

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

Vol. 44 — No. 3

APRIL 1999

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Cops wage class war in Diallo murder



by John Marcotte

By now, the whole world has heard about Amadou Diallo, the young West African man murdered on Feb. 4 right in the doorway of his home in the Bronx in a hail of 41 bullets from white racist police officers. The protests have not stopped since then (see p. 5). Protesters poured into the street one thousand strong that very first Sunday, Feb 7, calling this "a hate crime," an "execution." Protesters talked of "the NYPD snuff squads," they compared it to the Central American death squads.

Make no mistake about it—the Black and Puerto Rican communities do not see this as a case of just a "few bad cops." Diallo's assassination was no mistake. The only mistake the cops made was that Diallo, being from Africa, had not been in New York as a teenager to be criminalized by the NYPD, so that they could then trot out his "record" and paint him as a "criminal." They were so desperate for some dirt on Diallo they grilled his roommates for seven hours without even telling them their friend was dead! They meanwhile tore apart Diallo's room.

The Street Crimes Unit that killed Diallo is nearly 100% white. They drive around Black neighborhoods in unmarked cars with hidden license plates, drive up on the sidewalk and brutalize and humiliate young people of color every single day. Those who would be in the KKK in other states, in New York join the NYPD. This and more is what protesters are saying.

I was at that very first outpouring of outrage on Wheeler Avenue in the Bronx with my daughters, and we were just about the only white people there. Is the African-American community forever to be alone? It wasn't that we felt unwelcome—not by a long shot. But the white absence was glaring, was shocking in the face of such a horrible event. The crisis is not just the NYPD murder but the near total lack of response at that point by any but the African diaspora, and Puerto Ricans. I suddenly remembered that during the Million Youth March last year, Harlem was placed under a state of

(Continued on page 3)

Black World

No justice for Black farmers



by Lou Turner

In the first week in January the USDA (United States Department of Agriculture) announced with moralizing fanfare its historic settlement of a class action law suit brought by a group of Black farmers (Pigford v. Glickman) charging the USDA with systematic discrimination in the period 1983 to 1997. President Clinton and USDA Secretary Dan Glickman publicly admitted that Black farmers have been the victims of historic discrimination by the Agriculture Department.

Black farmer organizations, such as the National Black Farmers Association, the Black Farmers and Agriculturalists Association, the Federation of Southern Cooperatives/Land Assistance Fund, have participated in the suit. The Congressional Black Caucus and its Black Farmers Task Force have held hearings on the steep decline in Black farms. At its height in 1920 there were 925,710 Black farmers; by 1994 there were fewer than 16,000, and fewer than 200 under the age of 35.

The statistics don't tell the story of Black farmers in its disgraceful brutality, however. And therein lies the inadequacy of the "historic" settlement. Black farmers were driven off their land and left impoverished by an unholy trinity of private lending institutions, local government institutions such as farm committees, probate judges, county administrators, etc., and federal USDA policies. As the Raleigh, North Carolina Land Loss Prevention Project declares, "the plight of the 20th century Black farmer resembles a modern day Trail of Tears."

The January settlement of \$375 million dollars is less than 20% of the \$2.5 billion requested initially by the farmers. The federal district court judge charged with carrying out the settlement, Paul Friedman, has sought to strengthen a settlement that fundamentally leaves the USDA very much like it was by introducing changes in the settlement offered to Black farmers and their

(Continued on page 5)

NATO bombing of Serbia allows Milosevic to intensify genocide in Kosova

by Peter Hudis

That the massive bombing campaign against Serbia launched on March 24 by the U.S. and NATO will not aid the victims of Serbian oppression is graphically shown by the way Serb leader Slobodan Milosevic has accelerated his effort to "ethnically cleanse" Kosova of its Albanian populace. Serb forces in Kosova responded to the bombing of Serbia by torching dozens of villages, killing thousands of people, and taking over 20,000 Albanians hostage. Though the bombing of Serbia is the largest use of armed force in Europe since World War II, it has not stopped Milosevic from intensifying his genocidal war against the people of Kosova.

A NEW STAGE OF CRISIS

The bombing of Serbia is the largest offensive operation ever undertaken by NATO and the most massive use of armed force by the U.S. since the Gulf War of 1991. The air war against Serbia may continue for weeks, or even months. Together with the almost daily bombing raids against Iraq, we are witnessing the further consolidation of the U.S.'s determination to wage permanent war to secure its interests.

At the same time, Serb troops are intensifying the war against the people of Kosova by burning villages, raping and pillaging the populace, and executing any intellectual or community leader they come across, presenting Europe with its biggest humanitarian disaster since World War II.

"Serbian paramilitaries are killing everybody who refuses to leave their homes," said Adem Basha from Pec, Kosova's second largest city, after crossing into Albania. Hundreds of thousands have been evicted from their homes and are fleeing to the borders. Most of those arriving there are women and children—indicating that the Serbs are systematically massacring the men, as they did in Srebrenica, Bosnia in 1995. The rape of Bosnia is being repeated, on a vaster and more chilling scale.

Clinton says the bombing against Milosevic will bring



Refugees from neighboring Kosova wait to register with authorities outside a police station in Skopje, Macedonia.

him to heel, without the use of ground troops. History reveals a different truth. As the massacres in Rwanda in 1994 showed, genocide does not require the use of heavy weapons. Light arms and machetes will suffice against a largely unarmed people, and the Serbs have that in droves. Whether or not the U.S. or NATO eventually get pulled into a commitment of ground troops, the fact that the peril to Kosova has only vastly increased since March 24 refutes the notion that these state powers are the agent of its liberation.

(Continued on page 10)

DEFEND MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

March in Philadelphia on April 24

See pages 4 and 11



Solís sham conviction a wake-up call

"I will continue to struggle whether it be from behind a desk at the University of Puerto Rico or at home with my family, or whether it be from behind prison bars. I am a free man. They can't take that away from me."
—José Solís

Chicago—In the most significant political trial in a long time, shock and outrage filled the courtroom here as a verdict of guilty on all counts was handed down March 12 against Prof. José Solís Jordán. He was convicted, in a travesty of justice, of conspiracy, of destruction and attempted destruction of government property, and of possession of illegal explosives. All this was allegedly part of a plan to bomb a military recruitment center here in 1992.

This trial had a number of farcical elements and moments, including the alleged motive for the bombing itself: to free Puerto Rican political prisoners. This was patently absurd, but the federal government did its best to stage-manage an atmosphere of clandestinity, tension, and implied potential violence. Solís supporters, mainly Puerto Rican youth who filled the courtroom benches for both weeks of the trial, were forced to undergo an extra, intrusive search of bags and pockets and pass through a second metal detector at the courtroom door.

TISSUE OF FBI LIES

Once inside, there was quite a political education to be had. Because there was no real physical evidence linking Prof. Solís to the bombing, the government's case against him depended upon the word of the FBI's paid informer, Rafael Marrero, and Marrero's friend and alleged accomplice, Eddie Brooks. Brooks claimed to have been a member of a secret organization along with Solís and Marrero, the Frente Revolucionario Boricua (FRB). But when asked, he couldn't remember what FRB stood for: "I don't know, frontierio something or other...Something about Puerto Rico."

When Brooks admitted that he had no real knowledge

of who may have planted bombs, since he claimed to have dropped out of the group before anything happened, that left Marrero as the only real witness to anything. His testimony was a tissue of far-fetched tales about testing explosive devices on the Chicago lakefront and in Humboldt Park, both open, heavily trafficked areas. This was pretty funny, but it was not at all funny to hear that Marrero had been paid \$119,000 by the FBI for his cooperation in various show trials directed against the Puerto Rican independence movement.

In the end, the government was left with arguing trivial points ("Where were you standing when you asked for a lawyer?") and relying upon the testimony of a handful of FBI agents who claimed that an unsigned "confession" had been dictated by Solís. Aside from this, the case was a pure effort to demonize the admitted politics of Prof. José Solís Jordán, a proud independentista, and anyone else who held such views.

ASSAILING CIVIL LIBERTIES

The FBI's use of paid informants should make anyone concerned with civil liberties take notice, and the attack on the Puerto Rican movement should make it of vital concern to all internationalists in the U.S. There was an astonishing lack of publicity, though, perhaps because the government knows that such travesties of justice are best performed in secrecy.

This wall of silence has to be broken down. The evening after the verdict came down there was a candlelight protest outside the Metropolitan Correctional Center where Prof. Solís is being held pending sentencing. The crowd of 200 chanted "José! José!" and were answered by the prisoners inside who knocked on their windows and, with blankets, flashed their lights on and off. It was a moment of human connection that needs to grow into a national consciousness of this case, which will be appealed on a number of grounds.
—Gerard Emmett

ON THE INSIDE

Special section, pages 6-7

ROUGH NOTES ON HEGEL'S SCIENCE OF LOGIC

Third of four-part serialization of Raya Dunayevskaya's detailed commentary on Hegel's pathbreaking work.



Revolution and women's liberation today

by Maya Jhansi

Hillary Clinton and her husband Bill recently held a "millennium evening" event to "celebrate" women's issues. At this obnoxiously ironic event, Hillary Clinton talked about the "progress" women in the U.S. have made this century and how today they face a "constant stream of choices." (She forgot to mention the one choice that cronies in her hood are trying desperately to take away.)

Interestingly, somebody who was following this discussion on the Internet asked Bill Clinton what he would do to help the women in Afghanistan who are being brutally segregated and repressed by the ultra-fundamentalist Taliban regime. Clinton criticized the Taliban's treatment of women by comparing it to the "favorable" situation of women in Iran! In Iran, he said, there were hundreds of women candidates in municipal elections.

This travesty passed for the White House celebration of Women's History Month! What better expression of the absolute perversion of the concept of women's liberation, where degrees of fundamentalist repression become boundaries that limit the vision of total emancipation that women's revolutionary history brought and brings to life.

In contrast, at the International Women's Day conference in Chicago that I attended, many young women expressed a desire for a more vibrant, inclusive, concrete and revolutionary concept of women's liberation; one, however, that was not being articulated there.

The conference in Chicago has been held annually for the last five years, ever since the UN women's conference in Beijing. Five years ago there were over 300 women at the event; this year there were at most 50 women there at any given time. One of the questions raised was why, given the excitement so many women felt during the Beijing conference, were there so few women there?

One young Women's Studies student told me that she thought the conference lacked "continuity and a global perspective." "I was expecting them to deal with issues like Afghanistan," she said, "which is so important to all women. We need to open up another understanding between women from other parts of the world and challenge Western feminism. The conference was too focused on what white middle-class women were doing."

To me, this woman's critique is a challenge to the limited vision of social transformation that dominates much of the discussion on women's history and theory today. Whether you are talking to middle-class white feminists or to post-modernists, what is at risk of being lost and buried is the revolutionary nature of women's thought and activities. Women are at the forefront of many struggles today, from labor struggles in the Third World to welfare rights and anti-police brutality struggles right here at home. It's clear that women have not stopped struggling. Rather, it is the absence of a concept of women's liberation deep and revolutionary enough to encompass and develop such struggles that explains the disorientation in the feminist movement.

To Raya Dunayevskaya what was particularly revolutionary about the Women's Liberation Movement was its critique of the Left from within the Left itself. When women in the late 1960s and 1970s refused to put off their freedom until after the revolution, until after the

war in Vietnam had been stopped, until after the Civil Rights Movement had achieved its goals, they raised a most profound point, that "what happens after the revolution" had to be discussed NOW.

To some, it may seem abstract to talk about "what happens after the revolution" in our post 1960s world. Yet, hasn't the very idea of revolution been discredited by the fact that so many revolutions have failed or turned into oppressive regimes? The "what actually happened after" has discouraged many from thinking that a new and better society is possible. If this is so, then exploring the question of "what happens after" is what might very well be the way to reconstitute Women's Liberation as a revolutionary idea and movement.

That's why I consider another activity that I participated in this month as a women's history month activity. News and Letters Committees is sponsoring a class series on Marx's *Capital*. To me, these classes are important for women and for women's liberation because if we are serious about putting revolution back on the feminist agenda, then a new confrontation with the fullness of Marx is necessary. As Dunayevskaya put it in her book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*: "Despite all the new depth and scope and global dimension of the new Women's Liberation Movement today, the most serious errors of not only bourgeois but of socialist feminists are that they...have helped those men who have tried to reduce Marx to a single discipline, be that as economist, philosopher, anthropologist, or 'political strategist.'" This is even more true to day. The classes are free and open. See ad on pg. 7 to find a local in your area.

Woman as Reason

Date rapist protest



More than 250 students demonstrated outside a faculty meeting at Harvard on March 9—the day after International Women's Day—successfully demanding that a student guilty of date rape be dismissed. "Harvard expels people for plagiarism," said one senior. "Not to expel a student for rape would be really unjust."

Women for Justice

New York—March 8 in New York saw the first International Women's Day demonstration in several years, called by the group "Women for Justice." About a thousand women, children and men came to City Hall to demand the arrest of the four cops who killed Amadou Diallo Feb. 4. His mother, Kadiadou Diallo, came from Guinea in West Africa for the rally. Other speakers included Latina and Chinese women who had members of their families killed or seriously injured by police brutality. The speakers described their efforts to get the responsible cops prosecuted, usually without success.

Iris Baez was present, as she is at nearly every demonstration, to tell the story of her son Anthony's murder for the crime of playing football in front of his house. The cop who put Anthony in a choke-hold was acquitted by the state court but convicted of "violation of civil rights" by a federal court. With the money she received from her civil action against the city, Ms. Baez funded the Anthony Baez Foundation to combat police brutality, and she works tirelessly for the cause. On the daily picket line at Police Plaza over the Diallo murder, she told *N&L* it is heartening that police brutality is now getting publicity, but there is much more to be done.

Diallo's murder has brought out the relatives of many more victims of the police than did previous mobilizations. Most of the family members involved are women—mothers, sisters, aunts. One Latina woman always comes to marches wearing a large button with a picture of her son, who was badly beaten by a gang of white boys whom the police refused to stop. At a recent meeting in Harlem, several Latina relatives of victims came to tell their stories for the first time, and now they are coming to the Diallo demonstrations as well.

—Anne Jaclard

'Purple Rose' campaign

San Francisco—On March 19, close to 100 people gathered to "Forward the Militant Filipina Women's Movement!" at an event organized by GABRIELA Network in San Francisco (S.F.). The event, "Women, Feminism and the New Millennium," was sponsored by a number of local groups, including Out of Control, League of Filipino Students (LFS) and the San Francisco Women's Building, among others.

A dance piece uniting art and self-defense movements was performed by the Alleluia Panis Dance Theatre, followed by a powerful talk by Ninotchka Rosca, Filipina writer, activist and feminist, and founder of GABRIELA Network.

She began with startling statistics on the status of Filipinas world-wide, most notably that 370,000 women a year are exported from the Philippines as "domestic workers" or "mail-order brides."

"Let's not hide the commercial aspect of this. They are selling women. We cannot bring this mindset into the new millennium," she asserted. Many mail-order brides are found through the Internet on which advertisements boast, "Sick of white aggressive women? We do not offer feminists or lawyers in our catalog."

The Filipino government makes huge profits on taxes charged to all exported laborers. "We must fight back like the Filipina nurses who fought and won against laws forcing them to go back to the Philippines after five years of service in the U.S."

GABRIELA Network is organizing a Purple Rose campaign, asking supporters to refuse to "pay one penny" to the sex industry which exploits Filipina women. They oppose a UN move to consider prostitution "work." "This law assumes women in this industry have a choice. But in the Philippines the choice for many women is either do it or die," explained Ninotchka.

This raises a question for me because we have supported San Francisco sex workers fighting for equal rights as workers. I support sex workers' rights to health and safety, and therefore legalization of their trade. But how do you support the rights of sex workers without boosting the exploitative sex industry which enslaves women world-wide?

—Julia Jones

Anyone interested can send donations to the Purple Rose campaign at GABRIELA Network, Bay Area Chapter, 3543 18th Street #14, San Francisco, CA 94110.

Struggles of HIV+ women in prison

San Francisco—To celebrate International Women's Day, California Coalition for Women Prisoners (CCWP) showed a new video, *Blind Eye to Justice*, which documents the struggle of HIV+ women in prison, featuring interviews with women still in prison, ex-prisoners and activists.

