

Editorial article

Reagan convention reveals barbarism of 'New Right'—and mass opposition

by Michael Connolly

The July 14-17 Republican convention-spectacle, minutely staged to convince all that the nomination of Ronald Reagan was at one and the same time a triumph of "mainstream" politics and the "New Right," instead revealed both the full scope of an American neo-fascism within the convention hall, and a diverse, determined, continuing opposition in the streets outside. Nor did the opposition end when the satisfied delegates returned to their well-appointed homes in lily-white suburbia. On the contrary, that was exactly when new troubles broke out.

No sooner did the massive police presence in Miami, Fla. temporarily suppress the Black youth there — whose second wave of protests perfectly coincided with the G.O.P. convention — than attention turned to Chattanooga, Tenn. There the latest expression of "justice American-style" freed two Ku Klux Klansmen who had shotgunned four Black women, and gave a third KKK'er a slap-on-the-wrist sentence that Black youth repeatedly called a "sick joke," as they battled police for three nights.

CANDIDATES VS. MASSES

In truth, from Flint, Mich. to Boston, Mass., and from the Carolina textile mills to "Auto Capital" Detroit, the weeks preceding and following the Republican convention underlined not the "basic soundness of the free enterprise system," but the canyon that separates the world of all contenders for the White House — whether Democratic, Republican or Anderson—"independ-



—N&L photo

Demonstrators 13,000-strong marched to the Republican convention hall in Detroit on July 14, shouting their opposition to Reagan's reactionary plan for women.

ent" — from that of the American masses. And while there is no doubt that the Democratic convention Aug. 11-14 will disclose still newer divisions and crises, the far-right depths of the Republican gathering and the platform it adopted with hardly a murmur of dissent from the alleged "moderates" demand a closer look.

That platform, which even TV network commentators dubbed "the most conservative adopted by either major party in this century," trumpeted not only its 40,000 word length, but its five "key words": "family, work, neighborhood, peace and freedom." Whether one's associations spin backward to the slogans over World War II concentration camp gates, or forward to the world of 1984, the text of the platform itself only confirms that such nightmares are justified ones.

The fact that "family" came first in the Reaganite list of virtues was no small part of the cause for the glee seen on the face of the professional anti-women's rights crusader Phyllis Schlafly. Throughout the platform committee votes, she and Birch Society hero Sen. Jesse Helms joined their tight organizations to oppose the Equal Rights Amendment, call for a constitutional amendment to ban abortion, and insist that judges be picked for the federal court only if they agreed with such positions. What is evident is that for Reagan's Republicans, repression of women's liberation assumes a very central role in their vision of a "cleansed" America. For this "crusade" they hope to recruit women as well as men.

What is also evident is the fury that the constant

grinning affirmation of the "traditional role and values of the family in our society" aroused in 13,000 women and men who turned out in Detroit for a NOW-sponsored march against the withdrawal of support for the ERA, as they made it clear that the blocked ERA was not the only question on their minds. (See articles, p. 2)

REAGAN: CAPITALISM'S RIGHT WING

The full measure of the convention's attitude to Black America was not quite as openly expressed in the platform. Nor could it be grasped from listening to the NAACP's Benjamin Hooks offer mild criticism in the few minutes he was given to address the delegates. Instead, Florida — whether as Miami revolt or as the enthusiasm shown for capital punishment — told a stark truth. One of the hottest selling items in the convention backrooms was a Florida T-shirt, made by local police after the execution of John Spengelink there last year: "One Down, 133 to Go." The number, of course, refers to the inmates, overwhelming Black, on Florida's Death Row. Or perhaps it would be simpler to point to the intermingling of KKK and police, and recall how Black youth characterize this year's wave of killings by the cops: "police with Klan minders." One faction of the KKK even came out in full endorsement of the Republican platform, saying that they "could have written it."

And where Reagan's acceptance speech again professed his opposition to Carter's plan for the draft, the fact is that his fantastic program for U.S. "military superiority" would turn the whole of the earth into one police training ground.

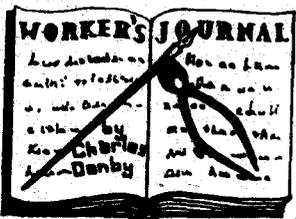
Hardly a weapons system dreamed of by the Pentagon in the last 20 years is missed in the Republican platform. And all must be developed and deployed immediately. The MX missile, the B-1 bomber, the Rapid Deployment Force — and of course the "peaceful" growth of nuclear power plants — these are the solutions of one whose greatest desire is to be the "finger on the trigger," at the moment the new youth anti-draft/anti-war protests have appeared in cities all across the country. (See participants' reports, p. 1)

It is impossible not to remember back to the Goldwater convention of 1964, and its ultra-right declarations. What we pointed to then, even as a Goldwater defeat at the polls seemed probable, was that there was no cause to rejoice. "A defeat at the polls will not rid us of the organization that made it possible for him to 'capture' the Republican Party . . ." That organization, whether in its John Birch Society form or in the newer forms today, is the vehicle by which state-capitalism's leadership turns to "extremes" in times of crisis.

RELIGION ENTERS POLITICS

What is new with Reagan and the ultra-Right today is not only that there is a very good chance that he

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Chrysler gets loans, workers get lay-offs

by Charles Denby, Editor

Many of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

Many workers today are asking some of the older workers if today's lay-offs are as great as in 1929 and the 1930s, and if the depression then was as severe as it is today. The truth is there have never been such mass lay-offs in such a short time, and many workers just cannot understand it at all.

Let's look at Chrysler when they first started yelling that they would be forced to close down all of their plants. Every Chrysler worker was hit hard by the news. Then in a few weeks the company started talking about a loan from the federal government, and how if the government did not loan Chrysler all of these millions and millions of dollars Chrysler would go bankrupt.

At that time as one worker with 17 years seniority told me, the Chrysler workers had already signed a contract with the company, and in all previous years when one of the Big Three signed a contract, the other two signed similar contracts. But this time they had been forced to sign for less than Ford or GM. And then after the government loan, they had to sign another contract giving up most of the few gains they had in the original agreement, and besides they had to put so much in the loan before the government would make it official.

A few months later, Chrysler started yelling again about another loan because they were going bankrupt again, and they finally got this loan. But the lay-offs

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ON THE INSIDE

The 25th Anniversary of the Birth of Marxist-Humanism, by

Raya Dunayevskaya p. 5

Essay: Black Thought/Black Reality, by Lou Turner p. 6

Draft-age youth give notice: 'We Won't Go!'

Anti-draft protests were held across the country the week of July 21, as four million 19- and 20-year-old men were ordered to register with the Selective Service System. The protests — from Boston to Kansas City, Mo., from Eugene, Ore. to Durham, N.C. — reflected a multi-faceted opposition to the Administration's war drive, with many featuring women's liberationists speaking against the draft for women and men.

Anti-war youth leafletted the post offices, succeeding in persuading many not to register; there were reports that only small numbers of youth, or none at all, were registering in several locations.

The following reports are from News and Letters Committees members who participated in the protests.

— Ed.
San Francisco, Cal. — Hundreds of people, from junior high school age on, gathered at San Francisco's main post office, July 19, to begin an intensive week of picketing against draft registration. The four cars housing four cops each, in addition to police on foot, communicated that resistance to the war drive will be confronted by forces of war at home, but this didn't deter the protesters, as we marched through downtown with our

slogans and banners.

Some have attempted to compare this anti-war movement to the Vietnam resistance movement, but as one 14-year-old I spoke to said, "The '80s are going to be bigger than the '60s. I don't think war is inevitable. My father, a Korean War vet, is against war also."

There were slogans of "We won't die for EXXON," and women speakers defied any attempt to equate women's liberation with war exploits. Black and Hispanic youth spoke against racism and economic exploitation that force minority youth into the military, further proving that this anti-war movement will not succumb to simply "Bring the Boys Home."

New York, N.Y. — The first day of registration for the draft brought thousands of protestors to the streets of New York. A rally drew 5,000 people, primarily young, who, through their responses to speakers, gave the lie to the notion that they are politically naive. When a State Senator suggested that since the next war will be a "push-button" war, all the older men who are so worried

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WOMAN AS REASON

How can we uproot the new official misogyny?

After the big misogynist celebration in Detroit last month, i.e., the Republican Convention, there can be no doubt that the right wing defines the Women's Liberation Movement as a critical force for revolution. How the Republicans aim to stifle that force, if elected, can be seen in their platform, which drops the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) after 40 years and calls for a Constitutional amendment against abortion for all women.

The Democratic Party, while paying lip service to the Women's Movement, has shown in its action that its attitude is not so far removed from the Republican right wing and is part of the total attack against women, including:

- The Supreme Court decision on June 30 denying poor women the right to control their bodies, by cutting off federal money for "medically necessary" abortions;
- The defeat of the ERA in the Illinois legislature;
- The attack on poor and minority women, through cutting off food stamps and welfare payments;
- The White House Conference on the Family, where the right wing was defeated by only one thin vote on a resolution to support ERA, abortion on demand, and the elimination of discrimination against homosexuals.

