the church, along with women, has demanded that the status and whereabouts of disappeared persons be made known by the governments. Priests have helped form a peasant union for land redistribution in Honduras. In Brazil, they work

(Continued on Page 8)

Women fight national attack on abortion rights

New York, N.Y.—Park Med, a private abortion clinic, has declared war on both poor women and its own employees for trying to unionize. Just two weeks after District 1199 filed a petition for a union recognition election, Park Med laid off 40 percent of its staff, with the explanation that it was no longer going to accept Medicaid patients, and therefore would be doing less business.

About 50 employees—clerical, counsellors and maintenance—are involved in the unionization attempt. Women began the drive a few months ago in response to the arbitrary and paternalistic way workers are treated, and the employees' desire to have some control over the way the patients are treated.

If Park Med—one of the largest clinics, which per-

forms hundreds of abortions a week—continues to refuse Medicaid patients, and if other clinics follow suit, it will be disastrous for poor women who need abortions.

A meeting on abortion rights here, Jan. 19, drew over 400 women and men to show their concern that, six years after the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, women are still far from having even that control over our bodies. This was one of the first times since abortion was "won" that so many diverse groups came together and made the loss of abortion rights to poor women, a major issue.

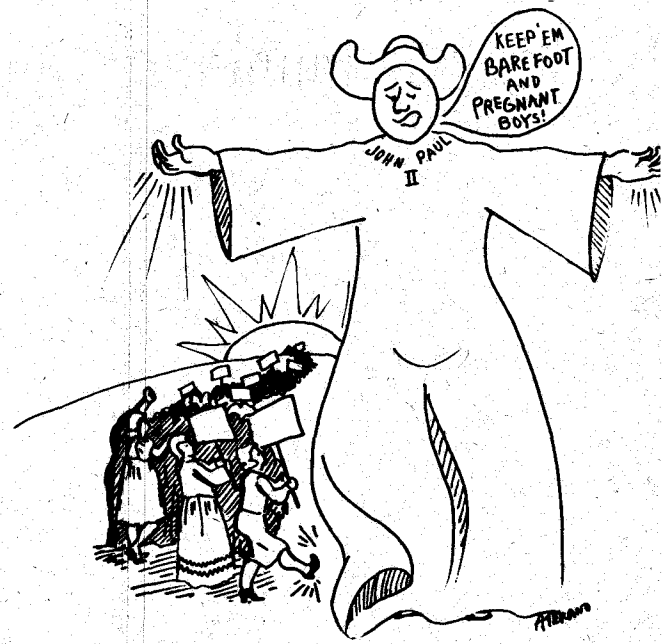
This concern will manifest itself internationally on March 31, an International Day for Abortion Rights, with events scheduled in the U.S., Europe, Asia and Latin America.

San Francisco, Cal.—Hundreds of women attended demonstrations and conferences throughout the Bay Area in support of the Jan. 22, 1973 Supreme Court decision that gave women the legal right to abortion.

The demonstrations were held out of the need to reassert a woman's right to choose abortion in the face of a growing attack on women's rights by the right-wing, so-called "pro-life" forces.

State and federal funding of abortions for poor women have already been cut, while at the same time the funding for sterilizations has increased. These "pro life" groups are now calling for a constitutional amendment that would prohibit abortion altogether.

The "pro-life" forces aren't just against abortion. Besides vigorously opposing the Equal Rights Amendment, their literature here is increasingly against contraception — which reflects the policies and heavy funding of the Catholic Church.



Our readers respond . . .

We have received an overwhelming response to the publication in the January-February, 1979 News & Letters of "Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation — Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted," the new draft chapter of the book-in-progress by Raya Dunayevskaya. We hope the following responses, as well as those contained in the Readers' Views section of this issue, will result in the continuation of a dialogue on this important work.—Ed. Note

It seems by now obvious that the class society had already taken roots in the more primitive, communal societies. For example, in ancient Egypt—a society that was no longer primitive or communal—women had maintained their heredity rights. Not only the wives and the "sisters" of the aristocracy . . . had these rights but also the slave woman. What a wonderful heredity for a woman to give her children—slavery!

And in none of these cases . . . did she have a right to express herself as a citizen of the community, to participate openly and actively in the community decisions. This came about because the society had become divided into classes and women were given an inferior class position in society . . .

There is the danger that the feminist movement develops as a class movement . . . that women themselves begin to consider female factory or farm worker . . . as belonging to a lower class. A total solidarity that is not competitive with the rights of anyone is essential if women wish to conquest their liberation.

—Correspondent
Milan, Italy

"Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation" deals with many questions feminists are examining. It can be seen in the Society for Women in Philosophy (SWIP) meeting held here, Jan. 25, where Ti-Grace Atkinson presented ideas on "Feminism and the State."

Atkinson began with what is the relationship of philosophy to movements. Her definition of social movements, as movements out for limited reform in distinction to movements out for total change, led her to conclude that social movements change nothing. A rigorous examination of the thinking and doing of social movements might have led her to see "masses in motion" as integral to the movement for total change, rather than driving a wedge between them.

Raya Dunayevskaya's work, on the other hand, can be ground for serious discussion and searching by many feminists. The rigors of a total philosophy of liberation that she puts forth may not be easy and has yet to be grasped by many of us, but it does give direction.

—Bonnie Mullaney and Angela Terrano
WL—N&L, New York

Blue Shield threatens move

San Francisco, Cal.—Blue Shield Insurance Company has demanded that its contract with Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 3 be reconsidered. In a leaflet delivered six days before Christmas, Blue Shield told employees they must either accept a 20 percent decrease in wages, a 7 percent cut in fringe benefits, and a 10 percent increase in productivity, or the company would move out of San Francisco.

The company is claiming that this reconsideration of the contract is necessary so that they can bid competitively for a Medical contract this year, and the Medicaid contract next year. The threatened move would leave 1,500 workers, mostly minorities and women, jobless.

At a meeting of community organizations called by Local 3 it was also disclosed that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare would subsidize half of Blue Shield's moving costs because such a move would "lower the insurance rates."

DETROIT AREA READERS—

Come to a revolutionary celebration of
International Women's Day, 1979

Raya Dunayevskaya
author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution*, and "Women as Thinkers and Revolutionaries" will speak on



Rosa Luxemburg
a self portrait

ROSA LUXEMBURG AND MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION

a presentation on her
new book-in-progress

7 p.m. Thursday, March 8

Hilberry C. Student Center Building
Wayne State University

Sponsored by
WSU News & Letters Youth Committee

WOMAN AS REASON

A *Radical Life* is the autobiography of Vera Buch Weisbord. Vera was an activist through an important period in American history — the time of the fight for unionization by textile workers — most of whom were women — which followed the vicious Palmer raids where police broke into Leftist meetings, beat up participants, and deported thousands of foreign-born activists. As an organizer for the Communist Party (CP), Vera participated in two great strikes: Passaic, N.J., 1926, and Gastonia, N.C., 1929.

In 1926, Passaic, the largest woolen and worsted center in the U.S. — employing 1,500 women, children, and men — was hit by strikes. Though women carried three jobs — 10 hour days in the mill, housewife, and mother — they formed Working Women's Councils which both supported the strike and were educational. We follow Vera through eight months of strike where police beat and trampled unarmed women and children, and companies united to starve the workers.

In the end, the Communist leadership, which had never fully supported the strike, turned the strike over to the AFL who sold the workers down the river and "settled" the strike behind their backs.

In 1929, 1,800 workers at the Loray mill in Gastonia, N.C. started a "rolling wave of strikes." Here we meet rank-and-filer Ella Mae Wiggins, 30-year-old striker, ballad singer, mother of nine who was murdered because she made unity between Black and white workers more than an abstract "principle." Her known killers were all found "not guilty."

A *Radical Life* is beautifully written. The reader understands what CP betrayals mean in human terms. After a trip to Russia in 1928 by Vera's husband, Albert,

women- worldwide

In Greece, 20 women's groups opposed the enlistment of 1,500 women in the country's first female volunteer army on the grounds that it only furthers the oppression and exploitation of women.

(Information from Her Say)

Two Detroit, Mich. women who worked at the Cadillac assembly plant, have filed lawsuits against General Motors Corp. and the foreman who physically harassed them on the job and tried to pressure them into sexual relationships by writing them up or giving them difficult assignments when they refused.