What comes through the many individual stories of women demanding more reasonable care is a demand to be recognized as human. Yvonne Knuckles, for example, told of her experience of being handcuffed and humiliated in front of her co-workers in prison when her test came back positive. As soon as the prison found out she was positive, they treated her like a security risk. No one explained anything about what it means to be HIV+ or offered any treatment whatsoever. She could no longer earn good time by working in prison. The guards' attitudes generated hysteria, panicking most women.

The women inside responded by organizing peer counseling: HIV+ women would explain what HIV is to women who just found out they have it and offer an opportunity to talk about their fears. The women in the video spoke of the need to transform this society.

Some of the women featured in the video were present, and spoke of their dedication to continue organizing around this issue. Some continue to support the efforts inside by sending information and materials to the women inside and publicizing the issues on the outside. Others participate in organizations that help women who have been released to cope "outside," like W.O.R.L.D., Women Organized to Resist Life-threatening Diseases.

The sister of Tina Balagno spoke about the brutal medical mistreatment of her sister, which cannot be considered anything short of premeditated torture. Tina Balagno was HIV+ for eleven years without symptoms. What killed her was cancer and the prison, which would not treat her cancer until it was way too late.

Many of the audience of over a hundred were long time activists and many were from a new generation of women who concretize the meaning of International Women's Day for today by expressing solidarity with women fighting in prison.

—Urszula Wislanka

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

Women's groups in India are criticizing as outrageous and insensitive a government plan to offer women rape insurance. They accused the government of treating rape like an accident that can be compensated with money, rather than a crime demanding the strongest punishment.

In April, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) is dedicating to all women workers their fourth International Day of Mourning for those killed or injured in work accidents. An ICFTU report to the UN Commission on the Status of Women in March revealed that many women workers are in jobs that damage their health. Over 335,000 workers are killed worldwide each year and 160 million contract occupational diseases due to working conditions. Women workers suffer the worst abuses due to stress, toxic chemicals, repetitive strain injuries, as well as violence and sexual harassment on the job.

In January, several hundred Kenyan women from Kangemi, one of Nairobi's largest slums, raided all of that area's illicit alcohol brewing houses, smashing their equipment. The women accused the brewers of destroying the health of their husbands and sons, and charged the police and city leaders with ignoring the illegal production of the cheap gin, chan'gaa, sold mainly to poor Kenyans. Last year more than 6,000 died and many more were blinded after consuming the alcohol, which contained lethal substances such as methanol.

NEWS & LETTERS

Vol. 44, No. 3

April 1999

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published 10 times a year, monthly, except bi-monthly January-February and August-September for \$5.00 a year (bulk order or 5 or more, 15¢ each) by News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren St., Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605. Telephone (312) 663-0839. Fax (312) 663-9069. Second Class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren St., Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605. Articles may be reprinted verbatim if credited to "News & Letters."

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News & Letters is printed in a union shop.

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Contract at anti-union Detroit papers

Detroit, Mich. — The long, bitter Detroit newspaper strike may be approaching some kind of resolution. My union, Detroit Typographical Union #18/CWA, has negotiated a long-term contract with the Detroit publishers. It is the first of the six unions to do so, a ten-year agreement with a two percent wage increase each year from the first anniversary of the contract.

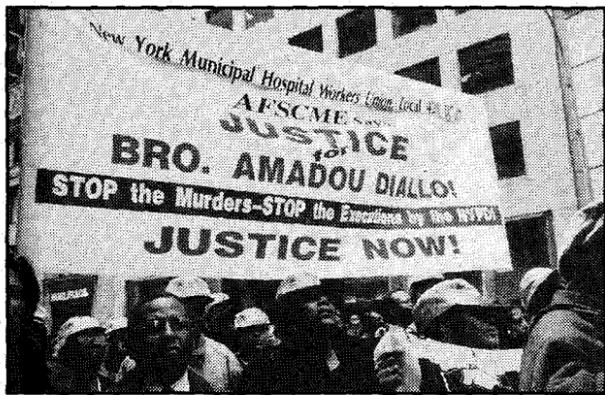
The contract language on work rules, classifications, vacations, etc., leaves a lot to be desired. The agreement also contains job buyout language that for the first time includes all locked-out and fired printers. The average age of printers in the composing room is about 60 years, so many will take the buyout and leave. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the contract.

Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

seige by the NYPD, subway workers was cut off to Harlem, barricades prevented citizens from even getting in or out of their homes—yet no whites, no civil libertarians, no leftists protested! The rally at city hall (reported in the March *N&L*) was more mixed, and some whites have come out, especially Queer activists; yet the very next week, the 5000 plus protesters who jammed Wall Street were once again overwhelmingly Black.

The same goes for the daily protests at the Bronx courthouse where the grand jury sits and the now daily civil disobedience at police headquarters. Now that we are



Hospital workers at Diallo protest on Wall Street

seven weeks into the protests civil disobedience has been snowballing day by day, with hundreds arrested, finally bringing in different people—Latinos, Asians, Jews—besides all the politicians lining up to get arrested.

At work I have had some arguments with white workers, who have said, "What the hell are they protesting about? It's over. One of the cops said he was sorry." To which I could only answer, "If there were 40,000 Black men with guns shooting down white men, you wouldn't be saying that." The gulf between Black and white is so deep in this country they just couldn't and wouldn't see it. And these are the same workers who were very militant against the boss, who fought hard against a give-back contract and said some very "class conscious" things. Well if your consciousness is that you are white and "they" are Black, how far are you going to get?

Marx wrote in a letter to two American friends on the "Irish question" on April 9, 1870:

"Every industrial and commercial center in England now possesses a working-class population divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the ruling nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious, social and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the 'poor whites' to the 'n-' in the former slave states of the U.S.A. The Irishman pays them back with interest in his own coin. He regards the English worker as both sharing in the guilt for the English domination in Ireland and at the same time serving as its stupid tool.

"This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. It is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite their organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And of this that class is well aware...."

"The special task of the Central Council in London is to awaken a consciousness in the English workers that for them the national emancipation of Ireland is no question of abstract justice or human sympathy but the first condition of their own emancipation."

This is true of Black and white in the U.S. today. The cutting edge of the class struggle in America has been, since the times of slavery and the genocide of the Indians, the color line. This is no abstraction. It is Black people who are being shot down and imprisoned. It is Latinos who are enslaved in sweatshops and fields by anti-immigrant laws. This is real. Until we understand that, we won't see anything clear as a class.

The so-called labor movement does not see this. Thus its impotence. All of its efforts are doomed to defeat until it takes up the cause of African Americans and Latinos as its own. If you don't recognize that this is the class struggle, American-style, don't talk to me about class struggle. I don't want to hear it.

Many of us look upon this contract with mixed feelings. We consider getting a contract and taking care of our fired printers a victory—the company's goal was a non-union workplace. On the other hand, many contract provisions are bad and those of us that were fired have to sign off in legal redress through the NLRB and the courts in order to take the job buyout.

We are concerned also about our brothers and sisters in the other five unions that have not yet settled. We hope that our breakthrough will lead the way for them. Negotiations are under way with the other unions. As I write, there is news of a tentative agreement with the engravers. Progress also has been reported with the mailers, the Teamsters and the Newspaper Guild.

The union won another victory on March 5 when the NLRB refused to reconsider its ruling that the newspapers are guilty of unfair labor practices and ordered all strikers returned to their jobs. We are now waiting for the courts to enforce the NLRB ruling, although the company can further appeal that decision if it wishes to delay this disaster.

All of this proves that future struggles have to be won in the streets and workplace, not in the court system. Solidarity among all working people and the use of the general strike is what will stop the attack on working people and the union busting that has become a way of life in our country.

Gannett and Knight-Ridder, in their drive for higher profits and a union-free workplace, have devastated the lives of over 2,000 longtime employees and their families and turned the *Detroit News* and *Free Press* into fourth-rate newspapers, a mere shadow of what they once were. They have lost over half their circulation, a lot of which will never come back. With the amount of money they have thrown into this strike they could have given every employee a \$100-a-week raise and still been way ahead and kept much of their circulation. What a way to run a business!

In the meantime, locked-out strikers and their supporters continue to demonstrate against the newspapers, including whistle-blowing protests at the newspaper offices, and picketing homes of corporate executives as well as public events that schedule executives or noted scab columnists as speakers. These actions help to let the public know that the strike is not over, which the newspapers are still trying to convince people that it is.

Very important to our cause is the success of the new Labor Party. By and large, the Republicans and Democrats are tools of the corporations and look out for their interests, not ours! One thing we have learned here in Detroit is that the legal system is stacked against working people and the poor—"Justice Delayed Is Justice Denied." The Labor Party is a way we can change the repressive labor laws that hinder working people in their quest for their fair share of the wealth of our country.

Please do not buy *USA Today*. It is owned by Gannett and money it makes helps to finance management's anti-labor action here in Detroit. —Armand Nevers

Challenging 'Social Partnership' from below

Hobgoblin

A new publication by Marxist-Humanists in England, includes a feature on the Chartist revolt as well as articles on Kosovo, the Russian Red-Brown alliance, Toni Negri, and book reviews. Get a copy from *Hobgoblin*, BM 3514, London WC1N 3XX England, or email THEHOBGOBL@aol.com.

In launching the "New Unionism" project, the Trade Union Congress has missed the irony of their adoption of a term that originated back in the 1880s in a movement of the most oppressed and downtrodden workers against super-exploitation. The "New Unions" were created in the teeth of opposition from the dominant craft unions of the period: organisations of the skilled artisans who sought to preserve their relative advantages over the mass of workers, through collaboration with the bosses. The original New Unionism sought to organise all workers irrespective of grade.

The TUC today has more in common with the pre-1889 self-interested craft unions than with the founders of the original New Unionism. Then as now the conservative nature of the unions was shaped by the experience of defeat of early socialist initiatives and Chartist radicalism. From the 1850s onwards politics was driven out of the unions; in the place of anti-capitalist ideas the labour movement adopted the laissez faire concepts of the bourgeoisie. The laws of supply and demand and rule of contract were accepted without question. The ironworkers union, for example, wrote arbitration in all disputes into their rule book.

The TUC today is establishing continuity with the narrow tradition in our movement that the mission of unions is to get the best deal for members—a mission that accepts as irrevocable a capitalist system which dictates an ever-worsening "deal" for workers.

The TUC accepts that globalisation requires us to seek common cause with our employers in "Social Partnership." Exemplary of this business unionism is the decision to set up Union Energy with one of the privatised energy companies, thus abandoning any serious

Straits target Local 282

Jackson, Miss. — Ten years after United Furniture Workers Local 282 first won union recognition at Hood Furniture Company, one of the most bitter labor struggles in the country is still ongoing. In December 1996, after workers had finally forced Hood management to sign a contract with Local 282, a militant, Black-led local, they suddenly closed the plant. The shutdown terminated 258 workers, nearly all Black. Three days later many of the workers were told to report back to work under a "new" employer, Straits Furniture Company. The work was the same, many of the supervisors were the same.

Local 282 asked the Labor Board to declare them the bargaining agent for the workers on the grounds that Straits was the "successor" company. Workers testified to back up the union argument. In July 1998 the Labor Board ruled that the company had to recognize Local 282, but Straits management appealed the decision, tying everything up in Washington, D.C.

Now Straits workers have begun to fight back on the shop floor. In February, plant manager John Cathcart flew into a rage and physically attacked a woman worker, Joyce Lancaster. The attack was not an isolated incident. Cathcart constantly refers to Black workers as "you people." "He verbally abuses workers; he curses and screams on a daily basis," said Willie Rudd, president of Local 282. "We are now assisting Ms. Lancaster in filing a lawsuit to prevent Cathcart from treating other workers the way she was treated."

Conditions in the plant, which had begun to improve in the last years of the Hood Furniture Company under pressure from the Local 282 shop committee, are now dangerous to health and safety. Despite threats of firings, workers have gone to OSHA to complain about standing water on the plant floor, about machinery with missing safety guards, and about asbestos in the plant. Lancaster and many other workers say that they have asthma attacks while on the job.

Straits refused to meet with the union on Feb. 12 about health and safety issues with the management abuser, Jim Hobanek, the plant's "human resources manager," says that they will not meet with the union until the Labor Board forces them to do it. When Hood closed, and reopened as Straits, many of the workers who were most active in the union since 1989 were not rehired. They have filed unfair labor practice charges against the company.

Despite these attacks and the constant threat of firing, many Straits workers are now fighting back. Workers active in Local 282 distributed a leaflet at the plant last month. They exposed Cathcart's racist behavior and health and safety conditions. "Union support is building up in the plant again, like it was all those years under Hood," one worker told *N&L*.

Local 282 is preparing to launch a national boycott against Straits Furniture. A kick-off rally and picket line is scheduled for Saturday, April 3, in front of the Miskelly store in Jackson. Miskelly is the largest retailer of Straits and Hood furniture in the Jackson area. "We are going to need a national boycott," President Rudd said. "We would like to have labor and civil rights picket lines in every major city in this country. And we will need help from everyone who wants to support Mississippi workers in their struggle for justice." Contact President Rudd at Local 282: (615) 889-8860. —Michael Flug

challenge to privatisation. Acceptance of "investors in people" and such has also been used to tie unions to the business aims of companies.

The labour movement is at a crossroads. Instrumental in the birth of the original New Unionism in the 1880s was a revived socialist movement. Those unions sought to replace the defensive sectionalism with an aggressive trade unionism representing the whole working class. Thus the upsurge amidst economic depression in the 1890s was simultaneously a rebirth of socialism. In our own period of deep retrogression there well may be economic crises but there is not a revival of socialism. It is the lack of an emancipatory alternative, especially since the collapse of Communism, that has strengthened the ability of the union tops to gain such momentum and dominance for the ideas of Social Partnership in the labour movement.

We should be under no illusion that this outlook is being foisted on union members from the top down. It has percolated down to many workplaces, reinforced by the legacy of defeats and the fear of unemployment.

For those in the unions who support their independence from the employers and the capitalist state, a systematic struggle against Social Partnership in all its manifestations is a central task. Some socialists active in various unions are now seeking to develop a challenge to Social Partnership. The fight is now on to break the unions from the coattails of the employers. The "New Unionism" must oppose subordination to capital and campaign for working-class internationalism, building on the experience of the Liverpool dockers.

It is a welcome development, even if only from a sprinkling of activists, to get the ball rolling in mounting a challenge to Social Partnership. The need to redefine the role of our unions in their practice is inseparable from theory. Marx is much quoted as seeing trade unions as "required for the guerrilla fights" with capital, but what is forgotten is how he saw them as "still more important as organised agencies for superseding the very system of wage labour." Social Partnership came from the bosses' arsenal of "human resource" strategies. A new beginning to counter it can be found in Marx's call for a new humanism. —from *Hobgoblin*, vol. 1, no.1

Editorial

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The April 24 Millions for Mumia demonstration in Philadelphia will be one of the most significant political events in recent American history. It represents the culmination of a nationwide series of conferences, benefits, video screenings, mass leafletings, appeals to labor and religious organizations, and other creative efforts to defend the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, America's death row political prisoner.

Framed and falsely accused in 1981 for the killing of a Philadelphia policeman, Mumia has become the focus of a worldwide movement which in 1995 helped temporarily to stay the state's bloody hand against him. With last year's denial of his appeal for a new trial, Mumia once again faces the possibility of execution. Now the movement must rise, in numbers, to the occasion.

It is above all the courage and integrity of Mumia himself that has inspired so many, allowed this movement to come together, and made it such a profound challenge to the racist rulers of this country. It is Mumia's refusal to allow himself to be silenced or dehumanized by the state's criminal injustice system that has made his life and his name a vital part of living history. It has also made it possible for so many to relate to his story on many different levels.

LINKS OF SOLIDARITY

There are many who can see Mumia's case in terms of the everyday reality of police brutality, and certainly the entire history of Philadelphia police attacks upon MOVE and others is an element at the very heart of this situation. It was Mumia's effort, as a journalist, to cut through the muck of lies and racism put out by the city and police that made him a target for attack.