But what this new horrible stage of official misogyny has revealed is its opposite in the outrage of women against those who would strip us of our rights. In Chicago, 200 demonstrators wearing red armbands to symbolize the blood on the hands of the system, came out to protest the sickening Supreme Court decision on abortions; similar demonstrations were held across the country. But this outrage was revealed most sharply in Detroit, when 13,000 marched to show their disgust at the Republicans.

Although the National Organization for Women (NOW) called the Detroit demonstration, they were taken by surprise at the huge turnout. People came spontaneously, from the South and Northeast, as well as from Michigan and the Midwest, as soon as they heard of it. Members of groups like the Michigan Nurses Associ-

Iranian women speak . . .

(Editor's note: In Tehran on July 5, over 2,000 women took to the streets to protest against the latest order from Khomeini to women government employees, to wear "Islamic scarves" or be fired. Left parties refused to support the march or protect the women from attacks by Islamic guards, saying that their demonstrations were "orchestrated by the right." Below we print excerpts from a support statement issued by a group of Iranian women in the U.S. and a statement by a young Iranian woman on the chador.)

Once again thousands of Iranian women came out into the streets in mourning black chanting, "We didn't have a revolution to march backward." Facing Muslim militants who threatened to attack them with knives and clubs, they declared their opposition to the Islamic Republic's newest moves which once again deny women their basic human rights . . .

The women in Iran are oppressed by the same reactionary forces that have directed their attacks toward the students, national minorities, workers and Left progressive movements. The struggles of the women for their democratic rights and political and social equality is a long struggle. The struggle needs the independent organization of women and the support of the progressive forces . . .

It is obvious that if the Iranian women do not receive the support of the progressive elements of Iranian society, then out of desperation they may resort unconsciously to join even reactionary elements who claim to provide women with some kind of aid. If so, not only will the mass movement of the women be weakened, but also the progressive movements in Iran, with their isolation from the women's movement, will destroy the chances of victory in their struggles.

What the new move of the government means is that a woman's body is more important than her mind; it is to stress her sexuality at the expense of her personality, and prevent her from struggling along with the men for a better life. It is a formula for "separate and unequal."

I oppose the chador because of what it implies; that women are sex objects which are owned, possessed, and that therefore must be covered from others . . .

The same mentality prevails towards women in the Western world. There she is also regarded as a sex object — except that by using her body in films and commercials, capitalism tries to sell more of its products.

To bring about a better life for both men and women requires equality in all areas, and full acceptance of women as partners in the struggles toward liberation.

ation took the day off work to demonstrate their anger. Many laid-off auto workers — Black and White, women and men — came to downtown Detroit on their own, and had to ask where to find the UAW contingent. All were incensed by party-politics-as-usual-on-the-backs-of-women.

While NOW leaders try to claim that "all we want is the ERA" and others play party politics, the demonstrators showed that they want much more. One woman's sign read: "KKK Reagan—Kinder, Kirche, Kuche." News & Letters participants got cheers from demonstrators when we chanted, "Ayatollah Reagan, NO!", and marchers were eager to buy News & Letters, a sign that women are looking for a real alternative to this rotten society.

What the right wing is reacting to is women's total fight for freedom—a fight to create our vision of what a human society could be. The 13,000 in Detroit revealed that vision will persist. Under the weight of counter-revolution, can this vision become as deep a force for revolution as our spontaneity and outrage?

—Terry Moon

The truth about Lincoln

by Tommie Hope

On July 15, I was among some 13,000 women who attended a mass march and rally to protest the Republican Party's withdrawal of support for the ERA. It was a wonderful feeling to see that outpouring of women; their anger came out spontaneously. But one thing disturbed me very much. NOW had printed up signs for the march, with a picture of Abraham Lincoln crying on them. They said: "Will the party that freed the slaves become the party that enslaves women?"

The great majority of women at the march were white women, and as a Black woman I would have been glad at a real connection between the Black struggle and the Women's Liberation Movement. And yet when I read that sign I got furious, at the idea that Lincoln and the Republican Party should be pictured as the ones responsible for freeing the slaves. The proof that the "Great Emancipator" was a fake emancipator was seen in his own words as late as August, 1862: "My paramount object in this struggle," Lincoln said, "is to save the union, and is not to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the union without freeing any slaves I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would do that."

The next year, when Lincoln was finally forced to make the Emancipation Proclamation, he made it as limited as possible, just like the "pettifogging lawyer" Karl Marx said he was. The truth is that Lincoln spent half the war keeping Black volunteers out of the Army, while Abolitionists like Wendell Phillips were calling for a "war of liberation," and Marx was writing that "a single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves." It was only after the Civil War had lasted four years and one million lives that Lincoln allowed Black troops.

The truth is that it was the Black masses who rushed to join the army, and the Abolitionist movement, who were the human forces who freed the slaves.* And among the greatest were the women like Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth.

Before the war, Harriet Tubman helped hundreds of Black slaves to freedom through the Underground Railroad. During the Civil War, she led whole regiments of Black soldiers behind enemy lines. Through it all, she was very critical of Lincoln: "I used to go see Mrs. Lincoln, but I never wanted to see him." She repeated over and over that during the Civil War she never considered Lincoln the friend of the Negroes: "All we knew was that the first colored troops sent South from Massachusetts only got seven dollars a month, while the white got fifteen dollars."

And as for the Republican Party, which ran the U.S. government for the rest of the century, they gave her nothing but a racist, sexist run-around, never approving her pension for military service until 1897.

The way NOW is conducting the struggle for the ERA reminds me of how Lincoln conducted the Civil War in those first four years, without the forces and ideas that could win it. Black women are still not marching for the ERA in big numbers because they wonder if NOW is saying: "Wait till ERA passes, then we will take care of your problem in a new bill to the legislators." Re-writing history to make a Lincoln our Emancipator will not overcome this division. Why not look instead at the true history of this country? It is full of connections to the past that will help us get to freedom today.

*See American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard, available from News & Letters.

Joanne Yellowbird

We mourn the death of Joanne Yellowbird, member of the American Indian Movement, who died July 7 in Rapid City, S.D. of strychnine poisoning. Joanne had received international support in her fight against Nebraska police and city officials. She was seven months pregnant when a policeman kicked her in the stomach while she was aiding her husband Robert, who had been attacked. Her daughter, Zintkalavi, was still-born as a result. A long court battle awarded her \$300,000 but absolved the policeman who had kicked her. The city's appeal of the award is still pending. She had not received one penny.



Press reports called Joanne's death a suicide, but the police, the court's delay and the white man's world of total injustice murdered her as surely as if they had taken her to the gallows. Even as we mourn, another Native woman, Rita Silk Naudi, faces 150 years in prison because she defended her 10-year-old son against two Oklahoma airport security guards who drew guns in their attempt to "arrest him for littering." One guard was killed with his own gun in the struggle.

It is 90 years this year since Wounded Knee. And it is after the modern revival of Indian resistance there. When will this society be humanized enough for all people to live in it?



women-worldwide

Tatyana Mamonova, a founder of the underground feminist journal, *Women and Russia*, was expelled from Russia on July 20 for openly opposing Russia's invasion of Afghanistan. Natalia Nalachoskaya, who produced the last two issues, and Tatyana Goritscheva were also forced to leave the same day. The KGB continues to harass other founders of the journal who have signed protests against the war. Letters of support can be sent directly to Sophia Sokolova, 22 kor 2, app. 44, Leningrad, USSR. A return address on the envelope is requested.

In India, the brutal assault, rape and resulting miscarriage of a 22-year-old peasant woman, Maya Tyagi, by a group of local police who also murdered her husband and two friends who tried to protect her, has increased the protests by Indian women's groups. The groups had already expressed their outrage at the Supreme Court's reversal of the conviction of two other policemen who had raped a 16-year-old woman, Mathura, in a police station. The women organized demonstrations in several cities, and while Indira Gandhi ordered an inquiry into the rape of Mrs. Tyagi, she refused to take action against the police involved.

The Second National Conference of Women Coal Miners was held in Beckley, W. Va., from May 29 to June 1. Women and some men discussed the many special problems of women miners — job discrimination both in hiring and on the job and sexual harassment on the job — as well as issues of health, safety and working conditions common to all miners.

In Rio de Janeiro, a 25-year-old housemaid, Marli Pereira Soares, was the first person to speak out against the death squad known as the "White Hand," which had abducted and murdered her brother. She vowed to prosecute them, and feminist and other groups have made her a symbol of the opposition to government terror, as many other women have begun to speak out against the abduction of relatives.

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LONDON: Rising Free Bookshop (Box NL)
182 Upper Street,
London, N1, England

Detroit city strikers demand real solutions

Detroit, Mich.—At the same time that Mayor Coleman Young welcomed the crowning of Ronald Reagan at the Republican convention, more than 9,000 city workers were demanding "No Contract—No Work!" after being sold out three years ago, with the take back on cost-of-living allowance (COLA) and wage cuts, workers began to stand firm on further give-backs.

They also demanded real solutions on forced overtime and attendance control rules. Mayor Young denounced workers as "disloyal" for jeopardizing the planning of the GOP festivities, and the parkworkers responded with more solidarity than ever seen before with city workers.

Defying a howling Mayor Young's warning that the city employees would "live to regret" this strike, they stayed out nearly two weeks. And, in the end, it was the AFSCME leadership that buckled under to the Mayor's threats, by failing to obtain any COLA and settling for only a six percent per year raise.