Yvonne Wanrow, the Colville Indian woman whose conviction of second-degree murder was overturned in the 1972 self-defense killing of a white man who had molested her son, now faces trial a second time on Washington state's new felony murder charge. Contributions to fight this racist judicial system and end Yvonne's six years of torment should be sent to: Yvonne Wanrow Defense Committee, 1205 South Tower, Seattle, WA 98104

(Off Our Backs)

In Bangkok, 56 girls ages 8 to 15, were freed by police in November from a factory in which they had been confined, working 12-17 hours per day wrapping toffies for \$50-90 per year. The raid came only after the death of two of the child workers at the factory one of 3,000 such in Thailand. Twenty of the girls still remain "unclaimed" by relatives.

(Sojourner)

Prisoners at the Bedford Hills, N.Y., Correctional Facility for Women have succeeded in having male guards restricted from certain areas of the prison at specific times. The women plan to fight until males are excluded from prisoners' living quarters at all times.

A look at 'A Radical Life'

the Weisbords conclude, "from now on the divisions of the American Party would be but reflections of those in Russia." But it is only after Albert is expelled that they draw up a "statement of resignation."

It is after the two textile strikes, and after they leave the CP, that Vera takes "a month off" to read Marx's *Capital*. She says "I seemed to find at last the truth which I had been seeking all my life." The reader is left asking what spoke to her so profoundly. She doesn't hesitate, however, to tell us what she thinks of Russia: "there was never a complete revision to private capitalism."

In 1977, Vera has nothing to say on the Women's Liberation Movement and not a word on the CIO or the Montgomery bus boycott. Clearly, she dropped out of the movement in the 1930s and tries to squeeze 40 years into an epilogue of inconsequential pages. Is this all she thinks of those years? Or is it because she was not involved in activities that she accuses the workers of "nonparticipation . . . in all the upheavals" because "they can see no further than overtime pay . . . !"

The questions that Vera Buch Weisbord avoids by leaving everything at description are the very ones coming from workers, women, Blacks, and youth. What does Marx's philosophy have to contribute to our daily praxis? What is the relationship of theory and practice spontaneity and organization? In our age of source revolutions, we are trying to work out answers today — before a revolution. We don't want to end up like Russia, China, et al, but to have a revolution so total that every segment of the population is free.

—Terry Moo

7,000 farmworkers march at Contreras funeral

Calexico, Cal. — El Hoyo (the Hole) is where they came that morning, some 7,000 strong. Most had been there many times before, for this was where the growers' buses would come in the early morning for those who were to pick the lettuce. But this morning they came for Rufino Contreras, whose body lay there; for his family; and for the United Farmworkers, their union on strike.

Contreras had been on strike in the lettuce fields with some 4,000 other farmworkers, the vast majority of whom, like him, were from Mexico. They had begun their strike in Imperial Valley some three weeks earlier to obtain a new contract.

The language of El Hoyo that morning was Spanish. The priests gave the mass. Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farmworkers, spoke of Contreras and of the fight of the lettuce workers. But mostly it was the workers, women and men, who cut and pack the lettuce, but who had declared their intention not to do so without a new contract.

Four days earlier, as they have so many times before in this strike and in bygone strikes, the growers had recruited scabs and were sending them into the fields to steal the jobs of the farmworkers. Teenage sons of Anglo growers had begun recruiting in the high schools. Volunteers for this labor of shame were excused from class. But when Latino high school youth walked out in protest against such recruiting practices by the school, they had been suspended.

The growers even went far away from the valley to get workers. Many times the workers did not even know a strike was in progress. That Saturday Rufino Contreras and other striking farmworkers walked into the fields of Mario Saikhon to persuade the strikebreakers to come out.

In the field that Saturday much was at stake. For the growers their profits, with a lettuce crop wilting. For the farmworkers their livelihood, as they sought to keep up with tremendous inflation, with the need for

decent medical care and the right to vacation pay. In the fields, "trespassing" they called it, Contreras and others were set upon by the company goons and supervisory people. Shots rang out and Contreras went down. His brother was with him that day, helping him try to hold that field. His father too, worked for the same grower. Twenty and more years of labor in the fields of that company was within the Contreras family.

The strike had been tremendously organized. Yes, there were strikebreakers as the growers searched far and wide for them. But thousands were out. They were Chicanos from the valley and Mexicans from across the border. And together there was a tremendous unity of Latinos, here in a labor struggle. It is a unity which is beginning to change the face of the Southwest and to challenge the powers that be, and not alone in this valley.

Now in El Hoyo farmworkers on strike lined up farm by farm on one side, those from the Saikhon fields, fellow workers of Contreras, in the lead. On the other side, farm by farm, came workers who were in the union but who were not at that moment on strike. The union is poor and only about half the farms organized are on strike. Strike benefits are \$25 a week.

Others lined up who came from the Central Valley of California, from farms in Arizona, and some non-farmworkers from Calexico and Mexicali. The casket was borne by workers as the March began out of El Hoyo and started through the town of Calexico. Seven thousand followed in silence — Mexicans and Chicanos, men and women.

For some two hours they walked on the highway north, carrying Contreras, marching four abreast to a cemetery. The road was a familiar one. For years they had taken it, day by day, in the buses of the growers. It led through the fields. But now they were taking it, and the journey was a far different one. Not for growers, but for Contreras, for themselves, and they would not be taking it in a bus until their struggle brought about some changes in that valley. —Eugene Walker

Boycott Campbell, Libby!

Toledo, O. — The Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) launched a nation-wide boycott of Libby (owned by Nestle) and Campbell products at a rally on Jan. 28 attended by more than 300 supporters, mostly Chicanos. The rally was the culmination of a weekend of activity and self-organization by 32 farmworkers from Texas and 16 from Florida who were about to return to those states announcing, "This summer, come to Ohio prepared to strike!"

Two thousand farmworkers who struck the tomato fields this past summer to demand minimum wage of \$3.25 an hour or 35c per hamper, better housing and working conditions, and a guarantee of at least 28 hours of work every two weeks, suffered several incidents of violence from area growers.

The boycott was launched with the realization that in the Midwest the giant canneries are strangling both the farmworkers and the growers. The canneries are lowering the price they will pay for tomatoes, so several growers are switching to corn, wheat or soybeans, and the canneries are attempting to "convince" the rest that mechanized harvesting is their only alternative.

Many of the farmworkers at the rally were women with children. A young mother from Florida, who had worked the summer tomato harvest in Ohio, told us: "There was broken glass all over by the housing, and it went through the kids' tennis shoes. And we discovered that our front door was right over where the outhouse had been last year. When the strike broke out I joined, because it is for everybody's future."

Products to boycott:

— all Nestle and Libby's products.

— Campbell's, which includes Swanson, V-8, Franco-American, Vlastic, Pepperidge Farm, and Bounty foods. For more information contact: FLOC, 714½ S. St. Clair, Toledo, OH 43609.

Workers fight speed-up 'tricks'

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

GM has been speeding up the line for years, so it came as no surprise when a worker from UAW local 598 finally found the "secret button" for speeding up the line in his Flint, Mich. plant.

The speed-up had been discovered in a superintendent's office and had been used to squeeze an extra 20 minutes of production into each shift. GM admitted the switch had been there six months, but the union stated it had been there 18 months. The union calculated that an extra 1,584 trucks had been produced. This comes to several millions of dollars worth of trucks. Under the threat of a strike, GM finally agreed to pay some \$750,000 to the workers and supposedly install a tamper-free line speed system.

When the story made the newspapers, workers in my plant passed the article around and had quite a bit of discussion. None of the workers were surprised that UAW President Fraser claimed that he did not think any other GM assembly lines were being illegally speeded up. I wish Fraser could have heard what the workers in the body shop said about him and about that claim! "Fraser is a bigger cover-up for GM than labor relations is," one worker said.

Another commented, "The union is just as guilty as GM. There are too many of us workers depending on the union to take care of us. We had better start seeing about our own business; no one else will." "As far as GM is concerned, to use a secret button to rob the workers of money and labor power is all right.

In the many years I have been in the GM plant, the night shift has often run from 8 to 12 more jobs than day shift. The body shop workers have been fighting this speed-up for a long time. It used to be that when there was a breakdown, GM would try and make it up by speeding up the line.

Many an evening we find that the production goal is reached with 10, 12 as much as 18 minutes left. And then we keep on working for those minutes—for GM. We fought that, and now they don't do it so openly.

All these tricks, secret buttons and so on, could be stopped immediately if the workers had real control over that line; and if our union represented us.

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Ford Chicago

Chicago, Ill.—We have an election going on now and most people I talk to feel we need a new union from the top down. As far as I can tell the main job of the union is to get workers back who have been fired. They don't fight for anyone. Workers are getting fired even though the reason they don't come to work is because of serious medical disabilities.

The company had a meeting recently on the problem of medical disabilities saying they want people to work anyway. The company goes through five or six doctors in a year's time. They are fired as soon as they treat workers like human beings.