Others can certainly relate to Mumia as a political

Dialectics behind prison walls

Westville, Ind.—Revolutionary momentum has intensified on three fronts: working-class struggles, revolutionary struggles confronting capitalism and the internal prison front against prison wage slavery. They seem, on the surface, separate and unrelated, but these struggles have one common enemy, Amerikan capitalism enforced by this U.S. government.

Capitalism with all of its contradictions, which stem from the means of production being held in private hands, is very much inferior to libertarian collectivism in industry, services and agriculture. Historically oppressed people, wherever they have been on the internal terrain or the external terrain, have organized against violations.

The oppressed wage slave or skilled worker has become a "labor tool," a means to the master's ends. The syllogism now consists of an end (master). Using the skills acquired in purposive production, the wage slave works to fulfill an alien end. Herein lies the contradiction. While purpose is essential to production, the displacement of purpose is in conflict with the potential for the advancement of knowledge and freedom. The wage slave must increase knowledge of practical skills to dominate the natural world's contradictions.

The skilled wage slave, though treated as a means or instrument, at the same time is a conscious "purposive agent." Understanding this ultimately enables the skilled wage slave to rise against his conditions. Every worker will feel he is the real master of his labor's wealth and will no longer see the bosses as employers, but as exploiters of their labor power.

Hegel said in the master-servant dialectic ["Independence and Dependence of Self-Consciousness: Lordship and Bondage" in *Phenomenology of Spirit*] that, after a struggle which stops short of death, the master uses the slave as a means for his own ends. Just as the plough mediates between the farmer and the harvest, so the master slides the slave between himself and the things he desires. He desires food without having to pay for or work for it.

Hegel further said that the master becomes a slave to his desires. Thus, if he loses his control over the slave, his program becomes dysfunctional. This is why the wage slave possesses a power which, if cultivated, could ultimately dictate the terms of work hours and conditions of payment, as well as independent ownership.

A comrade in the state of Michigan, Ali Khalid Abdullah, in his article on the need for prisoners to join the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), made an astute observation about our realities regarding collective mobilizations: Just imagine if all prisoners went on strike; if no prisoner went to work; if no prisoner cooked food or served food; if no prisoner picked up the trash or went into the prison factories. What would happen?

A bloodless revolution would take place overnight. Heads of state government would be coming down the pike to try to find out what the prisoners wanted. Then prisoners, united in action and cause, could proudly refer them to the IWW spokesperson representing them in the name of collective solidarity.

Such a "vision" is one by this brother understanding the essence of outside support in these efforts to resolve our objective exploitative reality with the state. Each progressive step we take toward challenging all forms of governmental repressive exploitation must be organized, calculated, timed to be effective. In defense of all prison struggles and the building of relationships with the external working class, Uhuru Sasa (Freedom Now).

—Khalifani X. Khaludun

prisoner, as the revolutionary Black journalist who was tried in part for his writings as a young member of the Black Panther Party. This is why he, uniquely, can inspire a movement in which intellectuals and creative writers can fight together with the persecuted youth of the neighborhoods.

The other major issue raised by Mumia's case is the racism and injustice of the death penalty itself. This has become a major issue on its own in states like Texas, with its "assembly line of death," and Illinois, where so many wrongfully condemned have been found innocent later that there is a growing movement for a moratorium on executions.

The late Merle Africa of MOVE wrote that "This issue of the death penalty ain't a Mumia issue, it's an issue that concerns us all 'cause it's Mumia today but it can be your son or daughter tomorrow. Particularly if you are poor and black, legal justice ain't based on evidence, it's based on prejudice, racism, intimidation. Is it any wonder why so many minority folks are sitting on death row?"

Mumia himself has extended these natural links of solidarity by his writings, as in his books and columns, and by such courageous, principled, and concrete gestures as are possible in his situation, like refusing to cross union picket lines to be interviewed on ABC television's 20/20 program. The vicious attack upon Mumia launched on that program in collusion with the Fraternal Order of Police begins to show why a mass movement for Mumia is necessary. Beyond even that, the monstrous growth of the prison-industrial complex reveals the extent to which the system is committed to a policy of criminalizing the disenfranchised and dissenting.

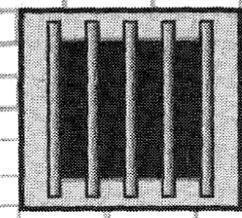
STATE DESIRES SILENCE

The kind of Nixon-Reaganite ideology being propagated today helps to lay bare something at the heart of a demonstration like Millions for Mumia that points far beyond this moment. In this country's history, freedom fighters have often, if not always, found themselves placed outside the law and treated as criminals. This was true of the great Black visionary Nat Turner who was executed following the slave revolt he led, and of the ensuing Abolitionist movement which often found itself outside the law. This was also true of the assassinations while in custody of the Native American leaders Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, and the legal murder of the Haymarket Martyrs and others. In all these cases, the issue wasn't "guilt" but silence. As Mumia himself pointed out, the state desires his silence even more than his death.

This should make it crystal clear that the system itself can't be relied upon to free Mumia, but only the kind of mass pressure and outrage represented by the Millions for Mumia demonstration and the movement that it expresses. Again, like the case of Sacco and Vanzetti in the 1920s, Mumia's case is bringing a new generation of revolutionaries face to face with the latest stage of capitalist degeneracy in the form of the prison-industrial complex and the racist criminal justice system. It has to be understood, then, how profoundly this movement is writing itself into history for this and future generations.

Free Mumia!

"...a well-executed prisoner treatise, laboriously organized by a prisoner who one can tell has felt the brunt and setbacks of prison life and managed, somehow, to overcome. He now extends the benefit of his experience to those around him."
—Luis Talamantez



Voices from within the Prison Walls
by D.A. Sheldon

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\$6 for those with a subscription (includes postage)
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Prisoner review of 'Voices'

Understanding imprisonment

"We as a society are witnessing the debasement of humanist respect toward fellow beings with ever-increasing intensity... The criminal has become the dart board at which we throw our frustrations." Thus begins D.A. Sheldon's thoughtful discussion of current criminal justice policy in America, *Voices from within the Prison Walls*.

Sheldon writes that he began to fully comprehend the true intent of the criminal justice system as early as 1992 after he began to read radical-leftist literature. He was horrified when people with whom he shared the information failed to fully understand "the conditions and policies of imprisonment." Sheldon's desire to disseminate that information resulted in this pamphlet.

In 71 pages, Sheldon offers a uniquely brilliant and surprisingly comprehensive view of the "prison industrial complex." Sheldon separates his treatise into two general sections, which define his arguments. The first section gives an overall view of the prison experience, and the second section gives suggestions on transforming that condition, utilizing the Marxist-Humanist philosophy founded by Raya Dunayevskaya.

A unique aspect of *Voices from within the Prison Walls* is that Sheldon does not write simply from his personal observations. With the support of News and Letters Committees which published the pamphlet, Sheldon sent a survey to prisoners throughout the country so that they could have a say in the project. The results of that survey, including firsthand prisoner accounts, are reflected in the pamphlet.

Sheldon does not leave many stones unturned when he describes what happens to a man or woman after they are incarcerated. He vividly describes overcrowding, inadequate medical and mental health services, denial of proper hygiene and basic human dignity, and the lack of educational opportunities and basic religious freedoms.

One section of the publication addresses an area which long has been ignored, the ill-treatment which women receive. After his brief introduction to the section, Sheldon allows women prisoners to tell the story in their own words. Even veterans of prison abuse stories will be shocked at the brazen disregard of even basic dignity for

women. It is a sad indictment of a culture which is allegedly the model for addressing women's rights.

The second section of Sheldon's pamphlet is not for the apolitical as it deals in concepts which are dirty words in a country which was founded on those very same issues—revolution and change. It would help if the reader were familiar with Marxist-Humanist philosophy and other socialistic reform doctrines, but Sheldon writes intelligently, and this allows even the most ill-informed to come away with an excellent sense of not only the need for change, but suggestions for accomplishing those changes.

This reader's only complaint is that the subject of juveniles incarcerated as adults was left out. In addition, more needs to be discussed about the issues involving women in prison, the death penalty and control unit prisons. Seventy-one pages, however, do not allow one to expound too much on one subject without detracting from others. Perhaps News and Letters Committees

will consider a more detailed look into those topics.

Voices from within the Prison Walls is an excellent study, which should be incorporated into the library of every person who believes in the Marxist-Humanist philosophy, and it should be read by every prisoner advocate. It should also be required reading for every prisoner who still believes that their salvation lies in remaining apolitical. D.A. Sheldon's approach to the subject matter is a refreshing discussion of topics which should never be ignored. Eventually they affect us all.

—Robert Taliaferro

Texas death row: solidarity with Walter Bell

Huntsville, Tex.—I want to tell you a bit about the longest living Black man on Texas' brutal death row. Walter Bell was sent there in 1975 at age 19. He is a mentally handicapped person and was framed by racist police for the murder of his boss and his boss' wife, whom he was alleged also to have raped.

Walter Bell was beaten by racist police into signing a confession, an ordeal during which he had a tooth knocked from his head and received a broken finger. Said police also threatened to turn Walter loose at night in a little Texas town called Victor. Victor has a well-known history as a KKK stronghold and used to sport a sign which read, "N— — — r, don't let the sun set on you in Victor."

The evidence in Walter's case is extremely weak and basically revolves around an electric clock thought to have been pulled from the wall during a struggle at the time of 12:50 a.m. Walter, according to police theorists, is supposed to have left a club, The Soul Kitchen, where he hung out, walked 23 blocks and single-handedly committed these crimes.

The table at the crime scene was set with a full steak dinner, suggesting the crime happened much earlier in the day during the noon or supper meal. These are times for which Walter Bell has witnesses who can confirm his

whereabouts. Walter has taken three lie detector tests, all of which he passed. He underwent a rape test in which no scratches were found on his body, his knuckles were not bruised and neither was there forensic evidence to connect him to the crime.

Skin found beneath the woman's fingernails was of a much different color hue than Walter's, yet this skin and much other important forensic evidence which could have exonerated him was conveniently destroyed. Walter has maintained his innocence throughout as well as the fact that he held out as long as he could against signing the confession.

Walter Bell has had three reversals on his case and once came within seven hours of execution in Texas' death house. Walter is a nice fellow and a friend of mine. Residing myself at the Huntsville Walls Unit, I've seen nearly 100 black hearses pull out of here with people in them who have had their lives ended by the state of Texas. Please help to make sure Walter Bell doesn't have to take that ride.

We have set up a fund for Walter to help with legal expenses and investigative work on his case. Any donations would be greatly appreciated. Please make checks out to The Praise God Foundation, 1214 Sterret Street, Houston, TX 77002-1141 and put Walter Bell's name at the bottom. Thanks!
—Revolutionary prisoner

Ongoing Diallo protests expose Giuliani's racist police state

New York—For more than six weeks, the city has been in an uproar over the Feb. 4 murder of Amadou Diallo, a young Black man from Guinea, by four members of the elite Street Crimes Unit of the NYPD. The horror of Diallo's execution—the cops fired 41 times at an unarmed man in the tiny vestibule of his apartment building—galvanized the Black population to fight the reign of terror by cops in their communities. Mayor Giuliani not only continues to defend the police, but extols their tactics as improving the city's "quality of life."

The Black masses think differently. Daily demonstrations for seven weeks have turned "No justice, no peace" from a slogan into reality. In the first three weeks of March alone, there were a massive rally on Wall Street, demonstrations of women and youth, daily vigils at the Bronx courthouse where a grand jury deliberated indicting the cops, daily pickets and civil disobedience at Police Plaza, and demonstrations at the federal Justice Department.

A Black woman who attends demonstrations every day carrying a large poster of Martin Luther King Jr. told *N&L*: "When I was nine years old, I was on the civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery [the marchers were attacked and beaten by the Alabama police]. I had not seen such viciousness since then, until now, from the New York police."

On March 3, Wall Street literally trembled when more than 5,000 people demonstrated for the arrest of the cops. You could hear chants reverberate through the narrow streets and tall buildings—"the canyons of capitalism"—before you could see anyone. Then what a sight! Never has Wall Street been host to so many Black people (sadly, only a sprinkling of whites). The Rev. Al Sharpton called the demonstration to show we know where the power lies, and the image of all those "uptown" folk in front of the Stock Exchange was portentous. We filled five blocks and closed off the entire area, in spite of the cops' attempts to keep people away by not letting them in the side streets.

That rally was a missed opportunity to shut down the city by occupying its heart. I believe everyone there would have sat down in the street if asked. Sharpton, however, calls only for symbolic civil disobedience.

Sharpton's National Action Network has organized daily picketing and arrests at Police Plaza since March 9. During the second week of this action, former Mayor Dinkins (our only Black mayor) and Congressman Rangel were arrested along with some city councilpeople, and another day, gay people of many colors were arrested. The president of the NAACP, Kweisi Mfume, came to New York to be arrested and promised to mobilize people from all over the country to come back. By the third week of these actions, the number arrested daily has grown from six to hundreds, and the number picketing, from 50 to a thousand. On March 24, labor unions and Jewish organizations brought over 200 people to be arrested. Cheering them on were many hundreds more: Black workers from the municipal and hospital unions, hundreds of Jews, some Methodist church members and some Latino immi-

grants rights groups.

One Black woman told me she was there "because we're tired." Another came because Staten Island Borough President Guy Molinari called for a rally to support the police force, saying that the Diallo protesters were "giving aid to the enemy." "The man hasn't a shred of decency," she said. A Black man stated, "Police brutality is a social disease. It's not only in New York, it's all over the country. We have to stop it."

A youth demonstration, March 10, brought at least a thousand people to city hall. The authorities had threatened to stop youth from attending because they would be cutting school, but many came anyway. Called by Khalid Muhammad, the youth rally featured hip-hop artists. They called for "a hip-hop revolution" but concluded with no more advice than to register to vote. We spoke with young people who felt they had to come, not because of the "stars" but because of the issue.

The demonstrators are demanding not only that the cops be jailed, but also that their bosses, Police Commissioner Safir and Mayor Giuliani, be held accountable. Those officials refuse even to characterize the shooting as a mistake, let alone to apologize for it. Giuliani's immediate response was to bring out charts showing that crime has decreased in minority neighborhoods, so they benefit from the terror tactics of the police.

The public discussion over police racism and brutality has affected white people, and not only those beginning to come to the demonstrations. In a recent poll, more whites said they believe that the police favor whites than believe the police treat whites and Blacks fairly. Giuliani's approval rating fell to 42%, the lowest in his five years in office and down from 63% just five months ago.

The cops who killed Diallo have not even been suspended. They were indicted on March 31 for second degree murder, but conviction is less certain. It is common for cops to waive their right to a jury trial, hoping to get more sympathetic treatment from a judge than from their "peers." Other government officials have been forced by the public outcry to take a stand. The city council and state attorney general, as well as the federal Human Rights Commission, are investigating the NYPD to see if it uses "excessive force."

—Anne Jaclard



Group of Haitians at Diallo protest on Wall Street.

Black/Red View

by John Alan

The U.S. Justice Department recently announced that the adult prison population is now 1.8 million. It doubled over the last 12 years and at its present rate of growth, it may soon surpass the number of people incarcerated in Russia. According to the department, 60% of the federal prison population is now drug offenders. The reasons for this is a quarter century of vigorous prosecution of drug offenders and the get-tough policy on all classes of offenders. In addition, "the federal government offers financial incentives to states that make their prisoners serve at least 80% of their sentences" (See *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 15, 1999).

However, the most shocking aspect of the department's announcement is that at the beginning of the next millennium, which is eight months away, the number of African Americans behind bars will reach one million for the first time in history. This means at the beginning of the year 2000, one in ten African-American males will be in prison. This is an eightfold increase over 30 years ago when there were, according to the Justice Department, 133,226 African-American males in prisons.

Crime is not simply the work of criminals outside of a social context. In order to know why African-American males today are more than half the prison population, there is a need, even briefly, to examine what has happened in American society, politically and socially, over those last three decades.

From its start the "get tough on crime policy" was a political backlash against the legal victories won by the Civil Rights Movement. The white supremacy ideologues seized upon the crimes committed by the so-called "urban Black underclass" to demonize them and bury the real issues of African-American freedom. Thus, they literally used the social problems of the permanently and partially unemployed section of the Black working class, a class no longer needed in the process of capitalist production, to create a retrogressive white political opposition.