Even if the bureaucrats allowed themselves to be used as the Mayor's flunkies, this strike marked a new stage for the city workers, which united office and blue collar. City workers said that it was more than just a strike. Their discussions at picket lines ranged from national questions, to the international; from racism at home, to the economic crisis around the world.

The militancy of those workers who wanted to hold out for genuine wage increases and total elimination of oppressive work rules serves notice that this round is, by no means, the end of the fight.

—Detroit city employee

Detroit, Mich.—After a two-week strike of city AFSCME workers, Teamsters leaders agreed to a contract for drivers (who did not strike), but there hasn't been a ratification meeting on it yet. They have had several dates and postponed them — the last I heard, the chief steward said the best thing was "don't worry about it."

All we got in the contract was six percent and a dental plan. Everything about job conditions on the sanitation trucks is still up in the air, and will be, until the next contract.

The city is trying to get rid of older guys by sus-

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continued by the thousands every day, and continued in plants throughout the country.

Ford, which already has more than 65,000 workers laid off, has just laid off over 15,000 more in Ohio, California, Minnesota and Michigan. Chrysler announced it will close its Huber Foundry in Detroit and has already laid off more than half of its employees. Now Chrysler Mack is closing down the press room and transferring some work to other plants, but the bulk of them will be laid off.

And it's no use going to your union for an answer, because they cannot tell you a thing. Now after years of forcing the production workers to keep pace with automation, for the first time in history, the union is saying that if a foreman rushes workers before they finish their job, the workers can report the foreman and supposedly the union will see that the company reprimands the foreman. You just cannot make a human being keep pace with a unimation machine, especially when you put this dead labor over this living labor — the human being.

All of these lay-offs and cutbacks are hitting Black people the hardest, as Black unemployment is as high as 70 percent in some parts of the country. One worker was saying that he thinks Black people are really losing a lot of the gains they made after the '60s.

The Black revolt we are seeing throughout this country today, especially in Miami, Fla. and Chattanooga, Tenn., all involved police and KKK members shooting and killing Black people and then being acquitted by some all-white juries. These courts completely ignored the rights of Blacks to be placed on juries, while even in the late '60s the courts would have at least had a few Blacks on their juries.

Pictures in the newspapers showed two Black policemen being shot in a Black community in Chattanooga. That shows they can use Blacks when it comes to danger, but they refuse to let them sit on juries where a white person is on trial.

The same thing happened in Miami and the city officials rushed to the Black leaders to quiet down the Black rank-and-file. But the masses of Black people completely ignored the Black leadership and showed them what reality means to them. Reality means something different to those who are out of a job, and the reality is that nothing will change until we have changed this whole society.

pending them for taking sick time off, then forcing them out on disability or forcing them to quit. They want young and strong laborer-drivers on the one-man garbage trucks. The new workers have to get a certain amount of garbage loaded, or they are gone before 90 days. It takes 30 days to train them, and there's a big turnover.

Even if a new driver gets the job, he can't last more than two or three years, his back and legs won't hold out. The one-man garbage trucks were meant for a route with a half-hour or so of loading at each stop, then driving a couple of miles to the next stop — not for climbing in and out of the truck all day to load, as drivers have to do.

The superintendent of the Central Yard called a meeting of laborers to say if you can't get two packed loads a day (27,000 lbs.), see someone and get another job. I thought we were getting paid by the hour, but we're working by the load. The superintendent said don't blame him when you get suspended, his orders came from higher up.

In this recession, the city figures workers with 10 to 15 years seniority will wonder where they can get another job, so the city puts as much on you as they can. We sure can't rely on union leaders to stop it. They often become foremen.

—Driver, Central Yard

Mack press room scrapped

Detroit, Mich. — The word hit the newspapers in July that the whole press room at Mack was going to be shut down by Oct. 31. This is on top of the big lay-offs that we already had, which "streamlined" the work force. Joe Zappa, our Local 212 president, said that he did not know of the shutdown before it was announced. It seems like the relationship between the union and management is now a secret, with one side keeping all the secrets.

Every day they are shipping dies out of the press room to Sterling Heights and 9-Mile. You could see it coming, just as you can see that they intend to phase out Mack totally. Finally the union bureaucrats are waking up — but it's too late. Local 212 is demolished. It used to be the largest Chrysler local in the UAW. Now, with Outer Drive and 8-Mile Stamping the plant, and with Mack going, they will have nothing.

That is the only reason that they are beginning to speak up — they are afraid that there will not be enough dues-paying members to justify all their positions, and they sure don't want to go back to production. The union has been weakened so badly that it will take a struggle like the 1930s to win back our rights.

—Chrysler Mack worker

Thousands strike SF hotels

San Francisco, Cal. — More than 6,000 members of the Restaurant Employees and Hotel Workers Union, Local 2, are on strike against 12 major hotels for the first time in 40 years. It wasn't the low wages, bad working conditions and lack of respect that suddenly made the difference, but it was getting the union bureaucrats out and replacing them with rank-and-file that was new.

One woman on the picket line, outside the San Franciscan Hotel, said they had been working without a contract for a year and they just settled, but management failed to deliver the retroactive pay increase. They claimed the computer made a mistake and only calculated the raise for six months. Some workers had been working at the hotel for 17 years without vacation pay and with only five sick days. The employers are treating people like temporary help after 17 years! Wages are \$4.74 an hour and management is still trying to take things away with the current bargaining.

Police arrested 46 strikers for making noise at the Hyatt Regency Hotel. They could be heard many blocks away by banging hubcaps, dishpans and other assorted "instruments."

At the St. Francis hotel, the maids are concerned about safety on the job. In October '79, a maid was raped and a guest was raped. Management responded by saying that "nobody got hurt" and it was "no big deal." But two hotels closed and business falling off shows that resistance is strong to management's plans.

New abuse of unemployed

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

The latest word from Washington is that the Carter economists are looking for another one million workers to be laid off by the end of 1980. Every time you report to the unemployment office you see how even this might be a big underestimate of the see-offs to come. You talk to new workers that just got laid off, and others whose plants have closed down.

The young workers that were the first to get laid off last year are now running out of their unemployment, and their TRA money. The SUB pay for Chrysler and Ford is already gone for most workers, and GM's SUB fund will only last to September.

Many people think it is just Detroit that is hit so hard. But if you open the paper you see: "Ford to lay off 1,780 in Louisville, Ky." People are saying that we have never seen times like these, with millions of people out of work and the prices still rising like a rocket.

But I think that the cruelest joke of all as one I just heard about last week. I am sure that very few people know about it, except those who are suffering under its effects. I am talking about a new law that began April 1, 1980 which says that all workers who receive any pension must deduct the amount who they get; and have it deducted on a dollar-for-dollar basis from their unemployment checks.

These are the veterans who got shot up in the wars fighting for these damn capitalists in the first place. They are now getting these laid-off workers three ways. First they fought a war to help the U.S. capitalists keep their money, so that foreign capitalists could not get it. Then they worked for some factory where the capitalist has stolen everything the workers' labor has produced. Now they even want to take back the pension if you are thrown on the unemployment scrap-heap.

I wonder if this is about to happen all over again, with a new generation, with Carter's draft registration now for 19 and 20-year-olds.

All across the country, I see they are resisting signing up. Some few will sign, I'm sure. The police are doing all they can to force the young people into the army. I hear teenagers say: "You have to get off the street one way or the other, or you will get shot."

This is exactly what they were protesting at an anti-police murder rally I attended, July 19, in Flint. I heard a Black mother make the best anti-war/anti-police speech I have ever heard. She called for "all forces to come into the front ranks against the draft and these police killings. Our enemies are not in any foreign country; they are here at home. If we have to fight, let's fight here."

What is going on in America is going on in every country in the world today. People are asking, can we have a society of no unemployment, no wars to kill off the youth, no police to gun down people in the streets, — people who are forced to steal hot dogs just to live? That is the world of 1980.

NY subway workers face heat

(We received this report from a New York transit worker about the horrible conditions of work in subway tunnels.—Ed.)

New York, N.Y.—If this heat wave goes on much longer, subway workers will really get fed up. In 1970 we had a rule, that if the temperature where we're working got up to 95 or 100 degrees, then we're supposed to stop working, because it's unsafe. But you never hear anything about that anymore.

In hot weather you can get careless and have an accident. As transit workers, we're always working with live electricity, around 600 volts. We have live wires and cables hanging from the ceiling. All it takes is one slip. There's supposed to be a cooling system for us, but they don't turn it on. Yet, in every office you'll find air-conditioning for supervisors and foremen.

The Transit Authority (TA) complains about productivity, yet they want 21st century productivity with 19th century tools. The TA got millions of dollars from Washington for noise abatement, to make the subways quieter, but they never did anything with that money. It's the same thing with air conditioning on the railway cars. They spend months selecting a subcontractor. If they would just have us do it, then there is no kick-back from the contractor. We might not work as fast, because we know how unsafe conditions are. Last year, a painter from a subcontractor was electrocuted.

And, the union is nothing. The TA might take away the dues checkoff because of the Taylor Law. If they do that, the union will never get that \$3 a week voluntarily from the workers. John Lawe knows nothing about the subway system. He was a bus driver. As Union President, he's ignorant and management likes that. No one has confronted the problems of the way we work in those tunnels.

