Editorial article

Reagan convention reveals barbarism of ‘New Right’ and mass opposition

by Michael Connelly

The July 14-17 Republican convention-spectacle, minutely staged to convince all that the 800 nominees of Ronald Reagan were 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 whom whose second wave of protests perfectly coincided with the G.O.P. convention — than attention turned to growing discontent among the Black community. Where the latest expressions of “justice American-style” freed two Ku Klux Klansmen who had shotgunned four Black women, and gave a third a 3-year sentence — Andrew a so-called minimum 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 the Republican convention underlined not the “basic soundness of the free enterprise system,” but the canyon that separates the world of automakers — whether Democratic, Republican or Anderson—“independent—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 “moderate” 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 any 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’r 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 Spenceklink there last year: “One Down, 133 to Go.” The number, of course, refers to the inmates, overwhelmingly 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 minds.” 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 plans for the draft, the fact is that his fantastic program for U.S. “military preparedness” could turn the whole of the earth into one police training ground.

Hardly a weapons system dreamed of by the Pentagon — from the Carolina textile mills to “Auto Capital” Detroit, and from the alleged “moderates” demand a closer look. What we pointed to then, even as a Goldwater defeat, 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 get this far,” the antiwar organization, whether in its John Birch Society form or in the newer forms today, is the vehicle by which state-capitalism’s nightmare visions 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

(Continued on Page 8)

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 18- and 20-year-old men were ordered for 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 drive against draft dodgers. The U.S. anti-war movement was striking out in new directions, and was taking up 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 any 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

(Continued on Page 3)

ON THE INSIDE

(Continued on Page 8)

Draft-age protests were held across the country the week of July 21, as four million 18- and 20-year-old men were ordered for 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 drive against draft dodgers. The U.S. anti-war movement was striking out in new directions, and was taking up 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 any 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

(Continued on Page 3)
How can we uproot the new official misogyny?

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 good feeling to see out of the thousands gathered, only a very few women holding up signs saying, "en; 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 the march, with a picture of Abraham Lincoln crying on the march, with a picture of Abraham Lincoln crying on the march, with a picture of Abraham Lincoln crying on the march. I thought, "Will the party that freed the slaves become the party that enslaves women?"

The great majority of women at the march were white. But a few of us were of color. I could see in the faces of Black women that the picture of Lincoln had not been as satisfying to them. One woman told me, "I oppose the chador because of what it implies; that certain aspects of corporal punishment are sacred."

The truth is that it was the Black masses who rushed to join the army, and the Abolitionist movement, which protected the human rights of the Black soldiers. 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 to people over and over again how she considered Lincoln the friend of the Negroes: "All we knew was that the first colored troops sent South from Massachusetts—only 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 place where the struggle for the ERA reminds me of how Lincoln conducted the Civil War is that he considered the Republican Party the party of the slaveholders. He was determined to avoid any compromise. He refused to make any concessions to the slaveholders, to the point of turning against the Republican Party. He was determined to win, and he would not compromise. He was willing to go to war, to fight, to die, to win. He was determined to win, and he would not compromise. He was willing to go to war, to fight, to die, to win.

We mourn the death of Joanne Yellowbird, member of the American Indian Movement, who died July 14 in Rapid City, S.D., of cyanide poisoning. Joanne had received international support in her fight against Nebraska police and city officials. She was seven months pregnant when a policeman in Rapid City, S.D., put a bag over her head while she was riding her husband Robert, who had been arrested. Robert Zintkalski was stillborn as a result. A long court battle awarded her $300,000 but absolved the policeman who had killed her. The award of the $300,000 is still pending. She had not received one penny.

Press reports called Joanne's death a suicide, but the police have said her death was murder. The right wing is trying to turn it into a sad story, but it is not a sad story. It is a story of a woman's total injustice murdered her as surely as if they had taken her to the gallows. Even as we mourn, another Native woman, Rita Silk Nauni, 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 death of Joanne Yellowbird. In this moment, the struggle is not over. When will this society be humanized enough for all people to live in it?