In 1968, Governor George Wallace of Alabama ran for president on an open platform of bigotry and "law and order." Though he didn't win, his campaign did reveal, by the number of votes he received, that there were great areas of racism among all classes of white voters, both in

America's prison gulag

the North and in the South. There is nothing natural about this racism; it is bred in a society which produces hostility between individuals and groups. Democrat and Republican politicians have long recognized hostility between races as a powerful underlying force to use in political issues, especially when those issues concern the social welfare and political rights of African Americans. At times, for them, it is the pivotal element in gaining or losing political office.

Since President Lyndon Johnson, who had to deal with the Black urban revolts and the anti-war movement, later presidents have not even attempted to resolve the race issue in this country. Instead, they have used racial tensions and fears to stay in power to serve the national and world interest of U.S. capitalism. Nixon had his "Southern strategy." Ronald Reagan and George Bush worked hard to sabotage and to neutralize every thing the Civil Rights Movement had achieved.

But they were only the first and second act in a 30-year process which impoverished and imprisoned millions of African Americans. The third act in this process is the administration of President Bill Clinton, the "new Democrat."

Clinton has so effectively hidden himself behind a personal concern about racism that many are unaware of his indecisiveness concerning the issue of affirmative action. This indecisiveness helped to kill it. When foes of affirmative action were organizing, he ordered a review of its merits. By doing so, he gave indirect support to those who were calling it a quota system which excluded qualified whites. For millions of African Americans, Clinton has left a dire legacy of poverty and punitive crime laws such as "three strikes and you're out," lifetime sentences without parole for a person convicted of a third felony, mandatory minimum sentences for minor drug offenders and a gulag of new prisons.

As one African-American inmate put it: "The struggles facing prisoners are the struggles facing all peoples who are exploited by a system which supports the viability of a dollar more than it supports the humanity of people...It is up to us to find a way to overthrow the form of oppression which dictates the need for supporting the 'national interests' which do not apply to the majority of the country's citizens."

Black World

(Continued from page 1)

attorneys at a March 2 fairness hearing. Both the U.S. Justice Department and the counsel for the farmers in the suit rejected Judge Friedman's revisions, tying the farmers they represent to a settlement that is not only paltry and which could actually lead to further hardship, but releases the USDA from any liability and burden to fundamentally restructure its policies and practices.

In fact, the settlement places the burden on Black farmers to 1) provide extensive documentation of discrimination; 2) demonstrate that they are entitled to more compensation by proving that they were the victims of a pattern of systematic discrimination; 3) run the risk of having any compensation expropriated by creditors; 4) deal with the same racist administrators that had discriminated against them, since there is no provision to remove them; and 5) show that they were treated less favorably than white farmers.

Finally, the government proposal of \$375 million that Clinton and Glickman tout as historic because it is the largest "reparations" settlement ever won by African Americans looks like an insulting pittance when held up against even the most modest needs of Black farmers. If accepted, the settlement would supposedly provide \$50,000 to some 3,000 farmers and debt forgiveness, which averages \$87,500 per farmer. Broken down, the \$50,000 payment covers 14 years (1983-1997), which would come to just under \$3,000 per year. When divided by the hours of a normal working day for an individual farmer per year, it comes to an hourly wage of \$1.73!

In Mississippi, the state with most of the Black farmers in the suit, Black activist and former mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, Eddie Carthan led the way in initiating the Black farmers' law suit. Carthan, who is the president of the Mississippi Family Farmers Association, told the *Jackson Advocate*, "It was impossible for Black farmers to get loans in Mississippi. They had to go out of state... It was planned for Black farmers' failure—for them to get out of farming and lose their property." (See the Black World column, November 1982, on the long fought struggle of Eddie Carthan and Black farmers in Tchula.)

There is a new intensity in the struggle of Black farmers. It took intensifying the struggle to force the government to the table; it will take a further deepening and persistence of that struggle to fundamentally transform a government agency that has had a historic grip on Black rural life and labor.

Ecuador in revolt

Editor's note: Since we received this eyewitness report on the Feb. 5 general strike, workers and students shut down factories and schools on March 10-11, while Indians barricaded roads.

Cuenca, Ecuador—I was in Ecuador on Feb. 5, the day of the general strike against the seventh "paquetazo" (neoliberal package of price raises and structural adjustments, such as a 500% increase in cooking gas and a 350% increase in the cost of electricity). In Cuenca, a city in the highlands with 400,000 people, approximately 25,000 protesters filled the center of the city. Their faces showed malnutrition, exhaustion and anger.

I didn't see, as in demonstrations some years ago, well defined groups of leftists, students or workers directed by union leaders. There were just the people with their anger and hunger. I thought that there were no students in the demonstration, then I realized that now the students who protested belong to the working class and their condition is the same as the workers.

Some friends told me that the reason why there were no union leaders is because it is becoming almost impossible to form a union because of the tremendous repression. As just one example, two months ago a union organizer was kidnapped and killed openly when he stepped out of a meeting. The workers' struggles are taking the form more of community struggles led mostly by women in the poor neighborhoods.

In the demonstration there were also taxi drivers (many of whom are former immigrants to the U.S., who saved to buy a taxi), truck drivers and school teachers. One of the largest groups were the indigenous people and who have become the strongest opposition. For the last couple of years they have blocked roads in the main cities.

As I was leaving the demonstration I heard on the radio that some of the students were armed with machine guns. It sounded unbelievable to me. Then I heard that the people had recognized them as undercover police trying to act as provocateurs.

Cuenca about ten years ago was considered a cultural and leftist center. In fact, the right wing was afraid of its middle class getting revolutionary. This wonderful city which was known for its deep intellectual seriousness, poetry, and love of knowledge is now seeking responses to the confusion in fortune tellers and conservative values. This wonderful, intellectual city has become just like a free market bordello. A month later some of the "invisible people," particularly the poorest ones (the ones who don't have relatives that can send them some dollars from the U.S. or who can no longer sell their labor power on the street corners or who can no longer buy some candies or cigarettes to make a few cents of profit), came to the streets to fight.

I saw some kids as young as nine years old throwing rocks at the huge military tanks a few meters from the soldiers. I also heard of a woman holding her young son, challenging the police, saying, "They took the food for our kids, now we are not afraid anymore, there is nothing to lose." I also saw many indigenous people brandishing sticks.

When one sees the people without fear facing the soldiers, one can assume that a revolution may happen.

PART 3 DOCTRINE OF ESSENCE

Editor's note

The following consists of Part 3 of Raya Dunayevskaya's detailed commentary on Hegel's *Science of Logic*. Part 1, on the Prefaces and Introduction to the *Logic*, and Part 2, on the Doctrine of Being, appeared in our January-February and March issues. Part 4, on the Doctrine of the Notion, will appear in the May issue. These notes were first written in 1961 and appear in print for the first time.

The *Logic* is one of Hegel's most important works and was of great service to Marx, especially in the writing of *Capital*. It has taken on new importance in light of the need to comprehend the logic of contemporary capitalism and the struggles against it. These notes will serve as an anchor of a nationwide series of classes News and Letters Committees

is holding on "The Dialectics of Marx's *Capital* and Today's Global Crises." To find out about how to participate in them, see the announcement, on page 10.

All material in brackets as well as footnotes has been supplied by the editors. "SL" and "SLII" refer to the text of the *Science of Logic* as translated by Johnston and Struthers in two volumes (Macmillan, 1929); "SLM" refers to the translation by A.V. Miller (Humanities Press, 1969). The references to Lenin are to his 1914-15 commentary on Hegel's *Logic*, the first such study done by a Marxist, referred to as "LCW 38."

Dunayevskaya's text has been slightly shortened, indicated by the use of ellipses. The original can be found in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 2806.

allegedly prove that A cannot be at one and the same time A and not be A. That is absolutely hilarious. "Category, according to its etymology and its Aristotelian definition, is that which is predicated or asserted of the existent. —But a determinateness of Being is essentially a transition into the opposite; the negative of any determinateness is as necessary as the determinateness itself; and each immediate determinateness is immediately opposed by the other" [SLII, p. 36; SLM, p. 410].

When Hegel gets to Observation Two, which [Aristotle] called the Law of the Excluded Middle, he again hits out at the idea that something either is or is not A, that there is no third, insisting that there is a third in the very thesis since A can be both +A and -A: "The something thus is itself the third term which was supposed to be excluded" [SLII, p. 66; SLM, p. 439]. At this point, Lenin remarked: "This is very profound. Every concrete thing, every concrete something stands in diverse and often contradictory relations to all others, ergo, it is itself and another" [LCW 38, p. 138].

As for the observation which follows on the law of Contradiction where Hegel defines Contradiction as the "root of all movement and life, and it is only insofar as it contains a Contradiction that anything moves and has impulse and activity" [SLII, p. 67; SLM, p. 439]. Lenin copies out in toto this entire section, at the end of which he makes his famous generalization that the idea of movement and change was disclosed in 1813 by Hegel, that is, by philosophy, and was applied by Marx first in 1847 and by Darwin in 1859 [LCW 38, p. 141].

Indeed, Lenin can hardly stop himself from becoming a complete Hegelian and stressing over and over again how stupid it is to think that Hegel is abstract and abstruse, and how profound is the concept of Contradiction as the force of Movement and how different Thinking, Reason, Notion is to ordinary understanding: "Thinking reason (notion) sharpens the blunted difference of variety, the mere manifold of imagination, to the essential difference, to *Opposition*. Only when the contradictions reach their peak does manifoldness become mobile (*regsam*) and lively in relation to the other,—acquire that negativity which is the *inner-pulsation of self-movement and life*." [Cf. LCW 38, p. 143; SLII, p. 69; SLM, p. 422]

Chapter III: Ground

The very first sentence—"Essence determines itself as Ground" [SLII, p. 71; SLM, p. 444]—lets us know that we are approaching the climax to Section One of Essence. As soon as Hegel, in the first observation on the Law of Ground, finishes his critique of Leibniz's Law of Sufficient Ground, he develops, in Absolute Ground, all the essentials of Form and Essence, Form and Matter, Form and Content where it becomes quite clear that these cannot be separated; that Form and Matter "presuppose one another" [SLII, p. 79; SLM, p. 452] and Content is the "unity" of Form and Matter [SLII, p. 82; SLM, p. 454]. And as we move from Absolute to Determined [Determinate] Ground and approach Complete Ground, it becomes

quite clear that manifoldness or content-determinations could be used indiscriminately so that you could cite something as much *for as against* something, which is exactly what Socrates correctly argued against as Sophistry, because, of course, such conclusions do not exhaust the thing-in-itself in the sense of "grasp of the connection of things which contain them all" [SLII, p. 94; SLM, p. 466].

It is at this point that we reach the transition from Ground to Condition, which moves Lenin to say, "brilliant: all-world, all-sided *living* connection of everything with everything else, and of the reflection of this connection—*materialistisch auf den Kopf gestellter Hegel* [Hegel materialistically turned on his head]—in the concept of man, which must be so polished, so broken-in, flexible, mobile, relative, mutually-tied-in, united in opposition, as to embrace the

to understand *Capital*; (2) that man's cognition not only reflects the world, but "creates" it; (3) and noted in his conclusions that there was more sense in Idealism than in vulgar materialism, which made him so anxious to try to get the *Encyclopedia Granat* to return his essay on Marx, so that he could expand the section on dialectics.

I want to return to the question of Condition as History, as well as to the expression that "The Fact *is* before it *Exists*." The History that Hegel had in mind was, of course, the historic period in which he lived, following the French Revolution, which brought not the millennium, but new contradictions, i.e., philosophically speaking, Ground had been transformed into Condition and we did get a totality of Movement—the Fact-in-itself. The new contradictions will once again show that facts, facts, facts can also hide[:] "the unity of Form



By
Raya
Dunayevskaya

Founder of
Marxist-Humanism
in the U.S.

Book Two: The Doctrine of Essence

Section One: Essence As Reflection Into Self

Chapter I: Show

The profundity of Hegel is seen in the fact that even where he thinks that something is relatively unessential and is, therefore, mere show, that even there the show is also objective. He considers [that] "show, then, is the *phenomenon of skepticism*...skepticism did not dare to affirm 'it is'; modern idealism did not dare to regard cognition as a knowledge of Thing-in-itself" [SLII, p. 22; SLM, p. 396].

Hegel hits out against all idealisms, of Leibniz, Kant, or Fichte. Hegel writes, "It is the immediacy of *Not-Being*, which constitutes Show; but this Not-Being is nothing else than the Negativity of Essence in itself" [SLII, p. 23; SLM, p. 397].

In fact, [in his comments] on the page before [Hegel] said this, when he criticized both skepticism and idealism, Lenin noted: "You include all the manifold riches of the world in *Schein* [show] and you reject the objectivity of *Scheit!*" [LCW 38, p. 131]. And again: "Show is Essence in one of its determinations. . . Essence thus appears. Show is the phenomenon of Essence in itself" [LCW 38, p. 133]. Lenin further notes that in this section on the Reflection of Essence, Hegel again accuses Kant of subjectivism and insists on the objective validity of Show, "of the immediate given," and notes: "The term, 'given' is common with Hegel in general. The little philosophers dispute whether one should take as basis the Essence or the immediately given (Kant, Hume, Machists¹). Hegel substitutes *and for 'or'* and explains the concrete content of this 'and'" [LCW 38, p. 134].

Chapter II: The Essentialities or Determinations of Reflection

We will deal here with the three developments in Essence: first, simple self-relation or Identity; secondly, Variety [Difference]; and thirdly, Contradiction. But before Hegel develops these three, he has an observation on so-called "Laws of Thought," which

1. "Machists" refers to the followers of Ernst Mach (1838-1916), Austrian physicist and philosopher who argued that all knowledge is a conceptual organization of the data of sensory experience.

Rough Notes on HEGEL'S SCIENCE OF LOGIC

world. The continuation of the work of Hegel and Marx must consist in the dialectical working out of the history of human thought, science and technique."

And at the same spot, Lenin rethinks Marx's *Capital*, thus: "And a 'purely logical' working out? *Das fällt zusammen* [It coincides]. It *must* coincide as does induction and deduction in *Capital*" [LCW 38, p. 146].

We have now reached the third subsection of Ground—Condition, which could be defined as History. In 1950, G. [Grace Lee] wrote quite a good letter on that subsection, but C. L. R. James was no help whatsoever; indeed, he could never develop the strong point of Grace on philosophy. But we can gain something by quoting her letter at this point: "The essence of Hegel's argument is this: It is necessary to get rid of the concept of Ground as a *substratum*, but when you get rid of this concept of something *behind* the immediate you have not by any means gotten rid of the fact that the immediate is the result of a MEDIATING process. It is the self-mediating, self-repelling, self-transcending relation of Ground which externalizes itself in the immediate existent. Hence the relentless phrasing and rephrasing of his thesis that 'The Fact Emerges Out of Ground.'"²

The exact statement from Hegel reads: "When all the Conditions of a fact are present, it enters into Existence. The fact *is* before it *exists*..." [SLII, p. 105; SLM, p. 477].

Now at this point, Lenin wrote: "Very good! What has the Absolute Idea and Idealism to find here? Remarkable, this 'derivation' of Existence" [LCW 38, p. 147]. We may be bold enough to answer the question, or better still, recognize that Lenin answered his own question when he reached the last part of Hegel precisely on the Absolute Idea, and therefore noted: (1) That one must read the *whole* of the *Logic*

2. This letter of March 22, 1950 has not been located, but extracts of it appear in notes later prepared by Dunayevskaya. See *Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 14670-72.

is submerged" [SLII, p. 104; SLM, p. 475].

And of course we know that our historic epoch, much more than Hegel's, demands more of reality than just a sound of "immediates."³ For example, scientifically with Einstein, we get to know that facts, too, are relative. So that once again we need self-transcendence and therefore, in the expression "the fact is before it exists," we recognize the process of emergence of something new, and in its emergence we therefore get the transition to Existence. In our terms, if we think of the actual historical development of the working class in Marx's *Capital*, we have "Ground in Unity with its Condition."

Section Two: Appearance

Here again, the very first sentence is a leap forward: "Essence must appear" [SLII, p. 107; SLM, p. 479]. So we can no longer merely contrast Appearance to Essence, because, while there may be much Appearance that is only "show," it also contains Essence itself (which in turn will soon mean we are moving to a real crisis or Actuality).