—Transit worker

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Readers' Views

ON OUR DRAFT PERSPECTIVES: 'TOMORROW IS NOW'

There was a lot of food for thought in your Draft Perspectives, "Tomorrow is Now." I especially mulled over the way you examined the Iranian Revolution, with all its contradictions. I agree that it is not today what we all hoped for a year ago, but your point about how the fact of revolution has changed the whole nature of the Middle East, if not the world, was very instructive.

Do you really believe that the attempted takeover in Mecca means that there is a chance of revolution even in that 12th century "paradise"? I think there you may be overly optimistic. All in all, however, your work on the world scene is unmatched, and very much different from the rest of the press.

A thinking woman
Washington, D.C.

The title of the Perspectives Thesis, "Tomorrow is Now," is beautifully dialectical and striking. It shows the future struggling to be born inside of the bonds of the present, which contains it. "Tomorrow is Now" can also mean, however, the barbaric lengths to which this society will go to preserve its power over people, at home and abroad.

Intellectual
New York

In our present-day world the trend towards a higher level of dictatorship than any we have ever experienced before is there for all to see. A special type of police force has come into being here in Britain designed to keep the workers in order. The loudest call is for the overthrow of the present government, and most people in the Labour movement believe that it would be defeated in a general election. I am not so sure.

Some of the changes in outlook spell a trend to demoralization. There are cases where workers are accepting lower wages in order to keep their jobs. The call for another swing of the party pendulum is not enough. It has nothing to do with the aims set by Marx as they are seen by Marxist-Humanists. I am of the opinion, however, that we should look more closely at the rank-and-file of the Labour Party.

Harry McShane
Glasgow, Scotland

The Korean people in America have not forgotten the Kwangju uprising. In June, the Association for the Recovery of Democracy in Korea organized a demonstration of 300 in the "Little Korea" section of Los Angeles. And in Garden Grove, there was a spontaneous demonstration of Koreans when we heard about

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
Felix Martin Co-Editor
O. Domanski Managing Editor
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the brutal repression in Kwangju.

South Korean student
Los Angeles

Wow! The July 1980 N&L! Thank you. I hope to read the Draft Perspectives several times. TIME magazine editors were really "with it" in selecting Khomeini as the "man of the year." It was reported on the radio that quite a number of people cancelled subs in protest. Please send me ten more copies of the Perspectives issue, and I will see that it gets spread around.

Long-time reader
Nelson, Nebraska

BLACK REVOLT FOR '80S

I liked the Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought pamphlet very much, especially its criticisms of Black leaders such as Stokely Carmichael. I respect him but I have to agree with most of what the pamphlet says about him being off in Cuba while people here were dealing with the Black rebellions in 1967. I also enjoyed the chapter on Carmichael in Charles Denby's Indignant Heart.

I have been very discouraged in recent years after seeing all of our leaders and many active people jailed, killed or betraying us, like the so-called House of Israel in Guyana who probably helped to kill brother Walter Rodney. They were once militant nationalists in the Hough Area here. I had been afraid that our youth coming up today had no history or knowledge being passed on to them, but I'm interested in your concept that a new stage of revolt starts at the highest level of the previous stage. That and Miami gives me hope for the 1980s.

Black community worker
Cleveland

THE ANTI-DRAFT MOVEMENT...

I think the news reporting that "90 percent of draft-age youth are registering" is one big hoax. From what I've heard, hardly any youth are registering. One Post Office alone in Pasadena expected 2,000 to show up the first week, and less than 300 did. They can't fool me, an awful lot of youth just won't go.

Not registering
Los Angeles

In Colombia, which calls itself a democracy, the military draft is not passed by a law. I remember how every night the army would just round up young men and boys off the street. The next time their parents saw them they were in the barracks, heads shaved, ready to go. Many nights you heard the screams and cries of the parents whose sons had been picked up by the army.

The draft is the same here, only they're a little cooler here, they do it with laws. But it is not a democracy either, people are not free.

Colombian
New York

I was talking to an 18-year-old brother who said, "If they snatch me for the draft, I guess it's alright. There's no war." But I told him, "No, it's not alright. You'll be in a war. There's no telling when it will break out. And if they're starting up the draft and they're testing all those new bombs like the Neutron bomb you can bet they mean to have a war soon."

They started the draft because no one

wants to join the army. A lot of young people know what the army's about. Once you're in you wish you hadn't signed that paper. They just want you to be a meathead in there. I know two brothers who joined the Marines—one came back a dope fiend, the other one half crazy. How can they say we have to go through that just because we're 19 and 20?

Young Black worker
South Bronx factory

... AND FEMINIST DIMENSION

Terry Moon's article in the last N&L on "Women and Russia", put out by Russian feminists, was a big hit at the demonstration against the beginning of draft registration here. We featured that along with our other anti-draft articles because the same day the Russian women were exiled for being against the draft in Russia, and urging men to go to prison before going to Afghanistan. They said they were the kind of feminists who are against the whole system. Everyone except the Trotskyists (who said that they support the draft in Russia) bought a copy.

Marxist-Humanist
Chicago

I'm afraid that lawsuit which meant to stop the draft by challenging it as sexually discriminating against men will backfire and just get women drafted too—without getting our equal rights as well, of course. But if they do draft women, you'll see a lot of women who don't support the ERA now (because they worry about just this kind of thing) turn out to be for it.

Factory worker/student
New Jersey

AUTOMATION'S EFFECTS

I read most of Marxism and Freedom in French and I agree with you on Russia as a state-capitalist society. That's why I left the French Trotskyist party, the LCR, over that and over the stupid concept of the vanguard party to lead. But at the same time the book seems a bit dated to me in 1980. The layoff due to automation did not create the massive unemployment which Dunayevskaya predicted in her chapter on "Automation and the New Humanism". In fact, new white collar sectors expanded to create many jobs and capitalism didn't do so badly after all.

Visiting French student
New York

As a student of labor history, I found your book, Indignant Heart, to be both interesting and enlightening. In particular, I learned much from your accounts of the struggles of rank-and-file workers inside the UAW.

I think it would be helpful if there existed a brief Marxist analysis of the assembly line experience in auto... printed as a 3x5 pamphlet enabling a worker to keep it in his/her shirt pocket and to read it on lunch break.

M.W.
Cleveland Heights, Ohio

Ed. Note: As one expression of the Marxist analysis of the assembly line developed in Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxism and Freedom, a group of workers in auto, steel, coal and rubber got together in 1960 to write a pamphlet called Workers Battle Automation. We even got the youth to write for it, as their revolt was just starting. A few copies are still available for \$1.00, postage included.

TWO VIEWS OF LATIN AMERICA

I came to your workshop on Marxist-Humanism at the Marxist Union Conference at NYU, but I came away disappointed. You people don't realize how far history has been pushed backwards, especially in South America. The failure of the guerrilla movements like the Montoneros in Argentina and the Tupamaros in Uruguay meant not only the defeat of revolution through their stupid foco theory. It also meant that working class mass parties and trade unions were smashed. We're back to where we were 40 years ago. I don't see any solution coming from the masses or the Left to the type of barbaric military dictatorships which we have in the Southern Cone of Latin America today.

Uruguayan intellectual
New York

Eugene Walker's analogy in last month's Lead of Latin America as the "invisible continent" was very powerful. It brings to mind Ralph Ellison's Black American as the "Invisible Man" of North America, and the clear connection between racism here at home and imperialism abroad.

And that Latin America is in truth "seething with revolt" is evident every week. Just now 1,000 landless peasants in the Dominican Republic were occupying two farms demanding land, and when they were arrested their wives and children have taken up the occupation. In Peru, the 2,500 iron miners of Hierro-Peru are on general strike after seizing the union hall demanding to elect their own union leaders. It is noteworthy that even the Pope in his tour of Brazil had to be a lot more careful of the people's hunger for freedom than just a year ago in Mexico. The "Liberation Theology" seems to be becoming an important force of revolution in Latin America.

John Marcotte
New York

THE UNIQUENESS OF MARX

I suppose I have been searching for a full philosophy of revolution for most of my life. It's important that we keep in mind the creative capabilities of human beings. This is where, I think, Marxism differs from all other philosophies. Marxism alone attributes change to creative human beings with a vision of a higher form of humanity. In other philosophies human beings are simply the product of concrete surroundings; any change is attributable to some metaphysical or physical cause (God, or climate and locale).

Student of Marx
Attica Prison, New York

A TALE OF TWO CITIES

Moscow ready for hosting the Summer Olympics: supertight police security, with Russians needing special passes to enter the city; and a cleaning and beautifying of the streets, a stocking of the stores with fresh fruits and vegetables such as Moscow residents have never seen. Detroit ready for hosting the Republican Convention: supertight police security (a cop on every downtown corner), with Detroiters needing special passes to go through certain streets; and a cleaning and beautifying of the downtown area, such as Detroiters have never seen.

Need one say more?

Resident
Detroit

On the 25th anniversary of the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.