* * *

Tatyana Mamonova, a founder of the underground feminist journal "News & Letters," was forced to flee 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. Letter from the group to the editors of "News & Letters" which most 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 decision on June 30 denying the woman's attempt to obtain an abortion. The Woman's Liberation Movement as a critical force for revolution. How the movement will carry it forward is a question for our day. It is a question for our day.

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. Men and women both were 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 workers.

In Rio de Janeiro, a 22-year-old housemaid, Maril Perespeats, 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 those responsible. She was one of the few other women who have made her a symbol of the opposition to government terror, as many other women have begun to speak out against abduction of relatives.
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 allowances, and a series of 11-hour, 20-minute work shifts, workers began to stand firm on further give-backs.

They also demanded real solutions on forced overtime and time and attendance rules. Mayor Young had a few workers denounced as “disloyal” for jeopardizing the planning of the GOP festivities, and the workers 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 for two weeks. And, in the end, it was the AFSCME leadership that buckled under to the Mayor’s threats, by falling to obtain COLA and settling for only a six-cent-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. The mass movement at home, 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 wages 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 three years. Mayor Young had a few bureaucrats rush to the Black leaders to quiet down the Black rank-and-file. But the masses of Black people came to see that nothing will change until we have changed this.

In the late ’60s the courts would have at least had a few forcible rulings against oppressive work rules serves notice that this round is, by no means, the end of the fight.

The Bureau of the Census reporting, that 10.3% of the American public had experienced some kind of harassment in 1979, was a reflection of the movement at home, 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 wages increases and total elimination of oppressive work rules serves notice that this round is, by no means, the end of the fight.

The Superintendents of the Central Yard called a meeting of laborers to say if you can’t get two packed loads a day (27,500 lbs.), see someone and get another job. But, the thing you have to realize, is that 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 as they can. We can’t be trusted, only the union leaders to stop it. They often become foremen.

—Driver, Central Yard

Mack press room scrapped

Detroit, Mich. — The word hit the newspapers in June that the truck manufacturer had decided to 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 700 Mack strikewinner, told me before it was announced. It seems like the relationship between the union and management is now a secret, with one side keeping all the cards, the other side losing its way.

Every day they are shipping dies out of the press room to Sterling Heights and 9-Mile. You could see it coming. Pay off your GTO before they have to. Mack totally. Finally the union bureaucrats are waking up — but it’s too late, Local 212 is demolished. It’s not enough to just watch the strike unfold. UAW Now, with Outer Drive and 8-Mile Stamping gone, and 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 Hotel 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 worker on the picket line, outside the San Francisco Hotel, said they had been working without a contract for a year and they just settled, but management failed to deliver the retroactive pay increases. They claimed the computer made a mistake and only calculated it 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 getting away with murder.

In July they raised the bar to 17 years work! Wages are $8.74 an hour and management is still trying to take things away with the current bargaining.

They had created strikers for making noise at the Hyatt Regency Hotel. They could be heard many blocks away by baying hubcaps, despains and other assorted “industrial noise.”

At the St. Francis hotel, the maids are concerned about safety on the job. In October ’79, a maid was raped and threatened by her boss. Management responded by saying that “nobody goes into the office.”

This is just the beginning, 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 way to cut unemployment. Every time you report to the unemployment office you see how even this might be a big underestimate of the layoffs to come. You talk to those who are now on the dole have lost off and others whose plants have closed down.

The young workers that were the first to get laid off are now on unemployment, most of them with the Mayor’s help, 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 a few more months.

It seems like it is just Detroit that is hit so hard. But if you open the paper you see that Ford to lay off 1,750 in Louisville, Ky.” People are saying that we have to face the fact that the job market is going to be tight out of work and the prices still rising like a rocket.

But I think that the cruellest joke of all is that I just heard about last week. I am sure there are millions of 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 federal pension must declare the amount they get, and have it deducted on a dollar-for-dollar basis from their unemployment checks.