The three sub-sections on Appearance are: (1) Existence, (2) Appearance and (3) Essential Relation.

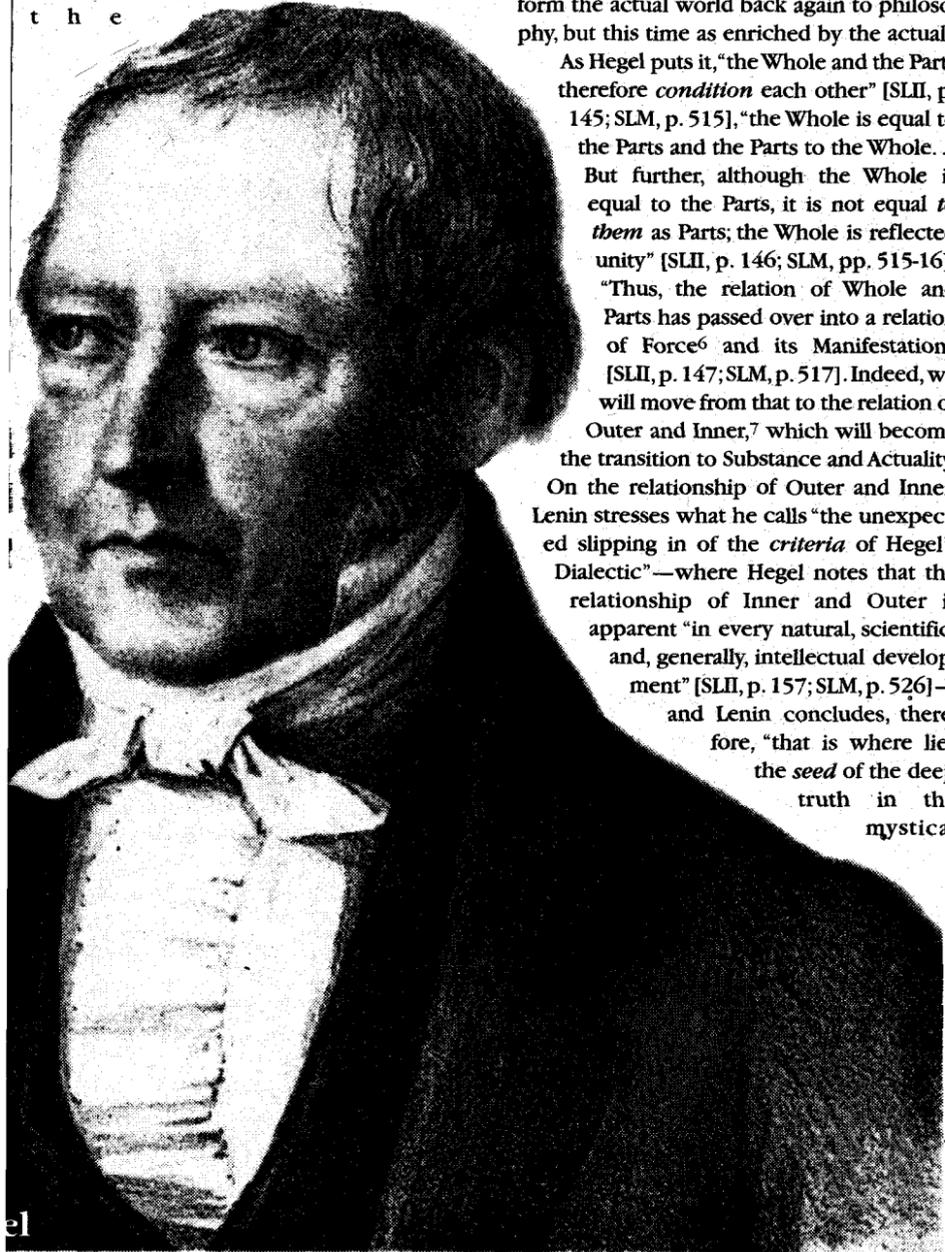
(I might state that Sartre's Existentialism is nowhere near this important section of Hegel's *Logic*, for in Hegel "whatever exists has a Ground and is conditioned" [SLII, p. 109; SLM, p. 481], whereas in Sartre, both the Ground and the Condition are quite subordinate to the Ego's disgust with it all.)⁴

The real tendency, as well as actuality,

3. Hegel writes in the same paragraph that "the immediacy of Being essentially is only a moment of Form" [SLII, p. 104; SLM, p. 476].
4. A reference to Sartre's *Being and Nothingness*.

that we should have before us in studying this section on Appearance is Stalinism and its non-essential critique in Trotskyism. That is to say, if Essence—the present stage of capitalism or the present stage of the counter-revolutionary appearance of the labor bureaucracy—must appear, then Stalinism, which has appeared, is not just any old bureaucracy that has no connection with a new economic state of world development. On the contrary, the Appearance—Stalinism—and the Essence—state-capitalism—are one and the same, or the Form of a new Content. Trotskyism, on the other hand, by putting up a Chinese wall between what is mere Appearance to what is true Essence (and to him,

t h e



Chapter III: Essential Relation

"The truth of Appearance is Essential Relation" [SLII, p. 142; SLM, p. 512].

The relationship of the Whole and the Parts, you may recall from my various lectures on Hegel, has to me been a key, not merely to this section of Hegel, but to the entire philosophy of both Hegel and Marx. Thus, when I say that the whole is not only the sum total of the parts, but has a pull on the parts that are not yet there, even as the future has a pull on the present, it is obvious that we have moved from abstract philosophic conceptions to the actual world, and form the actual world back again to philosophy, but this time as enriched by the actual.

As Hegel puts it, "the Whole and the Parts therefore condition each other" [SLII, p. 145; SLM, p. 515], "the Whole is equal to the Parts and the Parts to the Whole. . .

But further, although the Whole is equal to the Parts, it is not equal to them as Parts; the Whole is reflected unity" [SLII, p. 146; SLM, pp. 515-16].

"Thus, the relation of Whole and Parts has passed over into a relation of Force⁶ and its Manifestation" [SLII, p. 147; SLM, p. 517]. Indeed, we will move from that to the relation of Outer and Inner,⁷ which will become the transition to Substance and Actuality. On the relationship of Outer and Inner, Lenin stresses what he calls "the unexpected slipping in of the criteria of Hegel's Dialectic"—where Hegel notes that the relationship of Inner and Outer is apparent "in every natural, scientific, and, generally, intellectual development" [SLII, p. 157; SLM, p. 526]—and Lenin concludes, therefore, "that is where lies the seed of the deep truth in the mystical

Observation [SLII, p. 167-72; SLM, pp. 536-40] on the philosophy of Spinoza: "Determinateness is negation—this is the absolute principle of Spinoza's philosophy, and this true and simple insight is the foundation of the absolute unity of Substance. But Spinoza does not pass on beyond negation as determinateness or quality to a recognition of it as absolute, that is, self-negating, negation" [SLII, p. 168; SLM, p. 536]. Hegel's conclusion is that though the dialectic is in it until Spinoza gets to Substance, it there stops: "Substance lacks the principle of Personality" [SLII, p. 168; SLM, p. 537]. And again later Hegel writes: "In a similar manner in the Oriental idea of emanation the Absolute is self-illuminating light" [SLII, p. 170; SLM, p. 538].

From now on, the polemical movement in the *Logic* will take a very subordinate place; the observations will do the same. Indeed, for the rest of the entire work, Hegel will have only two observations, as contrasted to the beginning of the *Science of Logic*, where after but one single page on Being, he had no less than four observations (really five when you consider the one on Transcendence of Becoming) which took up no less than 23 pages.

In a word, the closer he approaches the Notion, especially the Absolute Idea, that is to say, the climax of his system as it has been comprehensively and profoundly developed both historically and polemically, the more he has absorbed all that is of value in the other systems of philosophy, rejected that which is not, and presented a truly objective worldview of history and philosophy, which contains the elements of a future society inherent in the present. (We will return to this point at the end.)

Of Chapter II on Actuality, the categories dealt with—Contingency, or formal Actuality, Possibility and Necessity—are all to pave the way to Chapter III, the Absolute Relation, which is the apex of the Doctrine of Essence and will bring us to the Notion.

Lenin begins to free himself of any residue of taking the empiric concrete as the Real or Actual. Near [Hegel's discussion of] the question of the relationship of Substantiality and Causality, Lenin writes: "On the one hand, we must deepen the knowledge of matter to the knowledge (to the concept) of substance, in order to find the causes of appearance. On the other hand, actual knowledge of causes is the deepening of knowledge from externality of appearance to substance. Two types of examples should explain this: (1) out of the history of natural science and (2) from the history of philosophy. More precisely: not 'examples' should be here—*comparison n'est pas raison* [comparison is not proof],—but the *quintessence* of the one and the other history—plus the history of technique" [LCW 38, p. 159].

A couple of pages later, Lenin will note that Hegel "fully leads up to History under Causality" and again, that the ordinary understanding of Causality fails to see that it is "only a small part of the universal connection" [LCW 38, p. 160] and that the small part is not subjective, but the objectively real connection. Indeed, Lenin very nearly makes fun, along with Hegel, of course, of Cause and Effect. Where Hegel wrote, "Effect therefore is necessary just because it is manifestation of Cause, or because it is that Necessity which is Cause" [SLII, p. 192; SLM, p. 559], Lenin noted that, of course, both Cause and Effect are "only Moments of the universal interdependence, of the universal concatenation of events, only links in the chain of the development of Matter" [LCW 38, p. 159]. And by the time he has finished with this chapter and met up with Hegel's definition of the next and final part of the *Logic*, the Notion, "the Realm of Subjectivity or of Freedom" [SLII, p. 205; SLM, p. 571], Lenin translates this without any self-consciousness over the word "Subjective," as follows: "NB—Freedom=subjectivity ("or") goal, consciousness, striving" [LCW 38, p. 164].

It is important to note that Herbert Marcuse in his *Reason and Revolution* also chooses this, not only as the climax, which it is, to the Doctrine of Essence, but more or less as the Essence of the whole of Hegelian philosophy. Thus, on p. 153, he states, "Without a grasp of the distinction between Reality and Actuality, Hegel's philosophy is meaningless in its decisive principles."

balderdash of Hegelianism!" [LCW 38, p. 155].

Section Three: Actuality

The introductory note will stress that "Actuality is the unity of Essence and Existence. . . This unity of Inner and Outer is Absolute Actuality." He will divide Actuality into Possibility and Necessity as the "formal moments" of the Absolute, or its reflection. And finally, the unity of this Absolute and its reflection will become the Absolute Relation "or, rather, the Absolute as relation to itself, — Substance" [SLII, p. 160; SLM, p. 529].

At this point in the Preliminary Note [on the Absolute], Lenin gets quite peeved at the idealist in Hegel and he divides the expression that "there is no becoming in the Absolute" [SLII, p. 162; SLM, p. 531] into two sentences by stating "and other nonsense about the Absolute" [LCW 38, p. 156]. But, as usual, it will not be long before Lenin is full of praise of Hegel and his section on Actuality.

To me, the most important part of Chapter I of Section Three, the Absolute, is the

6. For Hegel, matter and substances do not simply possess various forces (such as weight or magnetism), they also are forces. This is in keeping with his overall view that we cannot adequately apprehend the world as substance only, but must eventually view it also as subject. Force is not yet subject, but it does convey motion and change, rather than simple inert substantiality.

7. Hegel writes in his observation on "the immediate identity of inner and outer" that they are not so separate as common sense would believe, for "each immediately is not only its other but also the totality of the whole" [SLII, p. 157; SLM, p. 526].

Essence is not capitalism, but the form of workers' state) has not been able to analyze either Stalinism or state-capitalism. I mean, either Stalinism as a mere perversion of the early Soviets, or Stalinism as the absolute opposite of that early workers' state.⁵

To get back to Hegel and Lenin's notes on Hegel, Lenin is quite impressed with Hegel's Analysis of the Law of Appearance, the World of Appearance and the World-in-Itself, and the Dissolution of Appearance, which are the sub-sections of Chapter II of this section.

Lenin keeps stressing at this point "the remarkably materialistic" analysis that flows from this objective analysis which will, of course, become the basis of Marx's analysis of the economic laws of capitalism. When Hegel writes "Law, then, is essential appearance" [SLII, p. 133; SLM, p. 504], Lenin concludes, "Ergo, Law and Essence of Concept are homogeneous (of one order) or, more correctly, uniform, expressing the deepening of man's knowledge of Appearance, the world, etc." [LCW 38, p. 152]. Finally, "The essence here is that both the World of Appearance and the World which is in and for itself are essentially moments of knowledge of nature by man, stages, changes or deepening (of knowledge). The movement of the world in itself ever further and further from the world of appearance—that is what is not yet visible in Hegel. NB. Do not the 'moments' of conception with Hegel have significance of 'moments' of transition?" [LCW 38, p. 153].

5. Compare the discussion of form and essence in Dunayevskaya's 1949 "Notes on Chapter 1 of Marx's *Capital*: Its Relation to Hegel's *Logic*," in Dunayevskaya, *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism*, pp. 89-94.

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DIALLO & GAITHER: FIGHTING ALL HATE CRIMES

Few here know about the daily protests in New York against the police who killed Amadou Diallo, but we are talking about some very similar crimes here. Last week a local white cop was convicted of killing a 17-year-old Black youth, but on a lesser charge because the jury bought the phony story that it was an accident. He may not even go to jail. And a lot of people are outraged. Then this week in nearby Jonesboro, Arkansas, a videotape surfaced showing a white cop knocking a Black man, already subdued and handcuffed, to the ground and putting him in a choke hold. Our sons are rounded up just because they're Black, our anti-Klan rally was attacked by rioting police, a photographer was arrested for snapping a picture of cops making an arrest. It goes on and on. We're more than ready to put the police and the system they stand for on trial.

**Black and white activists
Memphis**

* * *

In the aftermath of the Diallo killing, what is disturbing to Blacks are the statements by some politicians that we should be grateful to Mayor Guiliani for making minority communities safe. First, why should we be grateful to any public servant we pay to do a job? And why should we be grateful to this one when we rarely benefit from any of the so-called great things he has done? It shows how little we are respected and how our opinions are disregarded.

**Black woman
New York**

* * *

The vicious beating and burning to death of Billy Jack Gaither in rural Alabama because he was gay proved that the right-wing serial killers have not stopped with Matthew Shepard, Dr. Bernard Slepian and James Byrd. Rev.

Fred. Phelps and his band of hate-mongers were back picketing Gaither's memorial service but where were the nationwide demonstrations against such brutality that we saw after Matthew Shepard's murder? The daily protests in New York against the four white cops who murdered Amadou Diallo are a reminder that such barbarism cannot be left unchallenged, whether at the hands of bigots in uniforms or in Klan t-shirts.

**Outraged
Chicago**

* * *

The "elite Street Crimes Unit" in New York sounds a lot like the death-squads in Guatemala insofar as the Black and Brown communities are concerned. Those New York events give me serious concern about our new "liberal" mayor here in Oakland, Jerry Brown, whose inaugural speech was all about "eliminating crime." Then he welcomed with open arms the "urban-warfare" exercises conducted by the U.S. Marines, who staged a mock invasion of an urban center in revolt to practice "counter-terrorist operations in the battle-scape of the 21st century" against an "asymmetrical enemy." Along with America's new permanent state of war at home and abroad, there is now a prison-industry-complex to handle the excess labor force the multi-nationals no longer need. Cities like Oakland and New York will supply the predominantly Black and Brown inmates for that complex. All these developments show what "deep retrogression" in our "changed world" means. Today our "postmodern" politicians, left or right, Black or white, no longer control the issues. Retrogression controls them. It's up to us in the community to set a new course.

**Htun Lin
Oakland, CA**

enemy. That's when all these intellectuals became vulnerable, including Elia Kazan, who turned on his friends to protect his career. There were other options. Arthur Miller, whose play "Death of a Salesman" is a still-celebrated anti-capitalist classic, refused to name names.