They threatened one worker who had restrictions on what he could do because of a plant-caused disability, by telling him he could only work a 40-hour week unless he did any job they told him to do. He said if only he could work 40 hours a week. Right now we're working 9½ or 10 hours a day.

—Ford worker

Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich.—During February, the Dearborn Stamping Plant (DSP) laid off almost all workers with less than one year seniority. All of these people have full union status. Ford has the right under the contract to hire you into any other plant they want.

You cannot refuse a job unless the company gives you that option. When you get to the other plant you have to go through 90 days probation again.

DSP Labor Relations asked the people who were laid-off if they wanted to work part-time at DSP until a fulltime job comes up elsewhere.

This lay-off will also make it very hard for the DSP Women's Committee to survive, because most of the women who were active members were laid off. This is bad news for all Rouge workers because this committee was the first of its kind at Rouge.

—Rouge worker

GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal.—In Body Shop a few young workers threw down their hammers and refused to work after another had staged a one-man sitdown. The issue at hand was two days of workers suffering a smoke and fume filled factory—the result of poor plant ventilation and construction involving the laying of tar contracted by management.

The first day one woman in Chassis fainted and had to be carried out on a stretcher. Committeemen and company safety persons were called but they never

made an appearance.

One foreman said to the worker who initiated the work refusal, "We all have to breath this stuff and work—why don't you go home?" The worker said he'd go home if he was paid for the time. When the other workers joined in, the plant manager, Bill Harden, begged, "Just give me five minutes to clear up the air."

This is one more in an endless series of examples that company-union does what it pleases until workers take action and show how working conditions must be.

—South Gate worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—A worker in Dept. 21 was thrown out of the plant for a week, and the committeeman began fighting with the company over his case. The company finally said they'd pay the worker for four days and clear his record, but the committeeman insisted that he be paid for a full five days with a clear record, and he took it to the International.

But the International's final position was "Don't pay him anything, and we'll 'try' to clear his record." The International is really betraying the workers in the plant.

Douglas Fraser as the leader of the union is the source of much of that split between the leadership and the locals. He is making speeches about the union fighting on safety and on health, but as we know he isn't fighting at all on the shop floor.

A lot of people are getting more and more disgusted that they get no backing from the International when it counts.

—Dept. 21 worker

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — Recently Chrysler posted a letter on the bulletin board near the metal shop buy-off area. It announced the company's request to the U.S. Labor Department to allow an increase in the occupational exposure to lead.

The truth is, every day metal shop workers must inhale lead fumes and dust, and they absorb it through the skin in quantities far greater than what is considered safe. For years repairmen have tried, through the union reps, to get aspirators, shields and protective clothing to prevent lead poisoning. The company, though, still provides us with only cotton gloves.

You can even see lead dust produced by the sanders. In addition the spot welders give off cadmium and lead fumes. Many Dept. 9110 workers agree that the metal shop ventilation is inadequate — it has been that way going into contract talks for years.

—Metal shop worker

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

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EDITORIAL**Virginia shipyard strike opens 1979 labor battles**

When the 14,000 workers at Tenneco's giant Newport News, Va. shipyard walked out on strike Jan. 30, their struggle immediately sent shock waves into both the Carter administration's "voluntary" wage control plan and the "Southern strategy" of corporate power. And as the strikers ended their fourth week of daily confrontations at the shipyard gates, so deep were the divides between workers and rulers all across the U.S., that even AFL-CIO head George Meany felt the necessity to publicly declare a political break between himself and President Carter.

The battle lines have been drawn on Carter's demand that workers accept no more than a seven percent wage increase in new 1979 contracts, while inflation now soars at a rate of nearly 15 percent for what government terms "essential components" — food, housing, transportation, medical care — and while proposed "controls" on prices are barely given lip-service. In their latest predictable charade, a unanimous chorus of government officials is proclaiming the coming of \$1.00 a gallon gasoline, and blaming it all on the Iranian revolution.

CHALLENGE CARTER'S WAGE PLAN

What, however, was totally unexpected to them, as well as to business executives, was that the first major challenge should come from the Newport News shipyard workers.

After all, isn't the yard located in "right-to-work" Virginia, where union shops are banned and scabbing is given special legal protection — with the result that only 13 percent of Virginia's workers are unionized? After all, hadn't that particular shipyard experienced 39 years of a company union, formed to keep out the CIO, and which never called a strike? And didn't Tenneco give the workers last November that magic seven percent raise — believing that it would prevent a strike for recognition of the Steelworkers union which they voted in to replace the company union 13 months ago?

The Newport News shipyard is the world's largest, and it ranks as the largest private employer in Virginia.

Under contract right now are no less than three tankers, eight nuclear subs, two nuclear aircraft carriers and a guided missile cruiser. For this reason, every possible company tactic was tried, especially the legal filibustering pioneered in textile by J. P. Stevens Co. Yet the truth is that the adamant refusal of Tenneco to bargain until all court procedures were concluded only intensified the revolt. Nor were they successful in preventing the strike with their vicious racist whisper campaign, a strategy which had successfully destroyed workers' organizations so many times before — and not only in Virginia.

But at Newport News, where today 53 percent of the yard's workforce is Black, it was a group of Black workers who first went to the USW, convinced them to begin a campaign, and reported the history of 40 years of segregated departments and facilities, as well as a weighted voting system within the company union that guaranteed only token Black representation. And they did get thousands of white workers to join them, first in signing cards, and now in facing the state police on the picket lines.

What Newport News has shown so clearly is that within the new stage of the attacks against workers nation-wide is as well the emergence of new forces and new organizations out to transform this society. It is no accident that some of the most creative and pivotal struggles today are being fought out across the "Sunbelt," where for years corporations saw only the paradise of low wages and no unions, haven for the runaway shop. Instead they are finding in 1979 that there are few such havens, as DuPont workers organize in the Carolinas, GM workers in Oklahoma, and electrical workers in the Mexican border city factories.

Most dramatic have been the strikes of farm-workers, predominantly Latino, which in the past months have extended from the tomato fields in Ohio and Florida, to the lemon and orange groves of Arizona, and now to the massive lettuce workers struggle in California. (See strike report, p. 6.) It is the farm-workers, along with others at the bottom of the wage

scale in this class-divided, racist, sexist society, for whom the Carter wage-control plan is the most bitter "solution" to inflation.

1979 — LABOR BATTLES AHEAD

The year ahead can not be other than an unending series of labor battles, as both government and corporate economists unanimously predict serious recession for 1979, with unemployment reaching official counts of seven million or more, while the inflation rate continues to soar. The fact is that contracts covering some four million workers — auto, garment, chemical, electrical and trucking — expire this year, in an atmosphere of the most widespread rank-and-file revolt. Virtually every major contract presented for ratification to the members since the coal miners' strike last year has been rejected. Clearly, what has been begun by the "Sunbelt" workers in Newport News, Va. and Calexico, Cal. will have its effects not alone in the Sunbelt, but in factories and truck barns in the industrial North as well. The months ahead will see just how explosive those effects are.

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MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION

I wish we could have that blue banner—"Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation"—every issue, as a reminder to all of us.

Marxist-Feminist
New York

By going more deeply into Marx, Raya Dunayevskaya has made a truly original contribution that does, in fact, add something new to Marx. Like Marx, she is not concerned with uncovering origins but with uncovering the new revolutionary subject and its dialectical relationship to the proletariat.

Intellectual
New York

The sentence "No greater empiricist ever lived than the great dialectician, Karl Marx," certainly startled me. Empiricism, to me, is the very opposite of dialectic method, and the fatal trap of bourgeois "thinkers." Surely you must have meant that Marx treated "empiric facts" seriously, that is, in a dialectic manner.

Artist
Detroit

What many of the so-called Marxists are doing by saying that for women to be free we must first abolish private property is telling us to wait for our freedom until after the revolution. It was opposition to just such ideas that was the basis of the birth of the WLM. If you are not absolutely concrete about this new force and reason of revolution, the WLM, it shows right away. You end up with a slogan like "Women's Liberation through Socialist Revolution" instead of "Socialist Revolution through Women's Liberation, Black Liberation, Workers' Liberation and Youth Liberation."

Terry Moon
Chicago

The whole point of the critique with Draper is just what the author says it is: a question of whether the ground you are laying helps today's Women's Liberation Movement or not. It is one thing to catch the new as when the WLM arose in the '60s. But ten years later, against all the pulls of bourgeois society, it is the question of how you keep an ongoing revolution ongoing that tests revolutionaries. That is the crucial

question that appeared throughout every page of the special issue of N&L, whether in relation to Iran, Nicaragua, Southern Africa—or the WLM.