These are the very people 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 want to take back the pension if you are thrown on the unemployment scrap-heap.

I wonder if this is the same country all over again, with the same thieves with Carter’s draft registration now for 19 and 20-year-olds.

All across the country, I see those are resisting sign­ing the papers. There will be some. 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. You have to join the army.”

This is exactly what they were protesting at an anti-police murder rally I attended July 19, in Flint, Mich. I hear a Black woman say something to me like: “I think they are going to take away our right to protest. I have ever heard. She called for “all mothers to come out and protest.”

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 don’t even 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, a ventilation rule, 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 about anything 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. 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 to put a cooling system in the subways, but it’s quieter, but they never did anything with that money.

It’s the same thing with air conditioning on the railway cars. You have to sign and when they threw hot dogs into the car, they would just have us do it, then there is no kick back from the contractor. We might not work as fast, because we’re not working unsafe. Last year, a painter from a subcontractor was electrocuted.

And, the union is nothing. The TA might take away the discipline, but when they do that, the union will never get that $3 a week voluntarily from the workers. John Law no 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
There was a lot of food for thought in your anti-draft articles, "tomorrow is now," I especially mulled over the "man in the street" question. I would like to know how the fact of revolution has changed the whole nature of the Middle East, if not the world, which I consider. 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 may be others who are facing the threat of.findAll the present revolution, and most people in the Labour for the overthrow of the present government, 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.

In our present-day world the trend towards a higher level of dictatorship than any we have ever experienced before is unavoidable. 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 towards the west, and those 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 being carried out. I respect him but I have to agree with most of what he says, and I wish. I think of the "man of the street" with whom "I" am the "man of the year." It was reported on the radio 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.

The title of the Perspectives Thesis, "Tomorrow is now," is beautifully dialectical and striking. It shows the future way you examined the Iranian Revolution, which was very instructive. The revolution in Mecca means that there is an end to the feudal system, and that people are going 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, 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. I think in that and over the stupid concept of the vanguard party to lead. 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.

Worker/student New York

THE ANTI-DRAFT MOVEMENT...

I think the news reporting that "90 percent of the youth who got their draft registration" is one big hoax. From what I've heard, hardly any youth are registering. One of my friends wrote to me in Ohio and 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 every night the army would just round up young men and boys off the street. The next time their parent saw them there 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 story, 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'm going to go to Mexico. I'm going to war." But I told him, "No, it's not all right. 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 boys 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 is in the Ho­nemel as the "man of the year." It was reported on the radio 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 '80

I liked the Franz Fanon, Sowelo, 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 he says, and I wish. I think of the "man of the street" with whom "I" am the "man of the year." It was reported on the radio 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.

I have been very discouraged in recent years after seeing all of our leaders and many active people, killed or being tried, as the so-called House of Israel and some of the people in the Hough Area here. I had been afraid that our youth coming up today had no history. They would be overwhelmed by the belief in 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 '80s. Black community worker Cleveland

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, 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. I think in that and over the stupid concept of the vanguard party to lead. 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.

Worker/student New York

As a student of labor history, I found your book, Indigenous Heart, to be both interesting and enlightening. In particular, I learned much from your account 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... probably the most auto, steel, coal and rubber got together... in 1980. The layoff due to automation did not create the massive unemployment which Dunayevskaya predicted... in fact, new wheelbarrow sectors expanded to carry many jobs and capitalism didn't do so badly after all.

Visiting French student New York

TWO VIEWS OF LATIN AMERICA

I suppose I have been searching for a full philosophy of revolution for most of my adult life. As a student of humanism in mind the creative capabilities of hu- man beings, this is where, I think, Marx- ism differs from all other philosophies. Marxism alone attributes change to creative human beings with a vision of a higher form of humanity. In other philos- opies human beings are simply the product of concrete surroundings; any change is attributable to some metaphys- ical or physical cause (God, or climate and locale).