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

Prologue:

**New stage of production,
New stage of cognition,
New kind of organization**

Editor's Note: Because a solid quarter of a century is an ample time to measure political-philosophic-organizational developments against objective world events, Raya Dunayevskaya is in the process of summarizing the 25-year history of News and Letters Committees from the vantage point of today. We publish below brief excerpts from the Prologue and Introduction to that history.

Ever since I began preparing for the celebration of May 5 as the birth-time of history—Marx's new continent of thought—I have been rethinking the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. There was no way to sum up 25 years of the birth and development of the News and Letters Committees, as well as *News & Letters* as paper, without taking account of the philosophic breakthrough on the Absolute Idea as containing a movement from practice as well as from theory. That occurred in 1953. Once the split in the State-Capitalist Tendency, known as Johnson-Forest¹, was complete in 1955, our very first publication reproduced my May 12-20, 1953 Letters on the Absolute Idea along with the first English translation of Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*.

In a word, while 1955 saw the birth of *News and Letters*, both as Committees and as our paper, 1953 saw, at one and the same time, the emergence, in the Johnson-Forest Tendency, of open divergencies towards objective events (be it Stalin's death, the East German revolt, the Beria purge, or McCarthyism), as well as towards the subjective idea of what type of paper *Correspondence* was to be and what was its relationship to Marxism.

IT IS IMPORTANT that we look at the new stage of production, Automation, and the form of the workers' revolt against it—the 1949-50 Miners' General Strike—in the same way as, in 1953, we looked at the first revolt against state-capitalism and its work-norms in East Berlin. The point is that both stages of production and both forms of revolt were every bit as crucial for the re-emergence of Marx's Humanism in our age, as had been the outbreak of World War II for the birth of the State-Capitalist Tendency . . .

We were experimenting with a decentralized form of organization and a new form of paper—*Correspondence*—but only in mimeographed form.

By 1953, it was decided to come out with a printed, public paper, and towards that end were preparing for the first (and what turned out to be the last) convention of what had been the united Johnson-Forest Tendency. Everything changed with the death of Stalin on March 5, when suddenly, it wasn't only the objective situation that had so radically changed, but divergencies appeared between Lee and me within the Tendency. Let us look at the sequence of events that followed Stalin's death.

That very same day I wrote a political analysis which stressed that an incubus had been lifted from the minds of both the masses and the theoretician; and that, therefore, it was impossible to think that this would not result in a new form of revolt on the part of the workers. Secondly, when Charles Denby (the Black production worker who was to become the editor of *News & Letters* after the split) called me upon hearing of Stalin's death, I asked him to inquire about other workers' reactions to the event. When he reported these conversations, I suggested a second article that would reproduce the 1920-21 Trade Union debate between Lenin and Trotsky within the context of both Russia and the U.S., 1953. Denby not only approved both ideas but the very next day brought me a worker's expression: "I have just the one to take Stalin's place—my foreman." It was that expression which became the jumping-off place for my analysis of the 1920-21 debate, on the one hand, and Stalin's death in 1953, on the other. The article was called "Then and Now."

Lee (who was then on the West Coast and acting as editor that month) had a very different view of what kind of analysis of Stalin's death was needed, because—

¹ Johnson (C.L.R. James) broke with Forest (Raya Dunayevskaya), co-founder of the State-Capitalist Tendency, in March, 1955. *News and Letters Committees* began functioning at once as Marxist-Humanists.

far from seeing any concern with that event on the part of American workers—she made her point of departure the fact that some women in one factory, instead of listening to the radio blaring forth the news of Stalin's death, were exchanging hamburger recipes. She so "editorialized" my analysis and so passionately stressed the alleged indifference of the American proletariat to that event, that the article became unrecognizable. It was included in the mimeographed *Correspondence* of March 19, 1953 (Vol. 3, No. 12) as "Why Did Stalin Behave That Way?"

AS WE KNOW, THE subjective movement—not of intellectuals debating, but of millions of masses in motion—transforms the objective scene totally. In this case, the June 17, East German Revolt which erupted was followed, within two weeks, by a revolt from inside Russia—the slave labor camp of Vorkuta. Both events so electrified the world that this time there was no way to narrow the question to an "internal matter" . . .

In my analysis of the Beria purge, though I called attention to the fact that when thieves fall out, the one who was "not to be forgotten, although little known at present" was Khrushchev, my main point was: "We are at the beginning of the end of Russian totalitarianism. That does not mean the state-capitalist bureaucracy will let go of its iron grip. Quite the contrary. It will shackle them more . . . what it does mean is that from the center of Russian production, from the periphery of the satellite countries oppressed by Russia, and from the inside of the Communist Parties, all contradictions are moving to a head and the open struggle will be a merciless fight to the end." What I stressed was: "There is no getting away from it, the Russian masses are not only ill-fed, ill-clad, and ill-housed. They are rebellious."

There was no way of keeping this article out of the Lead of the first issue of the printed *Correspondence*, because that was what was happening in the objective world and we were now public. That did not, however, mean that Johnson and Lee greeted it enthusiastically. Quite the contrary. It was met with the same hostility as was my analysis of Stalin's death, and the critique of it by followers of Johnson and Lee continued for several issues.

THE ANALYSES OF BOTH Stalin and Beria were written while McCarthyism was raging in the country. All three events brought about a sharp conflict between Johnson and Lee on the one side, and me on the other. It was clear that in the two years between leaving the SWP and the appearance of *Correspondence* there had developed in the followers of Johnson a great diversion from Marxism as well as from the American revolution. Just as Lee said Marxism was Europe's responsibility, not ours, so now Johnson said that the stewards' movement in Britain rather than the American workers here could dissipate the war clouds over Formosa.

The truth is that they were not prepared to fight McCarthyism, once the war clouds began to form and we were listed in December 1954. When Johnson could not win a majority of the organization, he broke it up.⁴ War and revolution have always constituted the Great Divide between Marxist revolutionaries and escapists.

Within a short month, we held our first Conference, which decided that our new publication, *News & Letters*, would appear on the second anniversary of the June 1953 East German revolt; that it would be edited by a production worker; and that I should complete the work on Marxism, now known as *Marxism and Freedom—From 1776 Until Today*. At the same time that we singled out the four forces of revolt—rank and file labor, Blacks, women and youth—we projected the calling of a Convention within a year to create, for the first time, a Constitution for the committee form of organization we were working out as against a "vanguard party to lead." In November, 1955, we published as our first pamphlet the translation of Lenin's *Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic*, along with my Letters on the Absolute Idea.

The year 1980 is an especially relevant vantage point from which to view the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., both because a quarter of a century is a serious enough period of time to measure the political-philosophic analyses against the objective world events; and because wars, even when they are but distant clouds on the horizon, do form the Divide also within Marxist groups—if, within those groups, there is an element unable to meet the objective challenge.

At our birth we were at once put to the test, not only because of the McCarthyite listing of our Tendency, which the Johnson faction sought to escape, but because, especially because, of our attitude to objectivity on three

⁴ See "Johnsonism: An Appraisal" by O'Brien, a 1956 Bulletin which is included in the Archives.

very different levels: (1) determining how to fight McCarthyism when war clouds formed; (2) recognizing the movement from practice which was itself a form of theory—in East Berlin; in Detroit; in Montgomery, Ala.; and (3) testing, in the philosophic sphere, Russia's attack on Marx's Humanist Essays during the undercurrent of proletarian revolts.

No doubt, great illumination on Carter's 1980 drive for war (with the old Cold War warrior, Reagan, still further to the Right) could be gained from a look back at what happened with the appearance of the war clouds over Formosa in the mid-1950s, when McCarthyism was still prevalent both in the form of the reactionary old China lobby's jingoistic refrain: "Who lost China?", and in the form of attacks on the Left so virulent as to cause splits within it as well, including the break-up of the State-Capitalist Tendency. But the crucial point of reference for the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. is imbedded in the philosophic capacity to recognize the genius of the masses from below in a way that records its movement from practice as itself a form of theory.

(This history will be continued in subsequent issues of N&L.)

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ESSAY ARTICLE

Black Thought / Black Reality

by Lou Turner

Co-author of *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought***I. BLACK REVOLT VS. BLACK STUDIES**

It does not take a Black studies course in sociology to decipher what the May explosion in Miami revealed about the nature of the crisis in America, nor, in 1980, what relationship Miami has to the resurgence of Black mass revolt in South Africa during the June 16th anniversary of the 1976 Soweto rebellion. And yet, an earlier protest this year by American Black youth at Harvard University demonstrating against the latest re-organization of the Black Studies Department very nearly appears to be in another world, separated from the economically depressed reality Black youth of Miami and Capetown, South Africa have shown they have every intention of transforming.

Against the backdrop of this crisis-ridden reality, it is not accidental that Black intellectuals gained a new impulse for studying the thought of Frantz Fanon in the same period that the Soweto revolt showed the Black Consciousness movement had brought his thought to life in their struggle against the apartheid regime of South Africa. However, in relegating Fanon to academia and thereby separating what the South African youth had joined together—the dialectics of thought with the dialectics of liberation—Black academia and the New Left show that while they extol Fanon, they, nevertheless, don't follow him. The Black youth activists in America, however, have shown that they have never separated the multi-dimensionality of Fanon from all his liberating struggles that they have followed.