Activist
Detroit

It is a skillfully argued piece and its scholarship is overwhelmingly impressive. Poor Hal Draper, to have been given such telling critical blows at what I deem to be the outset of his multi-volumed magnum opus.

Editor
New York

I just got back from a working-visit to Europe and am sending you a list of people in several countries I would like to have you send the Jan.-Feb. issue. Enclosed is a check to cover costs and my donation. These 66 names are just a beginning. I'm a slow typist and will send you more as I get them typed up. I want you to know how much I appreciated reading the Dunayevskaya work.

Reader
Brooklyn

Raya Dunayevskaya's new work on Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* can be seen as a continuation of the work she began earlier in analyzing sexism in Portugal and China, by taking that contemporary problem as the jumping off point for a new look at Marx's dialectic. It also opens up new ground for continuing the discussion of the peasantry, Black and Third World that began with the African Revolutions. The chapter on that in *Philosophy and Revolution*, the recent pamphlet on Frantz Fanon and the new edition of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* are all part of this continuing discussion.

Intellectual
New York

BLACK WORKER'S JOURNAL

To me, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, is a powerfully written document because it let me inside Charles Denby's skin to know how it feels to work in a factory, how it feels to march in a hostile land, how it feels to live where the people who are supposed to be your protectors are your enemies. I have lived in approximately the same time and have read about our times in the press, heard about it on

radio, and seen it on TV. Just as my own life has not been portrayed, so has not his. I am afraid the media is managed to benefit the few. This book speaks for an oppressed people, not just for one person. Thank you for writing it, Charles Denby.

Supporter
Hawaii

THE TENG VISIT

One of the places Teng visited was a Ford LTD plant near Atlanta—a plant which alone produced 14 times the number of cars produced in all of China last year. Teng's design is to use such technology against China's own restless masses instead of seeing that he will be importing with it more of the same chronic unemployment and economic crisis endemic to the U.S. At the same time, the Carter administration is hoping the new big orders from China will help its trade deficit problems, severe even before the Iranian revolution caused the cancellation of over \$7 billion in armaments orders.

The Carter-Teng media honeymoon, which also involved the resurrection of the likes of Richard Nixon, is just the latest stage in the global jockeying for power for the big showdown as the world economic crisis deepens.

Worried
Chicago

IRAN'S ONGOING REVOLUTION

It is not surprising that the religious element is such an important factor in the opposition to the Shah. When a dynasty is about to fall, all elements in society come out against it. Thanks to the efforts of the CIA and SAVAK, the fanatic Moslem opposition is probably the best organized.

Iran's problems were not caused by the Shah's neglect of the precepts of the Koran. This is going to be confirmed when those who think so take over. Iran is approaching its "February," but is still some distance from its "October." The

Reader

present preoccupation of imperialism is to see that it does not go beyond February.

Correspondent
West Africa

The Editorial on the truth that Iran's struggles are just now beginning is very important. That priest over there scares the hell out of me. From the press, you can't get any news except about him. No doubt having millions in support of him makes it difficult to hear other voices. But I keep wondering what will happen with the oil workers, the minorities and the students that don't agree with Islam?

Working Mother
New York

When I heard who Khomeini had chosen as his prime minister, the name sounded familiar and I ran to check the last issue of N&L. Sure enough, you had pin-pointed him in your Editorial, as the very one the oil workers had booed when Khomeini sent him to get them back to work in the beginning of January. It certainly gives you a good idea, in just that one event you chose, of what the future struggles in Iran will be.

Marxist-Humanist
Detroit

I cannot get over how quickly a revolutionary gesture can be transformed into its opposite, a counter-revolutionary manifestation. I'm referring to the difference between the women who wore the chador as a protest against the Shah and those who wear it now and stay separate and behind the men in obedience to the reactionary "Islamic Law". To wear the chador now when "Islamic Law" is the law of the land is a very serious backward step.

Revolutionary Observer
Mexico

Aren't revolutionaries ever going to learn? Arafat was so busy playing up Israel as the one and only enemy at the

TWO WORLDS Philosophy and Revolution: critique vs. attack

by **Raya Dunayevskaya**
 Author of **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION**
 and **Marxism and Freedom**

Generally, *News & Letters* reproduces criticisms of any of our writings under the title, "As Others See Us." In the present case, I felt it important to reproduce it in my own column because, as against Howard Parsons' scurrilous attack on *Philosophy and Revolution*, in *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* (June, 1975), the sharp criticism of my work by the scholar, George Armstrong Kelly, in his own work, *Hegel's Retreat From Eleusis*, will, I believe, stimulate a serious discussion on the chapter "Why Hegel? Why Now?"

From *Hegel's Retreat From Eleusis*, by George Armstrong Kelly, Princeton University Press, 1978 (pp. 238-242):

An arresting chapter of a new book by the unorthodox revolutionary Marxist Raya Dunayevskaya is entitled "Why Hegel? Why Now?" These questions are broadly answered in the following manner: "No matter what Hegel's own intentions . . . how could he have stopped the ceaseless motion of the dialectic just because his pen reached the end of his *Encyclopaedia of Philosophical Science*?" (p. 6)* This writer, who finds even Mao's "cultural revolution" deficient in the full utilization of Hegel, opts decisively against the interpretation of Hegel that I have been exploring. For the complex lineage of culture, politics and philosophy within the matrix of "absolute Idea," Mme. Dunayevskaya proposes to substitute an unchained dialectic, which she baptizes "Absolute Method", a method that "becomes irresistible . . . because our hunger for theory arises from the totality of the present global crisis."

*Except for footnote 33 we have inserted text pagination references to *Philosophy and Revolution*.

(p.7) To the question I have raised about the contemporaneity of Hegel, she answers with a resounding affirmative: "What makes Hegel a contemporary is what made him so alive to Marx: the cogency of the dialectic of negativity for a period of proletarian revolution, as well as for the 'birth-time' of history in which Hegel lived." (p.7) According to Dunayevskaya, "Hegel moved from 'culture' to 'science', i.e., the unity of history and its philosophic comprehension." (p. 286) It remained, then, only for Marx to demonstrate that action itself, surpassing thought, must be called on to reconstruct society and "realize" philosophy. However, Hegel felt his philosophy to be supremely valid precisely because it preserved and clarified culture in the memory, not because it had supplanted it.³³ Hegel told us not so much what we lack as what we have so tortuously acquired; how it constitutes us, not our latitude in rejecting it or turning it to other purposes. Thus, when our author concludes "that Hegel's tendencies in the summation of the past give us a glimpse of the future, especially when materialistically understood in a Marxist-Humanist, not vulgar economist, manner" (p.287), we recognize the partial aspect of Hegel she is appropriating, and we discern her strategic position in the intramural Marxist debate, but we find her judgment of the links between philosophy, history, politics, and culture alien to Hegel's intent . . .

To quote Dunayevskaya once more: "The (Hegelian) dialectic disclosed that the counter-revolution is *within* the revolution. It is the greatest challenge man has ever had to face." (p. 287) . . .

(33)Cf. Hegel to Niethammer, 28 Oct. 1808, *Briefe*, I,p.253: "Every day I am more convinced that theoretical work brings more to pass in the world than practical work. Once the realm of thought is revolutionized reality can scarcely hold out."

Certain strains of Marxism play with it (the Hegelian vision of the spirit's progress and goal in history as facilitated by politics), invert it, or re-compose it in ways that are frequently more profound than other solutions to the riddle of history in our times. If they are more profound, it is because they are more convinced that man has a

(Continued on Page 6)

WHO WE ARE

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery, Ala. Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled new movements from practice, which were themselves forms of theory. *News & Letters* was created so that the voices from below could be heard, and the unity of worker and intellectual, philosophy and revolution, could be worked out for our age. A Black production worker, **Charles Denby**, is the editor.

The paper is the monthly publication of News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists that stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private form as in the U.S., or in its state form calling itself Communist, as in Russia and China. The National Chairwoman, **Raya Dunayevskaya**, is the author of *Philosophy and Revolution and Marxism and Freedom* which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism for our age internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene. In opposing this capitalistic, exploitative, racist, sexist society, we participate in all freedom struggles and do not separate the mass activities of workers, Blacks, women and youth from the activity of thinking. We invite you to join with us both in the freedom struggles and in working out a theory of liberation for our age.

Views

very moment when the enemy was right in Lebanon that the civil war there was lost. Now he's coming to Iran just when the fedayeen are fighting Khomeini, to stop them and establish his identity with Khomeini. Once again, "anti-Israel" instead of "pro-social revolution" becomes the unifying force.

I wish every revolutionary in Iran could read Raya Dunayevskaya's Political-Philosophic Letter on "Lebanon: The Test of the PLO and the Whole Left."