Student of Marx Allen Prison, New York

A TALE OF TWO CITIES

Moscow ready for hosting the Summer Olympics; super tight police security, with Russians needing special passes to enter the city; and a clean and beautiful- ing the streets, a stocking of the stores with fresh fruits and vegetables such as Moscow doesn't have, have never been seen. Detroit readying for hosting the Republican Convention: super tight police security (with the station wagon at the corner), with Detroiters needing special passes to go through certain streets; and a clean and beautifying of the downtown area, such as Detroiters have never seen.

...and one say more?...
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, nothing fits in better with the 25-year history of News and Letters Committees from the vantage point of today. We publish below, expanded excerpts from the Prologue and Introduction to that history.

Ever since I began preparing for the celebration of my 25th birthday, I have been thinking of the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. There was no way to sum up in 25 years the history of News and Letters Committees, as well as News & Letters paper, without taking account of the philosophical breakthrough of 1953, that was containing a movement from practice as well as from theory. That occurred in 1953. Once the split in the State-Capitalist Tendency, begun in 1953, had been completed 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.

A few words, and 1953 saw the birth of News and Letters, both as Committees and as our paper. 1953 saw, on the one hand, and Stalin's death in 1953, on the other. The two events of 1953 were-every bit as crucial for the re-emergence of Marx's Humanism in our age, as for the history of News and Letters in our age.

THE ANALYSES OF BOTH Stalin and Beria were written in defense of the failures of the 1920-21 Trade Union debate between Lenin and the Mensheviks. All three events brought about a sharp conflict between Johnson and Lee, on the one side, and me on the other. It was a conflict that was both between the SWP and the appearance of Correspondence, and had developed in the followers of Johnson a great distaste for the SWP and for me. Just as Lee said Marxism was Europe's responsibility, not ours, so now Johnson said that the stewards' move-and Britain raged because workers here could disspate the war clouds over Formosa.

The truth is that they were not prepared to fight McCarthyism. What they won was the war clouds over Formosa; but they could not win a majority of the organization, they broke it up. War against China has always constituted the Great Divide between Marxist revolutionaries and all the others.

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 17, 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 call of the SWP, and the movement for freedom among Black, Chicano, Latino, and Indian. There was no way of keeping this article out of the public paper, and towards that end were preparing for the celebration of my 25th birthday, which had not been the one in the U.S., but only in Moscow. Their expression was: "I have just the one to take Stalin's place—my foreman." It was that expression which became the jumping-off point for me, for the world events; and because wars, even when they are but distant clouds on the horizon, do form the Divide also within Marxist groups. Danzig is just a case, the June 17, 1953, on the other 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 was happening in the U.S., both because a quarter of a century is a serious enough period of time to measure the political-philosophic sphere for Marxists in the U.S., and because wars, even when they are but distant clouds on the horizon, do form the Divide also within Marxist groups. Danzig is just a case, the June 17, 1953, on the other.

The year 1980 is an especially relevant vantage point for me, for the very near anniversary of 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 sphere for Marxists in the U.S., and because wars, even when they are but distant clouds on the horizon, do form the Divide also within Marxist groups. Danzig is just a case, the June 17, 1953, on the other.

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 very different levels: (1) determining how to fight McCarthyism, when the old-Cold War warrior, still very far to the right, could be gained from a look back at what happened with the appearance of the war clouds over China; (2) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist, which is still prevalent, even if it is still far from China's large scale reformist; (3) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (4) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (5) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (6) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (7) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (8) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (9) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (10) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (11) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (12) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (13) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (14) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (15) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (16) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (17) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (18) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (19) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (20) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (21) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (22) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (23) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (24) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (25) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (26) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (27) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (28) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (29) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (30) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (31) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (32) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (33) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (34) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (35) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (36) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (37) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (38) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (39) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (40) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist; (41) determining how to deal with the mass movements that were still prevalent both in the form of the re-education of China's large scale reformist.
by Lou Turner
Co-author of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought

I. BLACK REVOLUTION/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 1960, when the first in a new wave of Black mass revolt in South Africa during the June 16th anni-

II. NEGRITUDE AND THE NEW HUMANISM

The task of the Black intellectual was to bridge the gap between the consciousness of the mass and the mass revolt in South Africa during the June 16th anni-

III. THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION which remains, however, is what made it permissible for Bunche to blame his more radical views in the Schomburg collec-

IV. FURTHER STUDY OF THE BLACK DIMENSION IN "MARRIOTT-HUMANISM"

"Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought"—$1.00

Order from: News & Letters
2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48211

(Continued on Page 7)
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.