The intellectuals were no real threat to the security of this country. McCarthy used the fact that they were once associated with the CP to usher in a new period of fear. It was used to threaten other radicals, was turned against labor and bridled free speech on campuses. To this day, Kazan has shown no contrition for his actions. It's important to remember what people stand for when it counts. Oscars are a superficial extravaganza. Culture can have a substantial impact only if it is part of a real life struggle for freedom.

**John Alan
California**

* * *

The Committee Against Silence that organized the protest against giving an award to the informer, Elia Kazan, has already begun organizing to demand a general apology from the Academy during next year's Oscars for going along with the blacklists. They will be organizing teach-ins on university campuses in various film schools, so the younger generation will know about this period of history which they have never been taught.

**Protector
Santa Monica, CA**

REVOLT IN LATIN AMERICA: in CHIAPAS...

The *New York Times* ran an article on March 22 on the national referendum the Zapatistas had held the day before, in which Julia Preston, writing from Mexico City, referred to it as "political theater," emphasizing their "flair for populist politics." The only thing she said about the EZLN women who arrived in Acapulco to conduct the vote was that they were "studying the bikinis on the beach." No mention that three million across the country came out to the booths set up by the rebels in every state, 95% voting to remove the army from Chiapas as the only way to achieve peace. Not a word about the warm reception they received, nor how this "isolated" group got out of Chiapas in the first place. She also failed to point out that in

Readers' Views

the same week, President Zedillo felt compelled to travel to Chiapas for the first time, where he was the one engaging in the real "political theater," as he opened a clinic and tried to impress the poor with his lies that infant mortality had been reduced by 40% in the past year.

**Mitch
Bay Area, California**

...and ECUADOR

What is happening in Ecuador is the most blatant case imaginable of loading the disastrous results of the failure of capitalism onto the backs of the poor and middle classes. The coalition of labor, youth, campesinos, teachers and other movements who had called for the one-day work stoppage that shut down most businesses on Feb. 5 to protest the draconian measures taken by the Mahuad government had warned that a general strike would be next. On March 10-11 virtually the whole country was shut down. Demonstrators were met with tear gas, hundreds were arrested, and there were a few deaths. Mahuad's response was to cut government services and raise gasoline prices even further. The additional rise in inflation this monstrous increase will cause is almost beyond imagination. There is now a popular uprising across all of Ecuador with hunger strikes, marches and demonstrations. The indication that the government would lower gas prices, after taxis immobilized traffic in every major city, did not keep the indigenous and labor leaders from indicating that the time had run out for the government and the uprising would be indefinite.

**Correspondent
Ecuador**

BLACK HISTORY

Thanks to Lou Turner for reminding us, in his column in "Black History Month, 1999" (March *N&L*), about Claude McKay's powerful "If We Must Die." Could you print the following for those who may not know it?

*If we must die, let it not be like hogs/
Hunted and penned in an inglorious
spot! While round us bark the mad and
hungry dogs! Making their mock at our
accursed lot! If we must die, O let us
nobly die! So that our precious blood
may not be shed! In vain; then even the
monsters we defy! Shall be constrained
to honor us though dead!! O kinsmen!
we must meet the common foe!! Though
far outnumbered let us show us brave/
And for their thousand blows deal one
deathblow!! What though before us lies
the open grave?*

*Like men we'll face the murderous,
cowardly pack, / Pressed to the wall,
dying but fighting back!*

**Sheila
New York**

REVOLUTIONARIES ON TRIAL: MUMIA AND SOLÍS

At a recent Mumia Abu-Jamal solidarity meeting I attended, a young Irish-American activist passed out a flier issued by the Irish American Student Association. It features pictures of both Mumia and the martyred Irish revolutionary, James Connolly, and asks: "What is the difference between these two revolutionaries?" Under Mumia's picture it answers: "They're taking longer to execute this one."

**Mumia supporter
Illinois**

* * *

The frameup trial here of the Puerto Rican professor, José Solís, had the stench of McCarthyism, especially when the prosecutor started reading from the political platform of the Frente Anti-Electoral. It was appropriate that the night of the verdict the Czech rock band, Plastic People of the Universe, happened to be playing here. They had been jailed after Prague Spring was crushed. The Solís trial was such an outrage that these are the comparisons that can come to mind. So did the following quote I found in Marx's 1852 writing on the

Communist Trial in Cologne:

"Now, what was the evidence laid before this jury? Merely the absurd proclamations and correspondence of a set of ignorant phantoms, importance-seeking conspirators, and tools and associates at once of one Cherval, an avowed agent of the police."

**Fred
Chicago**



CONFRONTING AFRICA'S STRUGGLES

I hope the Gambian woman who wrote about "What feminism means to an African woman" will write more. Her point that African women's participation in the struggles against colonialism and slavery have made invisible their critique of African patriarchy and sexist culture needs to be made again and again. Because colonialism attacked the whole African civilization, some have acted as if there couldn't be an internal critique. But all our cultures are sexist, treat women as less than human, and must be fought. I hope our Gambian sister can flesh out some of the feminist history of struggle in Africa for women's freedom.

**Women's liberationist
Memphis**

* * *

What flows out of Africa is capital. The Asian meltdown seems not to have affected Africa, but neither did investment to begin with. One percent of world investment goes to Africa. The continent's economy is now growing at 5% a year, but after 15 years from nothing to nothing is nothing. Disease and the dislocation of people due to war are increasing. At the same time, of the social movements that brought apartheid down, the unions in South Africa are the most successful, but have become lower-middle class and conservative. There are a number of crises brewing there.

**Student of Africa
New York**

LETTER FROM RUSSIA

We are asked about the cause of the passivity of Russian workers. I don't think it is an ideological equation of Stalinism with real communism. There are more real material causes, the first being the great Stalinist terror for 30 years; the second being the great economic catastrophe of the last 9 years. The Stalinist terror had annihilated the most active, rebellious workers and peasants. Stalin destroyed not only private farms but independent communes of poor peasants and intellectuals. Those who survived were educated in great fear. This was not total. There were illegal Marxist groups in the USSR and illegal workers' strikes. But the fear was dominant and it didn't disappear with perestroika.

The 90s added the great economic catastrophe. It is necessary to do a detailed economic analysis of all this but it is clear that the putrefaction of Russian capitalism is greater than we thought. In such a situation workers can't struggle collectively with other workers. Capitalism is a decadent system in the whole world and in Russia the decadence is utmost. It may be that any real rise of workers' struggle in Russia will be after such a rise in the West or East.

**Marxist
Russia**



ELIA KAZAN, MCCARTHY, AND THE OSCARS

The Lifetime Achievement Award given to Elia Kazan during the Oscars this year showed me the importance of knowing what really happened in American history. I was amazed that many of my friends (highly educated in their own fields) had no idea who Kazan was, what the expression "naming names" meant, what "the Hollywood 10" represented, or even what McCarthyism was. I wasn't yet born during that period, but my parents were and exposed me to ideas from the left and radical movements. When I was talking about all this with another friend he noted that "many people aren't into 'current events' and don't feel they are missing anything if they don't read a newspaper or watch national news." It isn't a question of how old you are but what history you learn at home and in school, and whether it is relevant to your life now.

**Erica Rae
Illinois**

* * *

There is a world of difference between appreciating someone's particular talent and honoring him. Despite all his talent Kazan was a totally dishonorable man. What he "achieved" was depriving his co-workers of their livelihood and driving some of them to expatriation and even to suicide.

**Longtime movie fan
Michigan**

* * *

Between 1930 and 1940 many artists were pulled to the Left because it seemed that capitalism had no future. While intellectuals were seduced by the Communist Party, workers, and especially Black workers, were shocked by the Hitler-Stalin pact and saw Russia was no window to the future. Leaving the CP became a grass roots movement when Blacks were told to put their demands on hold in order to "defend the Soviet Union." During World War II, Russia was an ally and the State Department tried to stifle any criticism of it. Everything changed after the war and by 1947 Russia became an arch

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NEW (AND OLD) LABOR STRUGGLES

Two recent labor actions on the University of Michigan campus resulted in victory for more than just students and their instructors. The day before a threatened strike by graduate student instructors, the administration agreed to a much-needed wage increase and change in workloads. Students also occupied the President's office for 50 hours to win their demands for the University to assure that anything it sells carrying the school's logo will be made by workers in safe and living wage jobs, striking a blow against the horrible child labor and sweatshop conditions internationally in which so many of these things are produced. Students around the whole country have been doing the same.

**Labor activist
Detroit**

Wisconsin Governor Tommy Thompson now want to use people on the state W-2 welfare program to clean up brownfields, which is land contaminated with toxic waste. He says the workers would be learning career skills. You don't put untrained people into hazardous jobs and expect them to learn a skill. You train them first and then pay them high wages to do a dangerous job. Nothing shows more clearly how Thompson considers poor people as throwaways.

**Environmental activist
Memphis**

The general public is led to believe that the year-end bonuses auto workers are getting (which range from \$2,000 at GM, \$6,000 at Ford, and \$7,000 at Chrysler) are a "gift" from the corporations. The workers know they are the ones who have produced not only their bonuses but the billions of profits all the companies are ringing up. Those bonuses are a few crumbs compared to the giant cake the corporations get.

**Retired Chrysler worker
Detroit**

The Library Assistants at the British Library (who are members of the Public and Commercial Services Union) went on strike after talks with management about new staffing practices broke down. The most important point is the proposed division of the 110 jobs involved into two grades ("D" and "E"). These are

already the lowest paid workers in the library and the 45 assistants who would be allocated to the lower grade E would have a considerable pay cut. Most of those jobs would also involve working full time in the basements where books are stored rather than rotating frequently between working in the basement and in the reading rooms. Since there are many health and safety problems associated with basement work this is a big concern. Pressure from readers in support of the workers could be essential at this point in the negotiations.

**Supporter
London**

Detroit Edison power plant workers have sued the Detroit Edison Company over race and sex discrimination and harassment. Women and minority workers have sued the company five times since 1993. They have received support in their current fight from the National Organization for Women, the NAACP and the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Now that the utilities face break-up of their local monopolies customers are being asked to express their support. More information is available at www.classaction2000.com.

**Detroit Edison customer
Detroit**

KOSOVA AND BOSNIA

If Clinton's concern was really for the Kosovars and not for the U.S.'s own power-holding agenda, a way would be found to arm the Kosova Liberation Army. Just as the U.S. refused to let the Bosnians wage a war of self-defense, they also want to bring the KLA under their control. Only the U.S. is allowed to call the shots, literally this time.

**Bosnia solidarity activist
Bremerton, Wash.**

Your article on Kosova in the Jan.-Feb. issue ended by declaring "the only ground of opposition to Milosevic's genocidal policies remains that of the Kosovar people." That notion didn't make sense to me until I thought of the "grounds" of the various governments involved in the negotiations, such as prestige, stability, trade, influence, etc. Such a simple ground, the people of

Kosova, turns out to be a powerful position that exposes those waiting to sell them out.

**John
San Francisco**



**KEEPING
MARX'S
CAPITAL
ALIVE**

I received the syllabus for your *Capital* class. Thank you for keeping this irreplaceable critique of capitalism alive!

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed Multimedia edition of *Capital*, based on the Moore and Aveling translation, for Windows 3.1. Please accept it with my compliments. I am selling these CD-ROMs for \$20. If you know anyone interested in getting one, have them send a check for \$20 each to my address, made out to Robert Schultz, or they can contact me at bschultz@igc.apc.org.

**Robert Schultz
8423 Anderson St.
Philadelphia, PA 19118**

At our first class on Marx's *Capital* here we were discussing the development of capitalism and the several forms it has taken up to this point historically, as well as the horrors it has generated. At that point one of the workers present observed, "You mean it's like you can call it private capitalism, state capitalism, free-market capitalism or any other name, but unless everything is changed completely, it's still the same snake just wearing a different hat." We all got a laugh out of that description.

**Old radical
Detroit**

We have been enjoying your current four-part article on Hegel and thought you might want to use the enclosed picture in conjunction with it. It's from the cover of the book, "The Hegel Reader," which is published by Blackwell Publishers.

**Longtime subscriber
Massachusetts**

Editor's note: We're using it, with thanks, in this issue on pp. 6-7.

In the first part of Dunayevskaya's "Rough Notes on Hegel's *Science of Logic*," Dunayevskaya said "Historical materialism, strange as it may sound, is nevertheless basic to Hegelian analysis." This is not the approach taken by most Marxists, who have vulgarized the Hegel-Marx relation by arguing that Marx, the "materialist," simply stood Hegel "on his head."

Yet a rereading of Marx's *Capital* shows, I believe, that Dunayevskaya's statement expresses Marx's view. A number of supposedly "idealist" concepts of Hegel—from the notion that the sensibly concrete counts only as a form of appearance of the abstractly universal to his emphasis on the truth being found not just in substance but in subject as well—is directly used by Marx to express the nature of capital as self-expanding value and the pathway by which to uproot it. Marx's recreation of Hegel's Dialectic in *Capital* is the proof that historical materialism resides in Hegel.

**Student of Marxism
Chicago**

I've been trying to understand something Raya Dunayevskaya discussed in her "Rough Notes" on Hegel's "Science of Logic"—namely that Lenin said *Capital* could only be understood if one understood the whole of the *Logic*. It would be one thing if the criteria were "the dialectic," but the "whole of Hegel's *Logic*?" Maybe I'll understand it better after the classes. I admire Raya's audacity in saying "Historical materialism ... is basic to Hegelian analysis." She connects philosophy to reality, not mechanistically but on the ground of human freedom. Not only is it a critique of what is, the lack of liberty in our current social relations, but a measure of what comes after the revolution. Given the history of this century, these points become unfortunately relevant.

**Student of Capital
California**

For Chicago News & Letters Readers:
EMERGENCY
Meeting On Kosova Crisis!
Thursday, April 8, 6:30 pm
at 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707

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- Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao**
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- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**
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- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future** (1996 edition)\$15.95
- The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism: Selected Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya**\$8.50
- The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya** Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes."\$3 paperback, \$10 hardcover

By CHARLES DENBY

- Indignant Heart. A Black Worker's Journal**
1989 edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya\$14.95

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NATO bombing of Serbia allows Milosevic to intensify genocide in Kosova

(Continued from page 1)

It needs to be reiterated that the Clinton administration long opposed independence for Kosova and, like the Bush administration before it, has often colluded with Milosevic to allow him to maintain his hold on Kosova and parts of Bosnia. The U.S. is demanding that Milosevic agree to the plan arranged in Rambouillet, France last month, which promises Kosova limited autonomy—but denies it independence. The plan also calls for dismantling the Kosovar Liberation Army (KLA).

The real reason for the U.S. intervention is rather concern for the viability of NATO. Next month NATO will celebrate its 50th anniversary at a major conference that will outline a new strategic perspective now that it has expanded to include three former members of the Warsaw Pact—Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. Yet just when a newly refurbished and expanded NATO was being touted as the guarantee of “peace and stability,” the war in Kosova threatened to make it look like a helpless giant. It was only then that the Clinton administration decided that the time had come to do something to restrain Milosevic.

The main voice of opposition to U.S. policy on Kosova so far has come from the Republican Right. Though they too are worried about NATO, they are more open about not wanting U.S. soldiers to die “just” to defend victims of ethnic cleansing. The Right’s criticisms may become muted as the bombing intensifies, since the last thing these scoundrels want to be accused of is lack of patriotism. This is not as true of those on the Left. The Left, however, suffers from its own disorientation, in that many are distancing themselves from solidarizing with the Kosovars on the grounds of opposing the U.S. bombing.

The missiles and bombs being dropped on Serbia are not only doing great material damage. They are also having a damaging impact on the very mind of humanity. For it gives the completely false impression that the U.S. is a supporter of the Kosovars and an enemy of Milosevic—when the U.S. has often treated Milosevic as an ally and has given only lukewarm support to the Kosovars.

The U.S. bombing is a distorting lens turning everything on its head. U.S. collusion with Serbia, which helped lead to the present crisis, is being subsumed by the appearance of the military destruction of Serb targets, while the pressure on the Kosovars to disavow independence is being subsumed by the appearance of posing as their “ally.”

WHY KOSOVA? WHY NOW?

To avoid getting sucked into the false forms of appearance of this topsy-turvy world, we need to view today’s events in a historic-philosophic context.