Revolutionary Detroit

Editor's Note: Single copies of this Political-Philosophic Letter are 50¢, the entire collection of 10 Letters \$2, plus postage (See ad, p. 7).

AFRICA'S STATE

Interesting that one of your correspondents picked up on the murder of Dialo Telli, first Secretary of the OAU, by Sekou Toure. There was no demand by other African countries for an explanation. The silence was deafening. Can one do better than quote Nyerere on the reaction to Uganda's invasion of Tanzania; "No African country condemned Amin because he is Black." Such selective indignation makes one very sad, indeed. Given Nyerere's dedication to pan-Africanism, one can only imagine the anger and the sadness behind a statement like that. He must be near despair when he contemplates the state of affairs in our dear continent.

Instructor West Africa

FEDERATION OF THE BLIND

The National Federation of the Blind of Michigan has taken the State Department of Labor to court over the process of choosing a Director for the Commission for the Blind. Only after Judge Gedding said he would order the Department to reopen the list of candidates and to establish fair standards for the job, did they agree to do so. The Com-

mission had narrowed a list of 84 applicants to 3. Any who were members of the NFB or who would have been acceptable to the Federation were not even interviewed.

The blind people of Michigan worked very hard over the past two years to create the Commission for the Blind because the previous structure was not meeting our needs. Now they are treating us like adversaries when we try to straighten them out. But the candidates they have chosen represent the same forces which ran a sheltered shop I was in, in 1961, that still exists. At that time all those people were making 15-50¢ per hour and had never lived anywhere but an agency shelter. They had never considered that they could have their own homes or families. We have no illusions that the Department of Labor will not still try to push one of their candidates in.

Blind Activist Detroit

CONTINUING LABOR STRUGGLES

The strike struggles have smashed the five percent limit on wage increases act by Callaghan. It is a defeat for the Establishment but it has revealed many weaknesses in the trade unions. The General Council of the TUC has come out of it badly. The TUC has done nothing to help the hospital workers and other public servants. The shorter working week was forgotten. We had militancy but politics were avoided. The struggles are not all finished.

Correspondent Glasgow

TV really hit the pits a few weeks ago with its presentation of the Triangle Factory fire. Not only was the production factually inaccurate, but it depicted the women as babies—weak, hysterical, helpless. The only heroism displayed was that of the foreman. A maintenance worker was blamed for not repairing a door that was "stuck".

In actuality, it was not "stuck"; it was locked on purpose to keep union organizers out. The door, when it finally opened, opened inward and not outward, crushing the women jammed near it. A group of people tried to go down the fire escape which collapsed. Escape was impossible.

A tragedy that was an historic event, a turning point in the American labor movement that paved the way for safety standards and unionization, was presented as a soap opera drama. It was a disgrace to every working man and woman in this country.

White-collar Worker Oak Park, Mich.

Several months ago we wrote to tell you we had won a favorable ruling in the case of Dave Newman vs. Communication Workers of America Local 1101. Dave was ordered reinstated because he had been removed from office because of his published criticism of union policies. The Local appealed and the court will hand down that ruling this Spring. We are continuing our efforts to reach rank and file unionists and to build support for the case, particularly in the New York area. Any readers who can arrange for us to speak at a meeting of their local or with groups of friends and co-workers can contact:

Telephone Workers Legal Defense Com. 410 Seventh St. Brooklyn, N.Y. 11215

MARGARETH MILLER

Thank you all at *News & Letters* for sharing our win and helping in our support. Hopefully the long, painful struggle my children and I have suffered will count in making this a better and peaceful world for us all, not just a few. I feel my victory is important because it means many people who never thought about the rights of gay people are starting to see us as human, without so many fears and prejudices. However we now face huge legal costs. Any support and letters can be sent to: Jillian and Margareth Defense Committee, 3407 Michigan Ave., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48109.

Margareth Miller Ann Arbor, Mich.

Editor's Note: Margareth Miller won custody of her daughter, Jillian, in Michigan Supreme Court when Judge Ziem took into consideration Jillian's prefer-

ence to remain with her mother and disregarded her father's opposition to Ms. Miller's declared lesbianism.

MARXISM AND THE POPE

I'm sure many readers must be wondering how in the world Raya Dunayevskaya knew, on Oct. 16, when the Pope had only just been elected, had made only one "utterance", and everybody else was talking about his relation only to Russia and Europe, that it was against the Latin American liberation movement he would be moving, first and foremost? And that it was against the Women's Liberation Movement he would direct some of his most reactionary moves? I can tell you that there are some "liberation-theologians" in Mexico who must be pretty embarrassed right now, because when I discussed her short piece in the November N&L with them on a recent trip to Mexico, while some agreed with her completely, there were others who dismissed it by insisting she might know about Marxism but she didn't know anything about the Catholic Church. Evidently, what she knew about revolution and counter-revolution was enough.

Eugene Walker Los Angeles

WE NEED YOUR HELP!

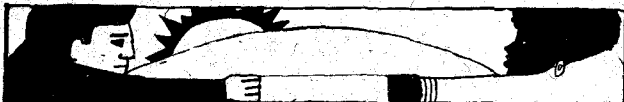
After reading your appeal for funds and Raya Dunayevskaya's article, I've decided to take subscriptions for three of my friends and to add some additional money, since anyone who has ever produced even a leaflet knows \$1 a year isn't enough to buy paper, much less ink. Please be sure to start the subs with the Jan.-Feb. issue.

Subscriber Missouri

I got a letter from the ACLU appealing for membership. On the envelope were the words: "Defend the bastards!", and inside a letter defending the ACLU's support for the Nazis—"right" to "freedom of assembly and speech." Like hell I'll defend either one. I hope other readers do what I am doing—doubling what I would ordinarily send the ACLU and giving it to your fund instead.

Supporter Detroit

Editor's Note: Our thanks for the many generous and creative contributions readers have sent on our urgent appeal for help to keep N&L going. **HAVE YOU SENT YOURS?**



Los Angeles, Cal.—As Carter and Mexican president Lopez Portillo met in Mexico City, their discussion of natural gas, oil, and undocumented workers was on totally different grounds from a new unity of Latinos on both sides of the border in the Southwest.

The unity of Chicanos and Mexicans which the current farmworker strike represents (See story page 3) is by no means isolated. It is part of a movement.

• Thus 1,000 Chicanos recently staged a demonstration at the border between Mexico and California in support of undocumented people from Mexico. Shouting "No fence, no fence," they protested the proposed construction of a six-mile, \$3.5 million, fence at two border sites. The demonstrators openly directed their protest at the meeting of Lopez Portillo and Carter.

"No fence. No fence," shouted 1,000 Chicano demonstrators protesting against the proposed fence between Mexico and the U.S.



• In Arizona a group of Latinos have joined with farmworkers who cross without papers from Mexico to

work in the citrus fields. One of the growers, Blue Goose, is a subsidiary of Pacific Lighting Corporation, a Los Angeles-based energy conglomerate. The undocumented workers at Blue Goose often live in secret open-air encampments in the citrus fields, both because Blue Goose does not provide sufficient housing, and when it is provided, the labor camps become prime targets for the border patrol.

• Because Pacific Lighting wants natural gas from Mexico, the organizers of the protest are trying to involve the Mexican government directly by asking Mexico to refuse to sell natural gas to Pacific Lighting because of its exploitation of Mexican workers.

• In Los Angeles a largely Latino organization, United Neighborhood Organization, organized a huge protest against the attempt of the County Supervisors to deny all but emergency health care to undocumented people.

The attitude among many Latinos is that the border is no longer seen as a barrier, but as creating the necessity to have Mexican-Chicano unity. This unity of Chicanos and Mexicans, especially among workers, has taken some first steps.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

In April 1979 the United States Supreme Court is expected to decide the case of Brian Weber vs. Kaiser Aluminum and the United Steelworkers Union. If the Court renders a decision in favor of Weber, as it did in the Bakke vs. the University of California, it would mean that some 30,000 voluntarily negotiated affirmative action agreements in employment would be invalidated. Such an action would be far more sweeping in its impact than the Bakke decision.

The Weber case originated in an agreement between Kaiser and the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) which created an on-the-job-training program for skilled crafts. It provided that Kaiser employees would be given the first opportunity to enter this program, and that each participant would be chosen on a one-for-one basis, from separate seniority lists, one of Black and the other of white workers.

To rectify past discrimination against Blacks, for a period of time all opportunities for training would be shared 50-50, but later, entry for all Kaiser employees would be determined by seniority.

The Kaiser plant where Weber works is in Gramercy, La., an area that is 40 percent Black, but no Blacks were hired until 1962. By 1974 only 14.8 percent of all plant employees, and only 5 percent of the 273 craft workers, were Black. The pattern of discrimination was so blatant, and the threat of discrimination suits so great, that Kaiser and USWA agreed to make changes.