The Black community in Flint responded in protest. On July 12, some 300 people staged a small rebellion on the streets of Flint. A mob of about 200 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 establishment. In a symbolic and concrete fashion, the rebellion itself was a form of theory: from General Motors' plans to build a new automatized plant in Vienna Township, that would eliminate 2,100 jobs. The protest revealed that the conditions of thought, from the self-determination of this idea, had been created. The Black masses cannot be controlled. In the end, such a "unified" theory of the passion for philosophy that surges up from Black reality. The self-determination of this idea in American Black thought which makes it inseparable from Black life.

In the end, such a "unified" theory of the passion for philosophy that surges up from Black reality. The self-determination of this idea in American Black thought which makes it inseparable from Black life.

The sharpest expression of this is the 1980s 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 B. DuBois in 1909 to 50th year, proclaiming Russia to be the path to a new society also for Blacks. Nevertheless, no one can deny the com­parative success of the Black leader B. DuBois as an organizer and the study of the relationship of Africa to Black America, by DuBois, was likewise, first and most Black Thought/Black Reality

Black Thought/Black Reality

(Continued from Page 6)
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 most prices—from a 60 percent increase of bread to 400 percent for beef. 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 Swidnik. Workers in Warsaw and, in the southeast, aircraft workers in Mielec who won changes in hated production lines.

Workers in the Rosa Luxemburg electric parts factory in Warsaw went on strike July 9 demanding higher wages, and were given a 60 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 work hours, same pay for equal work, and a wage increase for these very low-paying jobs. The government has not admitted that these striking women, on but only that "discussions" are taking place.

When Communist Party boss Gieriek went on national TV, July 10, his own workers were not fooled. Gieriek said they would have to accept higher prices, a fresh wave of strikes broke out involving over 10,000 workers. On July 19, 13,000 workers were to march. The government was forced to hold major pay increases after their four-day strike blocked routes to Russia. The government then started talk of a Russian invasion warning of "the angry people 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, time, Choo's kangaroo courts are putting in heavy work. Even before the elections, the 1976 city workers, G.O.P. — same enemy. Indeed, the city workers' strike held July 13, 1976, was the largest strike in recent Polish history.

The junta aims to starve out the opposition, but the miners and peasants does cross national and religious lines, from Khemeni in Iran to Pope John Paul II, and from Libya's Khadafi to "born-again Carter" in the U.S. While the Western media ignored the strikes, their importance is growing. A central 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 mine entrances with trucks and set dynamite charges around Huanuni, Santa Ana, and other tin mines. Between 4,000 and 5,000 Potosi Indians began marching to aid armed miners under siege at the Siglo Veinte and Catavi mine complexes. Five unionized miners were killed and several were injured. Radio Network, reporting troop movements, appealed to the miners to march to aid armed miners under seige at the Siglo Veinte and Catavi mine complexes. Five unionized miners were killed and several were injured. Radio Network, reporting troop movements, appealed to the miners to march to aid armed miners under seige at the Siglo Veinte and Catavi mine complexes.

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 "Down with the usury-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 mine entrances with trucks and set dynamite charges around Huanuni, Santa Ana, and other tin mines. Between 4,000 and 5,000 Potosi Indians began marching to aid armed miners under siege at the Siglo Veinte and Catavi mine complexes. Five unionized miners were killed and several were injured. Radio Network, reporting troop movements, appealed to the miners to march to aid armed miners under seige at the Siglo Veinte and Catavi mine complexes.