Thus, in 1980, it is not alone for the reason that the late Black historian, Carter G. Woodson described as the "awful fate of becoming a negligible factor in the thought of the world," that a re-examination of Black history is imperative for today's freedom struggles.

RATHER, IT IS because the multiple strands of consciousness which converged in the first four decades of the 20th century to form the Black dimension of American civilization illuminate the dialectic by which Black thought and reality are made inseparable. National, international and class consciousness appeared as divergent lines of development in the form of Pan-Africanism and Garveyism, Black anti-imperialism, and the industrial trade unionism of the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) and the CIO. Nevertheless, the economic remains of slavery in the cotton culture and tenancy farming of the South conditioned the special economic relations which pursued the Negro everywhere, in the city and in the country, on the plantation and in industry, South and North.

In the 40 years since World War II the convergence of four very different, powerful historic forces—the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S., the emergence of the Third World, the East European revolutions and the Cold War—have determined the course of world history. It was in this period that Black intellectuals tried both to respond to the new forces and realities of the objective situation and to search for a unifying philosophy for the various conceptions and tendencies surrounding the Black question.

II. NEGRITUDE AND THE NEW HUMANISM OF FRANTZ FANON

One such search began with Black French intellectuals and students residing in Paris in the 1930s and '40s and centered around the conception of *negritude*. Recognized as the intellectual creation of the Martiniquean poet, Aime Cesaire, and the Senegalese writer, Leopold Senghor, the evolution of *negritude* over its 40 year existence stood for a number of things.

It was out of their dual alienation from both French and African society that the Black French intellectuals created the conception of *negritude*. It was to be their bridge back to the roots of African culture. Nevertheless, why after creating a modern Black ideology, whose universalism transcended the more narrow entity of nation to encompass the scope of race, did the African intellectual remain estranged from the reality of the African masses?

Indeed, the next stage in its evolution, following World War II, saw Senghor make an amalgam of Marx's humanism and *negritude*. This time Senghor, along with African intellectuals who claimed no allegiance to *negritude* such as Sekou Toure of Guinea and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, espoused African Socialism as the new bridge to unite the Black intellectual with the mass movement.

HOWEVER, SENGHOR'S own words express well enough the contradiction in African Socialism. On the one hand, there is nowhere a more cogent passage summarizing the three component parts of Marx's philosophy than where he says in his report to the Party of African Federation (1959): "Let us recapitulate Marx's positive contributions. They are: the philosophy of humanism, economic theory, dialectical method." By contrast, on the other hand, there is the following passage from Senghor's speech, *Theory and Practice of Senegalese Socialism*

(1962): "... the party must do more: it must guide the masses. The consciousness of the mass, who lack education and culture, still remains confused, lost in the fog of animal needs. (Consciousness) can reach the mass only from the outside, from the intellectuals."

Despite the African intellectual's desire to find his way to the masses via Marxism, he found himself more separated from them than ever, by conceptions which were no expression of Marx's. Surely technological underdevelopment and the global political climate charged with the super-power rivalry of the U. S. and Russia were inescapable realities. Nevertheless, that alone does not fully explain the "administrative mentality" that now characterizes African Socialism. For that reason Raya Dunayevskaya's analysis of the relationship of the Third World intellectual to the Afro-Asian revolutions remains as true today as when she originally wrote it in 1959: "The inescapable fact is that in this epoch of state capitalism the middle class intellectual, as a world phenomenon, has translated 'individualism' into 'collectivism', by which he means nationalized property, state administration, State Plan."

Frantz Fanon not only re-organized the contradictory legacy of *negritude* in response to the new realities of the post-war world, but worked out a totally new view of humanism: "Independence is not a word which can be used as an exorcism, but an indispensable condition for the existence of men and women who are truly liberated, in other words who are truly masters of all the material means which make possible the radical transformation of society." And in his 1959 speech to the Second Congress of Negro Writers and Artists held in Rome which he redrafted for *Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon showed the source of Black culture to spring from the dialectic of liberation of the colonial masses through their opposition to imperialist domination, and thus, concluded that, "This new humanity cannot do otherwise than define a new humanism both for itself and for others."

The point is that no category of thought remains the same, whether in culture or in theory, once it is developed in another context.

III. AMERICAN BLACK THOUGHT AND CAPITALISM'S INTRUSION

Black thought in the form of national, international and class consciousness was so total an expression as drawn in the works of such writers as Langston Hughes, Richard Wright and Ralph Ellison, that Black literature has become as integral to working out the relationship of Black thought to reality as serious theoretical works.

One such serious theoretical work, Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*, is to this day considered the definitive statement on the Negro in America. But, whereas the work's analysis engaged a great number of Black intellectuals, the conclusions drawn represent only one—the pseudo-liberal views of Mr. Myrdal. To find out what conclusions Black intellectuals were drawing, you would have to search out the 13 reels of microfilm carrying the original manuscripts which were never fully incorporated into the final version, but rather deposited in the Schomburg Library in Harlem.

Of these, the most comprehensive analysis of thinking on the Negro question by a Black intellectual was Ralph Bunche's study, *Conceptions and Ideologies of the Negro Problem*, written in 1940 for *American Dilemma*. That this monograph has never seen the light of day reveals just how divergent were the "value premises" of Mr. Myrdal from the ideas held by Black intellectuals like Bunche, who viewed the resolution of the Negro

question as coming through the revolutionary transformation of the economic conditions which determine the Negro problem.

THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION which remains, however, is what made it permissible for Bunche to shelve his more radical views in the Schomburg collection, and defer to the pseudo-liberalism of Myrdal? Subordinating his own conclusions beneath Myrdal's not only pointed to the Black intellectual's alienation from Black thought when that gets spelled out as masses in motion transforming reality, it reveals how alienated he is from his own thought once it shows itself to bear an affinity to revolutionary philosophy.

It was not, then, from theory but from practice that a new stage of Black cognition did arise in the mid-1950s with the Civil Rights Movement. As the American Black struggle emerged on an entirely new level, outside the direct influence of the "established" organizations and leadership, with the birth of the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955, white intellectuals and old radicals like Daniel Bell were bemoaning "the end of ideology." In the U.S. the Black youth revolt of the 1960s also sparked the white youth revolt, from the Free Speech Movement to the Anti-Vietnam War movement. Indeed, the Black slogan so popular then, "Hell No, We won't go!", is now being revived by the youth of the 1980s in their resistance to draft registration.

Black youth had, also, from such Black intellectuals as Richard Wright, much to learn and use as new ground for their own original contributions. The fact that the white literary establishment has first now (1977) published Wright's *American Hunger*, which was originally written in the early '40s, only shows that it isn't alone in being Black that you become their "invisible man," but also through ideological struggles against Communist statism, and for genuine Marxism and liberating struggles.

That it has taken till 1980 for Claude McKay's 1923 manuscript, *The Negroes in America*, also to see the light of day isn't either because the American Communists or Black intellectuals did not know of its existence. On the contrary, in following out Lenin's directive that material be gathered and published on the Negro Question, McKay wrote in DuBois' *Crisis* about being commissioned by the State Publishing Dept. in Moscow to write a book on the American Negro. The new point of departure in *Negroes in America* which connects with our day is McKay's statement that, "The Negro question is inseparably connected with the question of woman's liberation."

Thus, whether in poetry or as outright revolution, whether in Africa or America, whether as past or present, women initiated serious work and thought. As early as 1927 Black women were responsible for organizing the Pan-African Conference that year. And there is still hidden from Black history the 1929 Aba Women's War against British imperialism in Nigeria.

Even more than literature, however, it is philosophy which provides the profoundest illumination of the inseparability of Black thought and reality. In fact, the reason Marx's economic-philosophic categories come to life in our period of crises and revolutions is because the transformation of reality is central to their very construction. Thus, it is not only a question of the relationship of leaders to masses. Rather, we have reached a completely new transition point for the entire development of Black thought and Black reality, one which raises the fundamental question of what is theory and where does it begin.

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Flint Black rebellion grows

Flint, Mich. — On July 8, Billy Taylor, a 15-year-old Black youth, was shot and killed by a Flint cop. The current shooting policy of the Flint Police Department gives a way for the police to use deadly force against anyone.

The Black community in Flint responded in protest. On July 12, some 300 people staged a small rebellion against the police. Two days later, 500-600 people, mostly Black, packed the City Council hall to demand that the gun policy be changed and that the officer who shot Billy Taylor be fired.

Between 30 and 40 people spoke at that meeting. What was striking was the forcefulness with which they carried the issues beyond the confines set by the established Black leadership—clearly embarrassing that leadership, including the Black City Council president!

Before the rebellion, all thought they could get away with any form of intimidation toward the Black community: from General Motors' plans to build a new automated plant in Vienna Township, that would eliminate thousands of jobs at Buick and Fisher Body plants; to Governor Milliken's plans to slash social services budget; to Mayor Rutherford thinking he could get away with ignoring-police killings and brutality. But no more. The Black community in Flint, like the Black community in Miami, has served notice that it cannot be ignored.

This only means the beginning—not the end. Rallies are still being planned for everyone who expressed an interest in continuing to meet as an organization, to deal with not only police brutality, but unemployment, welfare, and the misuse of community development money by the city administration.