Brian Weber, a white worker, applied for the on-the-job training program. He was not selected, though he had more seniority than the worker selected from the Black list.

Weber brought suit against the USWA and Kaiser Aluminum charging them with reverse discrimination. His suit was upheld by both the District and the Circuit Courts as being in violation of Title VII of the U.S. Civil Rights Act of 1964, and is now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

It would be a mistake to focus entirely upon the legal ramifications of this case, because in reality it is not a question of legality. The real question is the widespread political reaction that has grown since the end of the Civil Rights Movement.

Weber vs. Black movement

Weber, like Bakke, seems to come out of nowhere, to become a shining symbol of democracy for reaction. They are neither rich nor poor, yet they find the money and skilled lawyers to carry on costly and time-consuming legal battles which are beyond the resources of ordinary individuals. I raise this because they appear only as individuals seeking their rights. In contrast, only after great protests, agitation and fundraising were Blacks able to get their civil rights cases before the highest U.S. Courts.

I am not saying that Weber and Bakke are part of some conspiracy to erode the civil rights for which Blacks fought over the past three decades. Such a conspiracy is unnecessary because racism is built-in, within the system of capitalism itself, and without continuous struggle against the repressive and retrogressive nature of capitalism, it will revert to reaction, and even to barbarism.

TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

meaning and history a destiny. To say that their own contradictions betray them is not to dishonor their effort.

PROFESSOR KELLY, I FEEL SURE, knows that "Absolute Method" is not an expression of mine, but of Hegel's. There is no doubt whatsoever that he is more adept than I with knowing the direct references to that expression, whether that be the two pages (pp. 839-40) on Absolute Method in Miller's translation of *Science of Logic*, or Johnson and Struthers' translation (Vol. II, pp. 481-2). Or for that matter, the reference in the original German to "absolute Methode" (p. 567, 1969 edition). Therefore, he must have meant to say that "an unchained dialectic" is not something that Hegel would have considered his second negativity (which he called Absolute Method) to be. It nevertheless remains a fact that absolute negativity is not something I "baptised" as Absolute Method, but Hegel did; and that Marx's singling out "negativity as the moving and creative principle" was precisely because of his profound com-

prehension not only of economics and politics, but culture and philosophy—and revolution. And it is again at the period of world crisis, this time World War I, that Lenin singles out that section as "not at all bad as a kind of summing up of dialectics" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 231).

Where Professor Kelly stresses Hegel's statement that "Once the realm of thought is revolutionized, reality can scarcely hold out", may I call attention to Hegel's statement on his praise of the Idea because of its relationship to reality, "the pivot on which the impending world revolution turned . . ." (*Philosophy of Right*, p. 10). In a word, what we are disagreeing on is today, and our attitude to philosophy and revolution, when in the contemporary world it becomes philosophy of revolution.

IN CONTRAST TO THAT scholarly discussion, and with full appreciation of the deep difference between a Marxist and an academic scholar, consider the following deceitful as well as obscene attack on my work by Howard Parsons in *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, which passed for a review of *Philosophy and Revolution*: "This is philosophical idealism—a real aid and comfort to the counter-revolutionaries sitting on their mounting piles of nuclear bombs."

This is not the only time that that scholarly (sic!) journal created space for a Stalinoid type of professor to pose as "independent". A decade back, when, after a whole century's delay in finding and translating Marx's *Humanist Essays*, these were finally published with serious commentary in the U.S., another such type of "independent" — this time Maoist-tinged — Prof. Donald Clark Hodges, vulgarized Marx's *Humanist Essays*: "In the manuscripts of 1844, alienation involves a specific economic transaction between the alienor and alienee." (*Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Dec. 1966). Not only had the editor of the journal published this uncritically, but refused to publish my critique, which held that, more intolerable even than Hodges' pontifical about Marx's "alleged (sic!) humanism", was the journal's allowing Prof. Hodges to initiate ideological McCarthyism, creating an amalgam with his claim that every U.S. scholar who, according to him, was engaged in "a salvage operation from Marx's own wastebaskets," thereby creating "a humanistic image congenial to the academic community," was in fact "closely allied to the corresponding economic and political development within the Soviet Union."

What *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* has been doing, by giving free rein to people like Prof. Hodges to attack Marx's *Humanism*, and now to Howard Parsons to attack *Philosophy and Revolution*, while excluding not only my rebuttal but also that of other scholars who came to the defense of Marx, was to close off any objective discussion. It is for this reason that I repeat what I wrote in my critique on Jan. 22, 1967: "At the risk of being considered 'soft' on the philosophical community, I dare conclude that it would have been far better for freedom of thought, for academia and all others, if Prof. Hodges hadn't become so 'increasingly irritated' at all interpretations of Marx other than his own as to be ready to create instant amalgams!" (*Instant Vulgar Materialism vs. Marx's Humanism*, N&L, Oct. 1967.)

Will China-Vietnam conflict trigger Russia-China war?

At the very beginning of the Sino-Soviet Conflict in 1960, Raya Dunayevskaya posed the then-startling question: "Can There Be War Between Russia and China?" And in 1975, while Mao was still alive and a new Constitution was proposed by Chou En-lai, she posed the question of "Maoism Without Mao". Over 20 full years since the first publication of *Marxism and Freedom*, a wealth of research and analysis—as the events were unfolding—has been available to News & Letters readers. To understand the events of today and tomorrow in China, we call to your attention:

- **MARXISM AND FREEDOM:** Chapter 17 "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" and Chapter 18 on "Cultural Revolution or Maoist Reaction?"
- **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION:** Chapter 5 on "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung", including an analysis of the Peking-Djakarta axis.
- **NEW ESSAYS:** Essay on "Post-Mao China: What Now?"
- **SEXISM, POLITICS AND REVOLUTION:** Including both "Chiang Ch'ing, Hua Kuo-feng in post-Mao China" and "Alienation and Revolution", an interview with a Hong Kong refugee as the Cultural Revolution erupted.
- **MAO'S CHINA AND THE "PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION"**, written for "New Politics," Spring 1968; available both as separate pamphlet from N&L, and as chapter in "The Revolution is Dead, Long Live the Revolution", published by the 70's, Hong Kong.

- **STATE-CAPITALISM AND MARX'S HUMANISM:** Especially the chapter on "The Philosophic-Economic Problems of Today."
- **POLITICAL-PHILOSOPHIC LETTERS:** Including "Mao's Last Hurrah" (Feb. 27, 1976) and "Post-Mao China: What is Mao's Legacy?" (Nov. 17, 1976).
- **BOUND VOLUMES OF NEWS & LETTERS:** From Raya Dunayevskaya's "Two Worlds" column "Let 100 Flowers Bloom, Let One Party Rule" in 1957, through her articles on the "Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the Sino-Soviet Conflict" in 1963; "Mao's Bomb and Khrushchev's Fall" in 1964; "China and the India-Pakistan War" in 1965; "China's Self-Created Turmoil" at the outset of the "Cultural Revolution", in 1966; "Splintered World Communism" in 1969; "The Nixon-Mao Extravaganza" in 1972; "Confucius Who?" in 1974; to her articles on "The Death of Mao" and "Post-Mao China", News & Letters has carried 33 major articles by Raya Dunayevskaya on events in China, unequalled anywhere in scope and depth.

All these works are available from News & Letters (see publications ad, p. 7); and on microfilm in "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection," at the Walter Reuther Library of Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich. 48202. In Detroit, they are also in our extensive lending library at 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Room #304.



by Peter Wermuth

There have been several meetings by Iranian students here in New York in support of the ongoing revolution in their homeland, the most recent a rally of 50 in downtown Manhattan, Feb. 7, and a Feb. 12 meeting of 150 commemorating the 1970 Siakal armed uprising against the Shah. And on Feb. 5, 100 marched in front of the Jersey City courthouse.

The Jersey City demonstration was a response to the arrest of three Iranian students at Jersey City State College for refusing to present ID cards to school security guards. Of the 21 arrested in that demonstration, six who remain in jail face a \$50,000 bail and a very serious threat of deportation.

The severe repression in the U.S. against the Iranian students since the Shah's overthrow shows how much the U.S. rulers fear their potential influence on American youth struggles here at home. Indeed, as the revolution reaches a critical turning point, revolutionary solidarity here can stay the hand of possible intervention by U.S. imperialism.

Unfortunately, a severe lack of involvement by American students and the U.S. Left hinders that effort. The Iranian students' demonstration at the Beverly Hills home of the Shah's sister, Jan. 2, the 20th Convention of the Confederation of Iranian Students in Los Angeles, Dec. 30, and the activities listed above attracted only a handful of participants from the U.S. Left, with News and Letters Committees being the sole American participant in several of them.