Nothing is more erroneous than the view of Jean-Christophe Rufin, formerly of Doctors Without Borders, that “With NATO everything has changed. NATO’s trigger today is humanitarian.” The West showed no concern for the victims of ethnic cleansing in Rwanda, just as they show no concern for the 5,000 dying each month due to the sanctions against Iraq. So why would they be motivated by humanitarian considerations when it comes to Kosova?

U.S. policy vis-a-vis Bosnia reveals the real basis of its actions. When the Serbs attacked Bosnia in 1992, the major powers did not stop them. They instead maintained an arms embargo on Bosnia, making it harder for the country to defend itself. When Bosnia finally managed, by

1995, to take the offensive and, along with Croatia, was about to inflict a major military defeat on the Serbs, the U.S. stepped in and forced it to accept the Dayton accords. This brought “peace” to Bosnia at a very stiff price, for it was forced to accept the legitimacy of the Serb “Republic” occupying a third of its territory, which was established through the ethnic cleansing of tens of thousands of Bosnian Muslims.

In exchange for his help in getting the Bosnian Serbs to agree to the Dayton accord, the U.S. treated Milosevic as a virtual ally for the next three years. The U.S. even made sure not to have NATO troops arrest war criminals like Radovan Karadzic, as he could have detailed Milosevic’s role in genocide.

Milosevic’s rehabilitation through the Dayton accords gave him a free hand to do what he has wanted ever since he consolidated power in 1989—impose complete control over the province of Kosova, 90% of whose populace is ethnic Albanian.

U.S. policy did not shift against Milosevic even when Serb paramilitaries began entering Kosova early last year. When the Kosovars turned to the KLA to defend themselves, the administration called them “terrorists.” It was only this fall, when Serbian massacres on the eve of NATO’s expansion became an acute embarrassment, that the U.S. took a more active interest in Kosova.

This spring it convened the Rambouillet conference. As earlier with Bosnia, the U.S. pushed for the disarmament of the liberation forces, by calling for the introduction of 28,000 NATO “peacekeepers” in Kosova and the dismantling of the KLA. The KLA leaders at first balked at this, but later signed on under intense pressure. Whether this is a tactical move on their part to buy time, or an expression of genuine belief in the U.S. as their protector, is hard to say. **It once again shows, nonetheless, that the U.S. proclaims “support” for the victims of aggression only after disarming them from taking action on their own behalf.**

There is no way of knowing now what will result from the U.S. attack on Serbia. The bombing can last weeks, only to lead to a rotten compromise with Milosevic. It could ultimately involve ground troops should the air campaign fail to convince Milosevic to cut a deal. Milosevic is concentrating much of his ethnic cleansing on the northern and western region of Kosova, which contains the critical Trepcja mining region. He may be trying to arrange for a future deal with the West, which would allow him to hold onto a part of Kosova in exchange for “peace.” This is precisely the approach followed by the West in partitioning Bosnia, and it may well take on new life in Kosova.

There is always the chance that Milosevic will falter or be removed by forces within Serbia, though at least in the short term the bombing strengthens him by allowing him to parade as the “victim” of U.S. militarism. The fighting could also spill over into neighboring Albania, Macedonia, and Bosnia.

What is not in doubt is that the bombing is doing serious damage to relations with Russia. Russia has decided to end any collaboration with NATO because of the bombing. On March 26 Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov said that U.S. leaders should be tried as war criminals. Russia has been quietly sending arms to Serbia, in violation of the international embargo, and it may now begin to do so openly.

Russia’s government may be in no position to directly challenge the U.S., given its collapsing economy. But nationalist elements, who are waiting in the wings to the

right of Yeltsin, would very much like to do so. Have U.S. rulers become so dizzy with success over their victory in the Cold War that they feel they can totally disregard Russia? Or is their thirst for military adventurism so excessive that they’re willing to deliberately antagonize it so as to justify further military expansion of NATO?

BREAKING THROUGH THE BARRIERS

The disorientation generated by the U.S. attacks on Serbia impacts the effort to project a liberatory alternative to capitalism itself.

This can be seen by looking at what is involved **ideologically** with NATO’s expansion. NATO’s expansion was formalized on March 12 at a ceremony in Independence Missouri, which brought NATO officials together with the foreign ministers of Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic.

The meeting promoted a spectacular rewriting of history. Polish Foreign Minister Bronislaw Geremek said NATO’s expansion “validated the deeds of those who revolted against Soviet domination in the Budapest uprising of 1956, the Prague Spring of 1968, and the Solidarity movement that was born in Gdansk, Poland” in 1980. Janos Martonyi, Hungary’s Foreign Minister, and others, made the same point.

This stands everything on its head. The Hungarian Revolution of 1956, which pried Marx’s humanism from the archives, the Prague Spring of 1968, with its slogan “Socialism with a human face,” and the Polish Solidarity movement of 1980-81, which at first projected a concept of workers’ control of production, were reduced to a straight line of march to Western capitalism! The Reason of the East European masses who aspired for a new humanism is being erased from history.

Much of this rewriting of history flows from the contradictions contained in the collapse of Communism in 1989. While the collapse of the state-capitalist regimes that called themselves Communist was a major step forward, by 1989 there was a move away from working out any connection to Marx’s Marxism. The notion of a “self-limiting revolution,” promoted by the leaders of Solidarity in 1981, developed by the late 1980s into the notion of “the end of revolution” and the “death of Marxism.” This standpoint defines a generation of post-1989 activists and intellectuals. Taking their own mentality as the yardstick of history, these intellectuals see in past history nothing but a reflection of the vacuousness of their own thought.

What is involved here is an effort to subsume the subjectivity of freedom struggles which emerged in the post-World War II era and thereby convince the masses that they have no choice but to place their destiny in the hands of state powers like the U.S.

This is extremely dangerous. For it is impossible to avoid getting sucked into the tentacles of capitalism if we skip over the Idea of freedom that has been integral to history, as expressed in actual freedom struggles and in actual philosophies of freedom.

The nature of today’s attack on Serbia provides the sharpest proof of this. It is acting as a distorting lens turning everything on its head, in making it appear as if the U.S. is an enemy of Serbia and a friend of Kosova. As a result, those opposed to Milosevic are accommodating themselves to the bombing of Serbia, while those opposed to the bombing of Serbia are accommodating themselves to the denial of rights to the Kosovars. Both approaches lead to a dead end. Just as no movement for self-determination can avoid having its aims narrowed if it supports U.S. militarism, so no anti-militarist movement can avoid having its aims narrowed if it does not support the struggles for self-determination in Kosova and Bosnia.

Yet it is by no means easy to strike out on such an independent path. It requires that political perspectives be rooted in a philosophy of liberation that expresses a concept of new human relations free from all forms of exploitation.

What makes it hard to work this out today is that, unlike prior historic moments, issues within Marxism do not define the terrain of political struggle and discussion. It makes it hard to work out a comprehensive response to crises and easy to accept their phenomenal expression as the true reality.

It was to help overcome this problem that our book *Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western Civilization*, does not rest content with reproducing our political analyses, important as they are. We also included in it an essay by Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., entitled “A post-World War II View of Marx’s Humanism, 1843-83; Marxist Humanism in the 1950s and 1980s.” This essay restated her original discoveries of what is alive in the totality of Marx’s Marxism in light of the growing crises in capitalism and the historic-philosophic development of Marxist-Humanism.

As we wrote in that book, “Because Marxist-Humanism’s entire body of development centers on responding to the question, ‘what happens after the revolution,’ its dialectical development provides powerful direction for filling the void in the projection of a liberating alternative to existing society...The fact that today’s crises have become so total that even former socialist humanists in Yugoslavia such as Mihailo Markovic became major architects of ethnic cleansing, says volumes about how deep and uncompromising must be our effort to become rooted in a philosophy of total freedom. In this sense, Dunayevskaya’s essay, written before the outbreak of the carnage in Bosnia, presents the ground from which to transcend the crisis in thought which helped lead to it” (p. 5).

—March 29, 1999

Talks air dissent on sanctions

Chicago—Kathy Kelly of Voices in the Wilderness spoke at the Autonomous Zone here on Friday, March 19. Voices is a humanitarian group that delivers medical supplies to Iraq in open defiance of the UN sanctions, and Kelly traveled to Iraq numerous times. She came back as a witness to the sufferings of the Iraqi people and described what their everyday lives are like.

She spoke of visiting hospitals without adequate supplies and of how thousands of children are dying every month of simple causes like diarrhea. The poorest, youngest, weakest, and sickest are suffering the most. One Iraqi told her that they would “rather have bombs than sanctions” because that latter is the real mass killer.

Kelly also reminded people here that the sanctions were actually strengthening the regime of Saddam Hussein, which the U.S. finds preferable to “instability.” The same point was made that evening at another meeting on Iraq at Northwestern University with Denis Halliday, former UN official who quit over the sanctions issue which he termed “genocide.”

“None of us have any affection for Saddam Hussein, but that doesn’t give us a right to murder the Iraqi people,” he declared. He also described the way cultural life has been disrupted, for example, by UNSCOM inspectors entering schools to destroy chemistry textbooks. And he described a new generation of Ba’th politicians moving further right-ward and toward more confrontation as in the current situation in the “no-fly zones.”

There were about 50 people at each of these meetings. It was significant that you didn’t hear some of the self-defeating politics of the movement against the Gulf War, either in support of sanctions or of Saddam Hussein’s brutal regime. Despite the lack of demonstrations against the U.S.’s continued bombing of Iraq, there seems to be some rethinking going on in the movement here. It may be a needed, belated first step toward a renewal of the anti-imperialist movement.

—Participants

Join the discussion now in progress on...

The Dialectic of Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis

In light of NATO’s bombing of the Serbian military apparatus, posed by Western rulers as an alternative to Milosevic’s ethnic cleansing in the Balkans, we need to raise the specter of the Idea of freedom which the rulers are trying so hard to erase from memory, because it is impossible to penetrate through the obfuscating character of the present political moment without it.

A philosophy of liberation has, in a word, become more imperative than ever to grasp the real

nature of the “topsy-turvy world” revealed by the U.S.-led attack on Serbia.

All of this makes our ongoing work in these classes more relevant than ever, since the dialectic and humanism of *Capital* can arm us with the concepts needed to penetrate through the obfuscating forms of appearance of today’s social realities.

For a syllabus and a schedule of classes, contact the News and Letters Committee nearest to you. See the directory on page 7.

Class 1

The Origin and Scope of *Capital*: Marx’s Re-creation of Hegel’s Dialectic

Class 2

The Phenomenon of Capitalism: The Commodity-Form

Class 3

The Essence of Capitalism (I): The Labor Process

Class 4

The Essence of Capitalism (II): The Labor Process and the Transformation of the Value of Labor Power into Wages

Class 5

The Notion of Capitalism: The Absolute General Law of Capitalist Accumulation

Class 6

The Logic of Capitalist Crisis: Overproduction, “Underconsumption,” or the Decline in the Rate of Profit?

Youth Chicago Mumia conference says 'Get on the bus!'

by Kevin Michaels

Activists from across the midwest who are involved in the movement to free radical Black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal from Pennsylvania's death row gathered at Chicago's Harold Washington College on March 20 to plan and strategize for the upcoming "Millions for Mumia" march in Philadelphia on April 24. The day-long event, called "Race for Justice—The Midwest Conference to Stop the Execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal" was hosted by a number of organizations active in Mumia's defense and featured two plenary sessions and several workshops.

The day began with a panel which included Pam Africa from the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, C. Clark Kissinger from Refuse and Resist and Jed Stone, lawyer for Illinois death row inmate Willie Enoch. Pam Africa detailed the nationwide preparation for the upcoming march, while Kissinger discussed the current status of Mumia's legal case and the crucial necessity of winning an evidentiary hearing in a federal court for Mumia this year. Jed Stone spoke about the connections between Mumia's case and that of Puerto Rican scholar and independentista José Solís Jordán, who was recently convicted of

participation in a bombing primarily on the evidence of an admitted agent provocateur (see page 1).

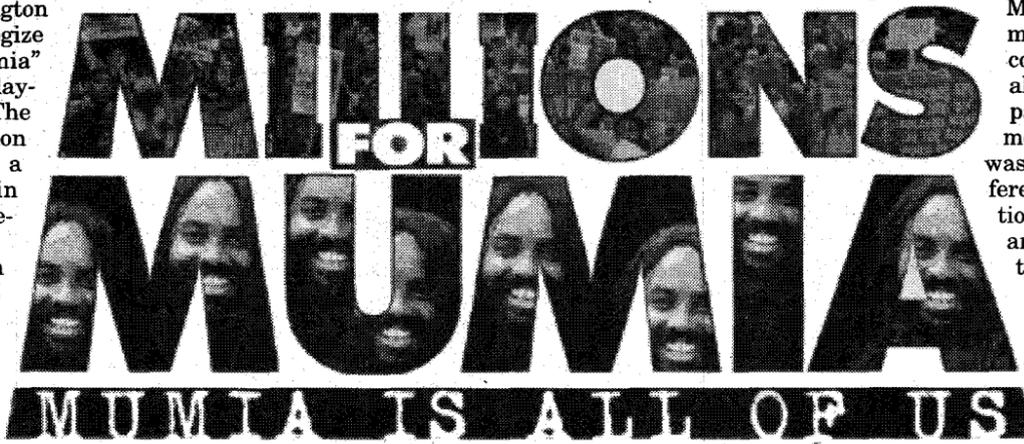
Although the conference had many positive features—including a live telephone hookup with Stanley

It was not simply that the number in attendance, somewhere around 200 people at its peak, was disappointing for a city as important as Chicago, but more significantly that the event lacked the feeling of being an integral part of a strong movement. If Mumia is to be set free, it is without argument that support for him will have to come from beyond the ranks of those already mobilized. The presence and active participation of at least a dozen family members of wrongfully convicted prisoners was evidence that the organizers of the conference have had some success in this direction, but overall the day underscored the amount of work and thought necessary in the coming months.

Although some activists might balk at the contention that thinking will be part of the struggle to free Mumia, a successful movement will have to come to a profound theoretical understanding of what his case means. Mumia himself is quite forward about the importance of the struggle of the mind, particularly the Black American mind, against the forces which would oppress, cage and limit it. Now that the all-time-high number of Blacks in prison and jail is a matter of public record, it is of highest priority for the movement to free Mumia to theorize the relationships of his case, his long record of writing about the racism and injustice of American civilization and the current stage of the offensive against the unemployed and underemployed that the staggering incarceration statistics represent. Those statistics also represent a caging of the creative potential of the minds that Mumia has made a career of championing.

April 24 will mark the end of the stage of Mumia's struggle which began in October 1998 with the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's rejection of his Post Conviction Relief Appeal. It will mark the beginning of a new stage—one which will determine if he lives or dies. The outcome of what faces us will depend on whether or not the movement is up to practical and theoretical challenge which faces it.

Get on the bus for Philadelphia!



Howard, one of ten Illinois Death Row inmates convicted as a result of confessions extracted by torture at the hands of former Chicago police lieutenant Jon Burge who are organizing from inside the prison walls—it was not the success that this period of Mumia's struggle demands.

Mass self-activity in Iran's first revolution

*Editor's note: This is a shortened version of a review of scholar Janet Afary's **The Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906-11**, published in 1996 by Columbia University Press. It originally appeared in the British Marxist-Humanist journal **Hobgoblin**.*

The Iranian revolution of 1906 to 1911 attempted to introduce democratic freedoms and set the country on a path of independent development. It briefly established government by a *Majlis* or parliament and transformed a despotic monarchy, the tail end of the Qajar dynasty, into a constitutional one. The contradictions that emerged included the clash between secular demands for intellectual and personal liberty and the demands of the powerful clergy that Islamic law should prevail. It was eventually crushed with military force, by the Russia of Tsar Nicholas II, aided and abetted by Britain's Liberal government. One of the important revolutions of the early 20th century, it had much in common with events in Russia, China and Mexico around the same time, but is comparatively little known.

Janet Afary has written a comprehensive account of this crucial period in Iran's history, based on copious original research. While giving due attention to the actions of governments and parties, political, military and religious leaders, foreign diplomats and financial advisers, her main emphasis is on the grassroots of the revolution, peasants, artisans and fishermen, and women revolutionaries. She explores the diversity of social groups, political tendencies, religious beliefs and ethnic and linguistic backgrounds that composed the revolutionary movement. Another major theme is the form of direct local democracy that the people created for themselves, the *anjumans*.