—Marxist-Humanist

Black Thought/Black Reality

(Continued from Page 6)

IV. ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW HUMANISM

It was the view that there had been no fundamental changes in the structure of American society which drove W. E. B. DuBois to embrace Communism in his 90th year, proclaiming Russia to be the path to a new society also for Blacks. Nevertheless, no one can deny the comprehensive, original research on thought and historical analysis of the struggles in America undertaken by DuBois. His **Black Reconstruction** to this day remains the greatest of any work, unmatched by white historians, and the study of the relationship of Africa to Black America, by DuBois, was likewise, both first and most encyclopaedic. Unfortunately, that cannot possibly bear comparison with the actual revolutions and the Pan-Africanism that accompanied them, as against the Pan-Africanism DuBois introduced after World War I, grounded in no movement.

It was not only a question that DuBois equated Russian state-capitalism, calling itself Communism, with Marxism; rather, it was that his thinking never broke with what Ralph Bunche, in his study for **American Dilemma**, called "the most solidly American trait... our pragmatism." Separated from Black labor and class struggles, race became equated not with proletarian or national revolution, but with "equality".

WHAT HAS BECOME CRITICAL in 1980 is that the objective situation has changed so totally the relationship of theory to practice that altogether new categories of thought are needed to capture the multi-dimensionality of the Black movement. Indeed, this very day reveals how serious are the contradictions within the Black leadership who, on the one hand, are very conscious of how far removed they are from the Black youth revolts and the masses, and, on the other hand, move toward a unity of leadership brought on by fear that the masses cannot be controlled. In the end, such a "unified" leadership would be subject to pressure from the ruling Administration, rather than its own ranks.

It is the concreteness of the movement for freedom in American Black thought which makes it inseparable from Black reality. The self-determination of this idea of freedom parallels the actual struggles of Black masses in motion. The sharpest expression of this is their refusal to accept any established leadership.

Just as the Miami Black youth actually booted the Black leadership of another era, that of the turbulent 1960s, so now their passion for philosophy refuses to accept the substitute offered by the NAACP, which met in Miami after the revolt with its token realization that the masses feel in no way "represented" by that organization or any other. This separation of the Black masses from Black leaders as well as from white is a manifestation of the passion for philosophy that surges up from below. We are indeed on the threshold of a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory. The 1980s are sure to forge a new relationship of theory to practice, of Black thought to Marx's Humanism which, from its birth, associated with Abolitionism and made that freedom struggle the essence of the very First Working Men's International.



(Continued from Page 1)

about our military preparedness ought to be made to push the buttons, the crowd started chanting, "No War, No War, No War..." and drowned out the speaker.

Other speakers were cheered, such as the man from Local 1199 who spoke of his solidarity with the striking miners in Bolivia, and the woman who talked about the empty promises President Carter made when he visited the South Bronx three years ago.

Los Angeles, Cal. — Two hundred people demonstrated against the draft July 20 in Echo Park, at a protest called by the May 4 Coalition Against Registration and the Draft. The organizers made a point of including three speakers from the Chicano community, one of whom spoke against U.S. imperialist intrusion in Central America, and another attacked "the draft that already exists — the poverty draft, where young Blacks and Chicanos are being forced into the so-called volunteer army in search of a job."

I spent several evenings leafletting shops and streets

Youth in Revolt

Black and "colored" South African youth resistance to apartheid racism remains ongoing, as at least 40 African schools in the eastern Cape Province were boycotted July 11, while high school youth at huge gatherings in Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown sang freedom songs. And as late as July 16 police fired birdshot to disperse 200 youth in nearby Missionville.

On July 11 hundreds of Soweto students followed the Congress of South African Students call for a boycott though many leaders were in prison. Police arrested about 20 among the 600 students who poured out of classes — and reportedly attacked the police station — in Onverwacht settlement. And riot police patrolled nearby Bloemfontein where the boycott is total.

Eighty Blacks in Queenstown set fire to desks dragged from their classrooms; 500 youth rioted at a school in Kwazakele; and 300 more barricaded themselves inside a school at Port Alfred. Black students at University of Fort Hare are upholding the boycott there as well.

* * *

Two hundred anti-war activists began marching 280 miles on July 9 from Hiroshima to Nagasaki where they will arrive Aug. 8. The remembrance of the 35th anniversary since the U.S. A-bomb attacks was organized by the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs.

* * *

Hundreds of university students surged through Nairobi, Kenya June 28 in opposition to the Daniel Arap Moi government handing their country over to U.S. imperialism for military facilities.

5,000 rally for Gay freedom

Chicago, Ill. — Over 5,000 women and men rallied in Lincoln Park, on June 28, in the 1980 Chicago Lesbian-Gay Pride Parade, on the 11th anniversary of the New York Stonewall rebellion against police repression of Gay people. The message of the Chicago marchers was against repression and for freedom.

What repression could people be alerted to? That Gay people are fired from their jobs because of their sexual orientation; that Lesbians are forcibly put in "re-education" (i.e., Koncentration) Kamps in Mozambique; and that in Canada, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police have been raiding Gay people's residences to confiscate Gay literature.

Ultra-reactionary religious zealot Ian Paisley, in Northern Ireland, encourages racist attacks on Catholics, poor, and working people, and also leads a "Stop Sodomy" campaign in Ulster. Khomeini's so-called "revolutionary" supporters in Iran — and even a group in the U.S. — have called for the extermination of all Gay people and the hanging judge, Khalkhali, has already had dozens of Gay people executed.

Pope John Paul II continues to make statements against homosexuality. A religious leader of a church in Watertown, N.Y. — a city of 30,000 people — has called for the execution of all Gay people in the U.S. by the government, and the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service continues to harass Gay people who try to enter this country.

The Stonewall Rebellion, which the Parade celebrated, was a significant revolt and turning point as it touched off a new wave in the fight for Gay peoples' liberation against police attacks on their community. Gay Pride Parades were held in dozens of cities in the U.S. and Europe.

—Gay activist

'We Won't Go!'

in Los Angeles, and was moved by the receptivity of many 19- and 20-year olds to opposing draft registration.



Anti-draft demonstration in Berkeley, California

One youth said, "High school tells you you're irresponsible for four years, and then if you get a job the boss won't let you forget how expendable you are. Registration is their way of telling you who controls you. The next message will be, 'You're only good for one thing: fighting a war!'"

Another youth showed me the high hope many have of winning the fight against the draft when he said, "I think we're doing better now than in the '60s. Then, they had to oppose the Vietnam War. But now people are refusing to go before there's any war. I don't think 20 percent of the 19-year-olds in my community went to register."

Youth and women's liberation

by Peter Wermuth

The hundreds of anti-draft rallies, sit-ins, picket lines and marches that have swept through all corners of this nation in July (see p. 1), have again revealed the anti-draft movement's potential for challenging the retrogressive, right-wing politics dominating this election year.

But other recent developments, especially as concerns relations between women's liberation and anti-draft, threaten the unfoldment of that potential.

One was the response of the Detroit anti-draft forces to the march of 13,000 in Detroit, July 14, against the Republican National Convention's stated opposition to the ERA and right to abortion. The size as well as range of participants in that march showed that women are responding to attacks from the New Right with new energy and creativity. Yet the Detroit anti-draft groups did not even attend.

Unfortunately, this problem is not restricted to one city and one demonstration. Neither did a single anti-draft group attend the protest of 800 women in Anaheim, Cal., June 28, against the "Right-to-Lifers" Convention. One woman anti-draft activist said, "I attended some meetings of an anti-draft group and though they talked about women, no one even raised the idea of attending the June 28 rally."

What is involved is nothing short of a threat to the movement's ability to adequately confront the counter-revolutionary forces now on the offensive. To oppose the draft but not connect to the actions of women protesting the growing power of the cold war politics of the New Right can only limit the impact of the movement's assault on today's drive to war. The only one profiting from such a division is a Reagan, who now says he opposes a draft as well as the ERA!

It is not that no one in the movement is seeing the need for youth to unify with other forces of revolution — not only women, but Blacks, Chicanos, labor. In Los Angeles, the May 4 Coalition has made a conscious effort to connect anti-draft work with outreach in the Chicano community, where youth are suffering from a draft that already exists — the poverty draft.

The question is, however, can we work out a method of connecting youth revolt to these forces of revolution by grappling with a philosophy of revolution, one expressing the instinctive strivings for liberation of women, workers, Blacks, Chicanos, youth?

Internalizing such a philosophy — Marx's Humanism — would help provide new eyes and ears, new sensitivity, for anti-war youth to connect to the actions and ideas of its natural allies in the struggle against war.

One thing is clear: the right-wing forces pushing for war, for the draft, for ending legal abortion and stopping the ERA, are on the offensive. Can our own struggle afford anything less than a new connection of theory and practice to stop them?

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

Polish workers' unrest erupts in strikes over food price hike

Polish workers answered with a wave of strikes when the government, on July 1, instituted fantastic increases in meat prices—from a 60 percent increase for beef to 20 percent for bacon. Workers at the huge Ursus tractor factory, who initiated the 1976 uprising, struck and won a 10 percent pay increase.

Strikes ranged from car part and electrical workers in the north near Gdansk and petrochemical workers in Wloclawak, to television factory workers in Warsaw and, in the southeast, aircraft workers in Mielec who won changes in hated production standards.