The vanguardist U.S. Left will not venture into joining the militancy of the Iranian students unless it is assured of setting the ground for the activities. However the very power and novelty of the Iranian revolution—inspiring Iranian students in the U.S. today—is in the creation of new forms of revolutionary organiza-

Needed support for Iran

tion from below of workers, women, student youth and national minorities.

The Left instead feels outside the flow of these events and was taken by surprise by the rapidity of success and richness of the movement. It is confused at the relative ease with which the Shah and Bakhtiar have been kicked out, for it has long argued that such developments could occur only through formation of a carefully planned strategy beforehand.

Nothing typifies the practical consequences of this attitude better than the behavior of the Maoist groups, who only a year ago claimed a significant relationship with a section of the Iranian student movement here. Once it was clear that the Iranian revolution would not follow the pattern and mentality of Maoism, they ignored the self-activity of the masses inside Iran. Since then they have lost much of their influence on the movement, and many Iranian students I talked with are rethinking their former sympathy with Mao's thought.

The latest developments call into question much more than Maoist tactics. They challenge the very attitude towards revolution of the entire Left.

Just at the point where the necessity of making the unity between the Iranian movement and the U.S.'s youth struggles—whether anti-apartheid, anti-nuclear, Black, or women's liberation—is most urgent, the Left ignores the universality of the movement and can do none other than erect anew barrier to internalizing the highpoints of revolution.

Eyewitness report from Iran

(Continued from Page 1)

be worked out in a National Convention of working men and women to include all of the Iranian workers.

THE ACTIVITY OF WOMEN and youth is spectacular. They are present at any march, demonstration and all the meetings, gatherings on every corner and fighting the military. Islamic police (made up of youths) are replacing the city police in most small towns, and defense committees are being formed in the cities . . . After Mossadegh, there has not been a single character as popular as Ayatollah Khomeini in Iranian history. Some may disagree with him, but everyone respects his uncompromising positions.

Common people are very sympathetic toward communism but think that "true communism is impossible to achieve" when they face Russia and China. Everyone has a great thirst for freedom. They love it and are ready to die for it. They don't know very much about an "Islamic Republic" but think it would provide what they want. When you talk to them about Marxism and freedom they listen passionately, but then say that's exactly what they expect of Islam.

It is a different story among the intellectuals. Most of them use Marxist terminologies though not many understand it well. Women seem to have more potential to grasp it. At least they are attracted to the idea of women's liberation in the Marxian philosophy. Books are flowing at the people as fast as the soldiers' bullets. All who know how to read are hungry to grab them. Good books and bad, they read everything about revolution. All Marxian books that have been translated into Persian are being reprinted and spread hand by hand and house to house: *Capital*; *Paris Commune*; *Communist Manifesto*; *What is to be Done?*; *State and Revolution*; *Imperialism*; *Wretched of the Earth*; *Black Skin, White Masks*; *Dying Colonialism*. I have even seen a few books on labor history and the Black question in the U.S. . . .

The specter of coup d'etat is haunting Iran. Former SAVAK agents and hard line military officers, together with most reactionary sects of the society are now appearing as the supporters of the Constitution and Bakhtiar. The people are fearful, they don't want to lose what they have earned, and are determined to transform any coup d'etat to a real civil war.

THE WEAKNESS OF THE religious leaders to conduct a decisive attack on the regime, in addition to the confusion on the part of the Left, has brought about an unstable situation. It will cause the masses to begin searching for other alternatives and give rise to more fundamental ideas and solutions.

There is nothing "normal" in Iran. The real life is on the streets and the walls. You can find every idea, slogan, history and news written on the walls. The whole country is on strike. The next few days are decisive for our revolution. More blood will pour on the ground. It must guarantee our victory.

I must stop. I have to go to the demonstration. We need international support!

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

would never have gone there.

That's one side of it. There is the other one of the government, the U.S. government that talks so high and mighty about human rights. The TV cameras showed all of us the murderously vicious Saigon police commander who executed a Vietcong with his hands tied behind his back by putting a bullet through his skull. We all saw that one. And this same murderer is not only welcomed into the U.S. with open arms, he is set up in business to run a restaurant in Virginia.

Last year there was a big fuss about trying him for his crimes and probably deporting him, but the State Department or some other governmental agencies have quieted that down and he is still doing business.

What all this shows is clear to see. If you are a normal human being and kill helpless people who did nothing to you and break down, that's just too bad for you. But if you are a murderer serving the imperialist aims of the U.S., you can be sure you will be given a great reward.

Michigan readers—

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Youth in Revolt

Sit-ins by hundreds of thousands of Shanghai youth this year halted dozens of trains. They stormed communist party headquarters and attacked party officials; they stopped traffic and cut power lines. The rebellion is against prolonged resettlement in rural areas and factories away from their homes in Shanghai.

More than 2,000 protestors spoiled the "Defense Technology '79" arms bazaar in Rosemont, Ill. near Chicago on Feb. 18. Most of the "merchants of death" cancelled out when faced with a demonstration of people, mostly youth, from as far away as Europe and all over the U.S. and from church, anti-nuclear, and leftist groups.

A January student rebellion erupted in Bangui, capital of the Central African Empire. The Association of Central African Students in France announced that over 1,000 people who participated in the riots were killed in the repression that followed. Zairean troops helped repress the rebellion which was inspired by the recent success of Iranian youth.

Wayne State University students in Detroit, Mich. forced the law school faculty not to end affirmative action policy for admissions. A howl of protest followed the faculty's voluntary decision to comply with the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in the Bakke decision—barring affirmative action quotas. Student and community organizations forced a new faculty decision Jan. 27 to admit a quarter of all applicants considering "special circumstances" such as sex and race, and not to reject those scoring below 400 on the admissions test.

After Carleton University women's organizations demanded cancellation of the New Wave band "Battered Wives," the Canadian National Union of Students urged all Canadian student unions not to book entertainment which glorifies the physical and sexual abuse of women. Hundreds of Canadian feminists have opposed this band in numerous protests, including one on Nov. 7 in Montreal where police without provocation arrested 57 of the 200 protestors.

Uniroyal: promises, promises

Detroit, Mich. — The time will be coming soon to negotiate a new contract at Uniroyal, and there was a union meeting on Feb. 11 to discuss it. I asked a friend what went on and he told me that they made all sorts of promises. There was talk about 25-years-and-out with the option of retiring at age 50 for some (if anyone lasts that long), and equal pay for all departments.

There were also some things about what to do when there's a plant closing, but nothing to stop the closings, and there have been several shutdowns since the last contract negotiations. It doesn't look very good for any of us.

Then there's the whole business about the firings — about 150 people, that's 10 percent of the 1,500 working here, who have been fired since last summer. Everyone knows that some of the union officers have spoken against these people or not defended them.

Nobody knows if there will be a strike or not. The papers say there won't be. In the last strike we didn't win anything. In fact, we lost a lot, including about half the jobs here. Most people don't seem to want the hardship of a strike if we don't really win anything.

—Uniroyal worker

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Note to our readers

Because, as we go to press, China's invasion of Vietnam has intensified to the point where it might spill over into an actual China-Russia confrontation, while the U.S. continues to play Russian roulette, we are holding the article on the Teng visit to the U.S. originally intended for this spot, and are expanding it to deal with the global ramifications next issue. We urge readers to study the Marxist-Humanist analyses of the Sino-Soviet Conflict over the past 20 years. See p. 6.

Jamaica

Street protests and strikes broke out all over Jamaica in January when the government of Michael Manley announced that gasoline would go up to \$1.99 a gallon. In putting down the protests which lasted more than three days, the government killed five people and injured many.

Manley, who is friendly with Cuba and thinks of himself as progressive, said the opposition was trying to repeat what happened in Iran. Manley has no answers to resolve the crisis in Jamaica's economy which now has an inflation rate of over 35 percent, coupled with an unemployment rate of 24 percent.

He is taking orders from the International Monetary Fund which set conditions on a \$244 million loan last year. Another part of Manley's plan which is sure to bring opposition is raising the cost of basic foods like bread and cornmeal more than 20 percent. The message of the rebellion on the side of a jailhouse reads, "IMF Go Home. The Poor Can't Take No More."