MASS UPSURGE

Discontent at despotic rule and foreign domination came to a head in the years 1905 and 1906. Adopting a traditional form of protest known as *bast*, many townspeople of Tehran gathered at religious shrines, and later at the British legation, and claimed sanctuary. At this time, Russia was the imperialist power with the strongest presence and was most resented; Britain was expected to be sympathetic to the call for constitutional government. Yielding to popular pressure, Muzaffar al-Din Shah agreed to the formation of a *Majlis*. This body was elected by a limited male franchise depending on property and professional status, but included some representatives from the craft guilds.

Assemblies, known as *anjumans*, were created everywhere. Initially formed to monitor elections to the

Majlis, they quickly took on other functions including raising bodies of armed volunteers to defend the *Majlis*, and became the main form of political expression for the masses. Afary shows that the *anjumans* were diverse in status, social composition and ideological direction. Some had official standing within the constitutional order; others were unofficial or even illegal. Some, especially in Azerbaijan and Gilan, were radical and welcomed the participation of ethnic and religious minorities.

WOMEN IN THE FOREFRONT

In a society permeated by traditions of male domination and female subordination, women seized hold of the revolution as an opportunity to win their own freedom. Women formed their own *anjumans*, published journals attacking such practices as veiling and polygamy, and took the initiative in setting up schools for girls. At the same time as the militant campaign for women's suffrage was underway in Britain, Iranian women demanded the right to vote and participate in political life.

The *Majlis* discouraged, and later banned, these village *anjumans*, often sending troops to close them down. When the constitutional government did abolish the *tuyul* (roughly, feudal) system of land holding, it transferred the revenues of the villages from individual landlords to the state, instead of giving the peasants themselves the right to the land and its harvest.

Afary identifies this failure to address the needs of the peasants as an important cause of the failure of the Constitutional Revolution. Eventually the Tsar's forces intervened to stifle Iran's fledgling democracy. In an unconstitutional coup, the Regent and his Cabinet ordered the *Majlis* to disband, imposed martial law and banned all meetings of *anjumans* and publication of newspapers. Nicholas II ordered his troops to "act quickly and harshly." Like Russia itself in the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, Iran now underwent a savage counter-revolutionary repression.

The author's approach is dialectical and multi-dimensional, drawing critically on the ideas of a wide range of anti-determinist and humanist Marxist writers, theoreticians and historians.

Afary contests the common western perception of predominantly Muslim Middle Eastern countries such as Iran as "inherently rigid, unbending and unreceptive to progress." This view, she argues, ignores "decades of Russian, British and U.S. domination of Iranian politics and the impact of their imperialist policies on the democratic movements of twentieth-century Iran, when, in fact, two attempts to build a more democratic society in Iran, the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-1911, and the post-World War II nationalist government of Mohammad Musaddiq, were undermined through direct imperialist interventions." She points out the contradictory nature of Iran's relationship with the West. Within the imperialist world system, Iran's economy and politics were distorted to serve the interests of western capitalism, yet the West was also a source of progressive and liberatory ideas, democracy, socialism and feminism. Not all international contacts were with the West however: there were also significant exchanges with Turkey, India, Russia and the Transcaucasian countries.

The barriers to progress, Afary argues, were both external and internal. Her analysis looks at many strands within Iranian society, and the involvement of each in the revolutionary process, as well as "the problematic role of religion." She recognizes the importance of culture and ideology as active factors shaping historical development, and not mere "reflections" of the economic base. She proposes that an understanding of the 1906-1911 revolutionary period, its achievements and limitations, can help to guide today's freedom movements in Iran.

—Richard Abernethy

Bay Area Mumia conference

Berkeley, Cal. — On March 6, a Western Regional Conference entitled "Race for Justice: Stop the Execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal" was held on campus at UC Berkeley. An all day event attended by over 1,000 participants was a follow-up to the Critical Resistance prisoner solidarity conference held at the end of September. "Race for Justice" had over 40 discussion panels, with speakers ranging from Pam Africa, Dorsey Nunn, Luis Talamantez, and Bear Lincoln, to Bob Mandel, organizer of the Oakland Schools Teach-In, to various officials from local labor councils and independent labor activists, and speakers from different groups focusing on prison issues or the criminal injustice system.

Of the diverse panel discussions the most inspirational were "Young Voices in the Struggle for Mumia: High School Activists and Youth Linking Police Brutality, the Criminal Justice System & Racism with the Fight to Free Mumia", and "The Teach-In in the Oakland Schools: How we did it." Featured speakers from the teach-in were the students and teachers from the Oakland High Schools, recent targets of vehement condemnation and derogatory stereotyping from local politicians, the newsmedia, and editorializing attacks by both Black and white leaders of "respectable" society.

Monica Banks, one of the Castlemont High students who started Youth Against Community Injustice for a Purpose (YACIN) said "I do not care what the school board thinks about my education on controversial cases. If the teachers cannot teach it, I will."

Teeka Buchanan, another student, noted that "the average age of the Black Panthers was 21. All these politicians and administrators are obviously threatened by the youth and the confidence youth have in themselves."

Another student added, "I say we should learn about all current events, because if we don't we'll just end up more ignorant. If all they taught us was to read and write perfectly, what would that work for, if we didn't know anything?"

Phillip Jones, a classmate, said "What he (Shannon Reeves, chair of the NAACP's Oakland chapter) said about education and balancing check-books just angered me. This is supposed to be a leader of the Black community and he considers us inferior-minded. Education shouldn't be just reiterating, just reciting. A lot of people say, why are you doing this, you don't even know him personally. But Mumia could be me, could be one of my friends, or my family."

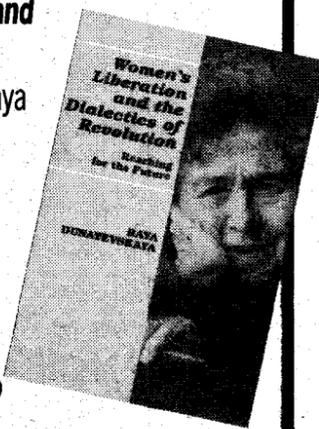
The inhumanity in prisons is a reflection of the inhumanity of the whole of this society. The students' idealism, finding the connections between Mumia's case, their own struggle to even learn about it, and their condemnation of the whole system, can be a beginning of a serious exploration of a philosophy of liberation. As one woman put it: "We at YACIN will stand tall and proud until the shackles on our feet, hands and minds are gone."

—Htun Lin

For more on the revolutionary role of women in Iranian history, see "Iran: Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in, Revolution (1979)" in **Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution** by Raya Dunayevskaya.

New edition published by Wayne State University Press.

SEE PAGE 9 TO ORDER.



Our Life and Times

Central America after Mitch and Clinton

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

President Bill Clinton traveled to Central America March 8-11 prepared to demonstrate his official concern for the tens of thousands of people suffering hunger, disease, homelessness and unemployment in the aftermath of Hurricane Mitch.

Overshadowing Clinton's trip is the "unnatural" disaster of decades of U.S. government support for military regimes and their death squads. The last U.S. president to visit Central America was Ronald Reagan in 1982, who came to lavish praise and money on the contras.

The results of U.S. policy in Central America were summarized for one country, Guatemala, when the independent Commission for Historical Clarification issued a report in February, condemning the state for torture, kidnappings and executions of nearly all the 200,000 people killed since the anti-left war began in the 1960s.

The report was blunt in confirming the "open" secret of U.S.-CIA support of successive military dictatorships. It was equally direct in calling the military campaign in the countryside "genocide," the "aggressive, racist and extremely cruel nature" of which "resulted in the massive extermination of defenseless Mayan communities." The charge of genocide is not covered by the various amnesties which have been passed to shield the military.

The report also concluded that U.S. government sponsorship and protection of U.S. companies "exercised pressure to maintain the country's archaic and unjust socio-economic structure."

Clinton did acknowledge U.S. responsibility for propping up the military in Guatemala and El Salvador, using Honduras as one big U.S. military base, and funding the contras in Nicaragua by characterizing past U.S. covert and open aid and comfort to the military butchers as a "mistake." In El Salvador, at the height of war, the U.S. was funnelling \$400 million a year; now it is down to \$34 million.

Clinton's talk of a new "springtime of renewal" in U.S.-Central America relations sounded hollow in light of the

India's Dalits

The situation of India's 200 million Dalits (Untouchables) has come to prominence once again this year after two horrific massacres in Bihar State. On Jan. 25, an upper caste landlord's militia, the Ranvir Sena, murdered 22 Dalits during a night raid on the village of Shanker Bigha. This was followed by another massacre of 12 Dalits on Feb. 11 in Narayanpur, another Bihar village. All of this is in response to a movement by Dalits for civil and human rights and in the context of India's rightist, Hindu fundamentalist government at the national level, elected less than a year ago.

The present government of Bihar, which has done nothing about the massacres, bases itself not among the landlords but among lower caste groups. However, it continues to exclude Dalits from any real power. Despite this and the Bihar government's blatant corruption, some parts of the Indian Left, including the Stalinist Communist Party (Marxist), have tried to form coalitions with Bihar's government, supporting it against an attempted takeover by the central government.

Elsewhere in India, Dalits have organized protest groups that have begun to work alongside Muslims, another frequent target of upper caste Hindu chauvinists. This has been true in Tamil Nadu in the south.

Last December, 1,000 Dalit women participated in a nationwide Convention against Untouchability and Dalit Women's Oppression. Women often bear the brunt of untouchability, which can include anything from denial of access to village wells or rape with impunity by upper caste men.

pressing needs of the people. A huge portion of agribusiness has been wiped out for the near term, from coffee in Nicaragua, to bananas in Guatemala and Honduras. Over 40,000 rural workers and their families depend on the banana industry alone in Honduras. The large U.S. growers, Chiquita and Standard Fruit (Dole), are already rebuilding, and a great part of foreign aid funding is to be spent directly on the infrastructure so these foreign capitalists can get back on their exploitative feet.

It's also clear that capital, especially in the export sphere, is relentless in resisting the growing labor struggles in Central America, on the plantations and in the maquiladoras. Union activists in Honduras, who have waged a bitter decade-long struggle against Chiquita and Standard Fruit, say that the growers are using the disaster of Mitch, when most banana workers don't have jobs and the power to strike, to change work rules, adding more jobs onto each laborer. They fear that when the next harvest comes in, there will be far fewer workers.

In February, the clothing manufacturer Phillips-Van Heusen closed its Guatemala City factory—the only

Pinochet's arrest stands



Opponents of former Chilean dictator, torturer and murderer, Augusto Pinochet, cheered in London, March 24, after a British court upheld his arrest last October for human rights violations. However, he will be held accountable for only acts committed during the last two years of his 17-year reign of terror.

Women in Pakistan

"Women are born to die—that is what men think," a woman doctor told a French reporter. The *Le Monde* reporter, Annick Cojean, had traveled to the city of Rahim Yar Khan in Pakistan's Punjab Province to investigate the conditions of women on the eve of International Women's Day. In this extremely conservative area of Pakistan, only 23% of women ever get to see a doctor. Fully 80% of births take place at home. This is due not only to poverty, but also to social constraints against women leaving the home. All of this is justified in the name of Islam.

Cojean asked a group of village men if they treated their daughters and sons equally. The startled response: "Certainly not! They do not receive the same amount of food, clothing, or education. There's not enough money for everyone. We are very disappointed when a girl is born."

At a nearby health center, a young woman staff member burned with anger over these conditions: "A woman is nothing, possesses nothing, not a single rupee, not the right to travel, not that of expression. The inheritance of her parents is reserved for her brothers. If she leaves her husband, she is nothing but a stray dog." Resistance takes the form of a small but growing women's movement, found mainly in the large cities.

unionized shop of the some 200 export-oriented apparel factories there. Workers had struggled to improve wages and working condition for six years and finally won a union contract in 1997.

The Clinton administration did not leave behind any substantive promises for the Central American governments which are clamoring for long-term debt relief and entry into a NAFTA-esque market arrangement with the U.S. Instead, it is still intent on deporting the thousands of Mitch refugees who took matters into their own hands by heading north.

Recent Kurdish upheavals

A wave of Kurdish protests swept the world in February immediately after the kidnapping of Abdullah Ocalan, the head of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK). Turkish agents with the support of the U.S. State Department and CIA hunted down Ocalan for several months as he fled from one country to another while seeking asylum, and then kidnapped him back to Turkey. The anger the Kurds feel towards this treachery is boundless.

The recent upheavals have highlighted the racist and chauvinist policies perpetrated not only by the Turkish government, but also by Iranians and Arabs in countries where the Kurds live. The UN Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination in March issued a condemnation of the "suppression of fundamental rights and identity of the Kurds as a distinct people."

Iran has a population of nearly five million Kurds who are mostly Sunni Muslims. They were the first to challenge the direction of the 1979 revolution and to take up arms against the establishment of an Iranian-Shiite Islamic Republic. In February, just as the protests in Europe were taking place, thousands of demonstrators in Iranian Kurdistan appeared in several cities to protest the kidnapping of Ocalan.

As the angry protests continued, they turned against the Iranian government as well. While chanting "Down with the Islamic Republic," the demonstrators were fired upon by the Islamic Republic's guards and at least 13 were killed in the city of Sanandaj. A state of emergency was declared in Sanandaj and several other Kurdish cities.

The Syrian government continues to downplay the actual number of Kurds (nearly one million) living in that country. The Syrian ambassador was recently quoted as saying that there are only 80,000 Kurds in Syria, calling them "infiltrators."

Iraq continues its ethnic cleansing of Kurds from the oil producing regions in and around Kirkuk. Nearly 100,000 have been driven out in recent years, as the alleged U.S. air protection of the northern zones continues. Iraq's constitution, written in the wake of the 1958 revolution, several years before the Ba'ath regime's coming to power, recognizes the Kurds as a people. But the Ba'ath regime, with its amalgam of national-socialist ideology foisted onto Arab aspirations, has done everything in its power to obliterate the gains of that revolution. Its racist campaign to ethnically cleanse the Kurds during the 1980s Anfal campaign has been amply documented.

The Left for the most part has taken an attitude towards the Kurds that betrays a lack of understanding of the character and reality of the Kurdish movement. Some imprison the Kurdish movement within a narrow nationalist framework; others demand that it forego its specific character and fight for an abstract unity. Both put forth the idea that all Kurdish factions "should" put aside their differences and unite, either to form a unitary state or to join their "brethren." Such a unity would be at the price of erasing the long history and lessons learned from the contradiction in and achievements of the Kurdish movement for freedom. —Cyrus Noveen

NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES

Who We Are And What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxist-Humanists that since its birth has stood for the abolition of capitalism, both in its private property form as in the U.S., and its state property form, as it has historically appeared in state-capitalist regimes calling themselves Communist as in Russia and China. We stand for the development of new human relations, what Marx first called a new Humanism.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcat strikes against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signaled a new movement from practice that was itself a form of theory. *News & Letters* was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation.

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-1987), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the

National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works, *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today* (1958), *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973), and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982) spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

This body of ideas challenges all those desiring freedom to transcend the limitations of post-Marx Marxism, beginning with Engels. In light of the crises of our nuclearly armed world, it becomes imperative not only to reject

what is, but to reveal and further develop the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present. The new visions of the future which Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are rooted in her discovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a new Humanism and in her re-creation of that philosophy for our age as Marxist-Humanism. This is recorded in the documents on microfilm and open to all under the title *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development*.

Dunayevskaya's philosophic comprehension of her creation and development of Marxist-Humanism, especially as expressed in her 1980s writings, presents the vantage point for re-creating her ideas anew. Seeking to grasp that vantage point for ourselves and make it available to all who struggle for freedom, we have published Dunayevskaya's original 1953 philosophic breakthrough and her final 1987

Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (1989), and donated new supplementary volumes to the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*. News and Letters Committees aims at developing and concretizing this body of ideas for our time.

In opposing this capitalistic, racist, sexist, heterosexist, class-ridden society, we have organized ourselves into a committee form of organization rather than any elitist party "to lead." We participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our *Constitution* states: "It is our aim... to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate mass activities from the activity of thinking. Send for a copy of the *Constitution of News and Letters Committees*.