Workers in the Rosa Luxemburg electric parts factory in Warsaw went on strike July 9 demanding higher wages, and were given a 10 percent pay hike and a cost of living adjustment the next day. Strikes for similar demands also took place among the 20,000 auto workers in the Zeran plant and 15,000 airplane workers in Swidnik.

Women workers were prominent in the strike of five textile plants in Zyrardow beginning July 10. A list of 30 demands were presented to the authorities including reduction of the number of supervisors and a big wage increase for these very low-paying jobs. The government has not admitted that these strikes are going on, but only that "discussions" are taking place.

When Communist Party boss Gierek went on national TV, July 10, telling workers they would have to accept higher prices, a fresh wave of strikes broke out involving over 10,000 workers. On July 19, bus drivers and railroad workers in Lublin won major pay increases after their four-day strike blocked routes to Russia. The government then started talk of a Russian invasion warning of "fear in Poland's neighbors." But on July 21 the government, fearing the spread of new strikes, announced a new series of pay increases.

Food shortages have grown much more severe

in the past year. What meat is available is usually adulterated, and lines have grown for things like vegetables that didn't require a wait before. Deliveries to Russia are particularly hated just now because Polish goods helped make Moscow a show-place horn of plenty for the foreign visitors to the Olympics.

Poland's continuing disintegration has also meant a wholesale disaffection of the intelligentsia, including many high party officials. A secret report leaked to the underground warned of a national crisis reaching "the avalanche stage," "open social conflict" and advocated ending censorship because there is not a single word of the government press that anybody believes.

In spite of constant government repression a free press has been created from below. Against the background of the economic crisis, where rulers on all sides have no answers, workers are looking to their own ideas.

Bolivia

A right wing military junta in Bolivia, led by Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, moved ruthlessly to take over July 17, when it became apparent that duly-elected Hernan Siles Zuazo would become president on Aug. 4.

While some cynical analysts report that this is just another coup in a country which has seen 189 since its independence in 1825, others report the junta's close ties to the fascist regime in Argentina, which supplied arms to junta troops, and the Argentinian Embassy's involvement in the coup itself.

There is no doubt of the deadly precision of this counter-revolution, for on the first day, troops raided the headquarters of the Federation of Bolivian Workers (COB), abducting Juan Lechin, and murdering two other prominent labor and political leaders.

But no sooner had the tanks rolled into La Paz than youth in working class districts began ripping up streets for barricades and putting up posters saying "Death to fascist coup-makers." The general strike called by COB shut down most of La Paz and other cities.

The most organized resistance came from the Indians in the tin mining areas. The tin miners walked out in general strike, supported by peasants who barricaded the mountain roads with trucks and set dynamite charges around Huanuni, Santa Ana, and other mine areas.

In central Bolivia, 5,000 Potosi Indians began marching to aid armed miners under siege at the Siglo Veinte and Catavi mine complexes. Five unions set up a clandestine Democratic Solidarity Radio Network, reporting troop movements, availability of food, and other information, and proclaiming, "We are going to resist the coup until the ultimate consequences."

The junta aims to starve out the opposition, but the miners and peasants have taken the offensive on several occasions, including storming the army barracks at Catavi and fighting for hours before being driven back. Significantly, some soldiers in the mining areas have begun refusing orders and deserting.

The ILO is preparing to investigate reports of widespread abduction and murders of workers, priests, journalists—any who oppose the junta. As in Nicaragua youth especially have been singled out for summary street executions by paramilitary squads, armed with U.S. weapons. But the junta has not broken the resistance, and international support for the Bolivian freedom fighters is growing.

South Korea

The U.S.-supported military dictatorship of General Chon Too Hwan has just announced its formal indictment of the chief dissident leader, Kim Dae Jung, who had been placed on trial before a military court on charges of plotting a coup against the military dictatorship.

Kim Dae Jung, who is accused of meeting with the students who mounted three days of massive opposition to the military dictatorship in May, was actually in military custody at the time of the demonstrations, which were smashed by military force. As a result of the indictment he could be executed.

Chon's dictatorship has also launched a "purification campaign" to wipe out any vestige of the May revolts. In less than a month, over 8,500 people, including teachers, civil servants, and others, have been fired by the government, and private capitalists are conducting their own parallel purges. In addition, hundreds of journalists have been ordered to resign and submit to a purge review, and 172 weekly and monthly magazines, including 11 campus journals, have been banned. At the same

time, Chon's kangaroo courts are churning out heavy jail sentences for students, civilians, and others arrested in May, turning Korea into one big political prison.

The situation in Korea is similar to that in Iran, where U.S. imperialism supported the Shah until he was forced out by the revolution. In Korea, the U.S. first installed the tyrant Syngman Rhee, in 1948, who was ousted by General Park in 1961, who was assassinated by his own Chief of the C.I.A. in 1979, and was followed by General Chon Too Hwan.

At no time has the United States or Jimmy Carter shown even the slightest interest in establishing or supporting democracy in any form in Korea.

China

At China's upcoming National People's Congress, Hua Guofeng is expected to resign as Premier, forced to "follow the example" of resigning Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping, and will remain only Party Chairman. The two newly-added Vice Premiers, Zhao Ziyang and Wan Li, have already begun to run key government positions in all but name.

But since the Communist Party has restored the Secretariat for day-to-day direction, following Stalin's model, real power will shift to Hu Yaobang as General Secretary (Deng's old position from 1956). Hu, a protege of Deng, is responsible not to Chairman Hua but to the Political Bureau, which by February had added five associates of Deng, such as Zhao and Hu, and dropped four self-proclaimed Maoists.

What all the leaders will agree on at the NPC is to remove from the Constitution the right to use big-character posters, for what they all fear is the unemployed, the workers, the youth and others who will have their say.

Reagan convention reveals 'New Right' barbarism--and mass opposition

(Continued from Page 1)

may capture the White House. It is after all, 16 years later, and we have had the experience of George Wallace and Richard Nixon, where, unlike the Goldwater campaign of 1964, a section of white labor was lured into supporting candidates with vicious anti-labor programs, especially on appeals to white racism.

What, however, has first emerged in full force this year is the international retrogressive stage in which religion seeks to usurp also political power.

Take the phenomenal rise of the far-right organization "Moral Majority," whose members were seen everywhere at the Republican convention. Boasting the support of "72,000 ministers," they are no small elite. And far from being confined to the South or to Baptists, they are carrying their campaign for candidates who "vote according to the teachings of the Bible" into every region. When the ERA could only muster a single state — Hawaii — for a reconsideration vote, a Moral Majority delegate enthused: "This whole convention is working for Christian values. Nobody else voted for the non-Christian resolution."

Sen. Gordon Humphrey, one of Moral Majority's leaders, put their objectives plainly enough: "We are for a return to the church. We are against Humanism." Whether such an attitude translates "an eye for an eye" into cheering for capital punishment, or whether Paul's admonitions on women's place in society are spelled

out to mean assaults on all who support the ERA, it is clear that this new reaction does cross national and religious lines, from Khomeini in Iran to Pope John Paul II, and from Libya's Khadafi to "born-again Carter" in the U.S.A.

That women's liberation has been its special object of attack, paving a new road for reaction beyond Nixon-Wallace racism, has been evident ever since the religious Right's takeovers of state International Women's Year meetings in 1977. With Reagan's nomination the New Right's reach for political power assumes a far larger dimension, and one for which Pres. Carter has, in no small part, paved the way.

His current collapse in the polls to a 22 percent approval rating has little or nothing to do with any Billy Carter scandal. (Which, in turn, as "old-fashioned" corruption, has nothing to do with the kind of drive for One-Man Rule that characterized Nixon's Watergate.) What is a great deal more connected both to Carter's collapse and Reagan's rise is the ongoing economic-political-military-ideological crisis, with Carter at its center.

Where Carter has sought to create a Cold War II, and shipped massive quantities of supplies to the Indian Ocean for "Rapid Deployment," Reagan promises to exacerbate all geopolitical confrontations, even before Election Day. And where the economy under Carter, has reached a new stage where simultaneous double-

digit inflation and double-digit unemployment are the immediate future, Reagan offers both an across-the-board tax cut (to unemployed workers without incomes) and a corporate tax cut to "stimulate productivity." Thus will automation be increased and the lines at the unemployment offices be lengthened.

DETROIT REALITY

It is no wonder that striking Detroit city workers, ringing City Hall with mass picket lines on the eve of the convention, carried signs such as "Mayor Young and G.O.P. — same enemy." Indeed, the city workers' strike, in the two weeks before the convention opened, served to highlight a Detroit both the Black Democratic Mayor and the white Republicans agreed would never be shown. The Detroit that emerged then, in discussions with striking sanitation workers and unemployed autoworkers, or with West Virginia miners who brought food and clothes to a "Tent City" set up by those laid-off from Ford, was one in total contrast to everything said by either Democrats or Republicans.

What Detroiters were speaking about then—and continue to discuss — is the need for total change. Our participation is needed in every activity in the months to come, to help see that that vision of a full social revolution is what is developed. Nothing less will answer the challenge of an age where the prospect of a Reagan presidency frightens even such militarists as Russia's Brezhnev and China's Deng.