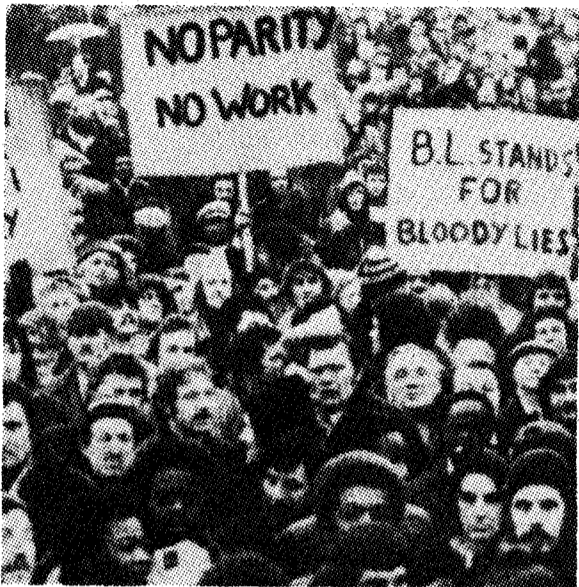
Britain

We have received the following report from a correspondent in Britain:

Under the impact of industrial action by lorry drivers, train drivers, public employees and others—actions in which more than one-and-a-half million workers have been involved—the government's attempt to impose a five percent restriction on wage rises has fallen into ruins. More and more workers are showing they are no longer prepared to pay for the crisis capitalism has created.

The most exciting thing about the current strike is that it is the rank-and-file workers themselves, and not the bosses, the government, or the trade union bureaucrats, who have decided what moves and what does not. Furthermore, the workers have enforced their decisions with mass pickets. Attempts to impose legal restrictions on picketing have met with mass defiance. At the oil refinery at Grangemouth, 200 workers smashed a police cordon in order to establish their right to picket.

At my college, the Army—attempting to exploit the high rate of graduate unemployment—tried to stage a recruiting display less than a week before the anniversary of "Bloody Sunday," when soldiers fired on a civil rights march in Northern Ireland killing 13 people. However, the threat of a picket by socialist students made them change their mind. Many students were among the 2,000 people



British Leland auto workers join thousands on strike throughout Britain.

who turned out on a march to remember "Bloody Sunday" called by Sinn Fein. This march was attacked by a mob of National Front thugs who threw bricks, smoke bombs and other missiles. One fascist was carrying a gun, but the police took no action against him.

Leading fascist Robert Relf has recently been imprisoned for publishing racist leaflets and is threatening a hunger strike to the death. The fascists will probably use this as an excuse to step up their campaign against Black people and the left.

—Terry Liddle

Rhodesia

The following excerpts are taken from a response we received, from a correspondent in Britain, to the article on Rhodesia in the December, 1978 "Our Life and Times":

Peter Mallory says of Sithole and Chirau that they were once more serious nationalists. True for Sithole . . . but totally untrue for Chirau. Chief Chirau is the leader of a party created by the Rhodesian "tribal chiefs"—these are not hereditary or elected chiefs . . . but are purely government appointees.

Moreover after gaining independence the Smith regime removed the older chiefs, who were the agents of the British colonial regime, and replaced them with their own nominees. I don't know whether Chirau was a British appointment . . . or whether he was *ab initio* a Smith appointment; but the fact that he held office after a wholesale sacking and reappointment means that at the time of UDI the Smith regime was certain of his loyalty.

Chirau is then and always has been a puppet . . . nominated by the council of chiefs (all appointed by Smith) to the old legislative council, ready at Smith's orders to form a farcical Black party to support the Rhodesia Front Line.

Indeed, he is probably more radical now . . . Largely because he is scared for the future, he is beginning to emerge within the new allegedly transitional government as the one most critical of the more openly racist elements of the regime so as to gain some credibility for the future. I doubt if many people are fooled.

I would suspect even Sithole's seriousness in the past. My impression is that the ZANU line at the time of the split from ZAPU was truly Third Period, divisive rather than leftist . . . I would say that Sithole in fact made UDI possible in the first place whereas had the ZAPU-ZANU division not come in the early '60s, I don't think the Rhodesian whites would have dared act as they did, or had they so acted, that the British Labour Government could have avoided recognizing the Zimbabwe nationalists as the legitimate government.

I do not exclude the possibility that Sithole was ordered by the Maoists to act as a wrecker . . . Throughout southern Africa Maoism is aligned with the extreme right. Just as in the '30s Stalin, through his shifting tactics, acted to prevent the spread of world revolution which would have menaced his own regime, so has Maoism since the '60s.

—Laurens Otter

Poland

Though less than a foot of snow fell in Poland in a January storm the whole country was virtually closed down for nearly a week, with whole towns and sections of Warsaw without heat, electricity or water. Polish workers took the opportunity to stay away from work en masse. The rate of daily absenteeism even on nice days has reached a million people, or eight percent of the workforce.

Workers are fed up with all the extra time being lost in the expanded meat and bread lines. The government had this to say to the foreign press on the crisis over what would seem to be a simple snow storm: "The economy is becoming much more sophisticated, much more delicate and must therefore be much more perfectly organized. It takes only a little to throw such a finely tuned system out of order."

Opposition mounts against Pope's attack on women, 'liberation theology'

(Continued from Page 1)

with the organizations of the millions of unemployed forced to live in city slums, who are demanding electricity, water and jobs. In Ecuador, the priests have joined in creating Indians' cooperatives. At times, this activity has taken the form of joining the armed struggle, as did Camilo Torres in Colombia and Garcia Laviana in Nicaragua.

It was against this growing relationship between Catholic radicals, the mass movements, and independent Marxists—the practice of "liberation theology" by the activists in the Church—that the Pope's first mission in his reign outside of Italy was directed. And to the masses of Latin America, where almost half the world's Catholics live, the Pope came to preach that the "saving of souls" for the next world is more urgent than revolutionary change in their conditions of life now.

As we wrote in *News & Letters* last fall, "With the election of Pope John Paul II, the Vatican has again plunged deeply into its professional anti-Communism, this time aimed not just at Russia but more specifically and directly against the Latin American liberation movement."* It is this which brings many Catholic liberationists into dialogue with Marxists. And it is this which unites the counter-revolutionary ruling classes, whether it be the Pope or our Baptist President Carter.

After the Pope left Mexico, he was followed by another evangelist, Jimmy Carter, in search of oil to control instead of souls. But before he left the U.S., Carter showed that a Baptist can be every bit as reactionary as the right-wing of the Catholic Church, in particular its attacks on the women's movement.

Only two days before anti-abortion forces, heavily financed and organized by the Catholic Church, were

scheduled to demonstrate in Washington D.C. on Jan. 22 for a constitutional amendment to ban abortion forever, Carter, a long-time foe of a woman's right to abortion, instituted some last minute changes in his proposed budget that eliminated programs for setting up birth control clinics and contraceptive research. Instead, he substituted an agency for pregnant teen-agers to be headed by a woman who also opposes abortion.

And a week earlier, he fired Bella Abzug, co-chairperson of his Advisory Committee on Women, when that group issued a criticism of Carter's budget, bloated with military spending and lean on social programs that would help working and unemployed women.

Feminists from within the political structure, like Gloria Steinem, immediately criticized Carter, and large audiences of women, though overwhelmingly middle-class, have come to hear Bella Abzug in her recent talks. On a different level of opposition to the Carter Administration, various groups have begun to come together to protect the right of abortion (see stories, p. 2).

This is but one issue which naturally gets the most massive support in all countries, be it the U.S., Europe, or Latin America. However, what has been exciting and new—again, whether you consider the developments in Italy, in the U.S., or in Latin America—is that there is a new upsurge of thinking, where all sorts of groups are arising that are raising the question of woman as reason as well as force.

It isn't only that some women's groups in Mexico that I met with have accepted that slogan, but that there is a new level of theoretical discussion that is turning their attention to revolutionaries, be they 19th century Russians, the great Rosa Luxemburg, what we are doing in the U.S.—or what the women are doing in the ongoing revolution in Iran (see article, p. 1).

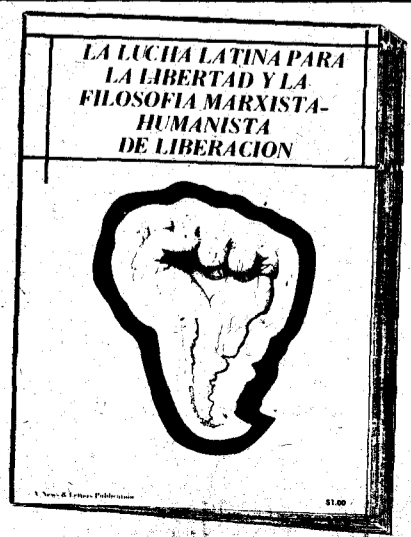
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*See *News & Letters*, November, 1978, p.2: "A note on Pope John Paul II," by Raya Dunayevskaya, dated Oct. 16, 1978.