

Editorial

The failure of six weeks of U.S. and NATO bombing to stop Serbia's genocidal attack on Kosova has brought the region to a crossroads. Serb troops have forced 1.5 million Kosovars from their homes and have murdered and raped thousands. Faced with a major debacle, the U.S. is planning an extended bombing campaign and possibly the introduction of ground troops, while leaving the door open to a Russian-mediated deal with Serbia's Milosevic. Yet the U.S. continues to shunt aside the force which can stop Serbia and reverse ethnic cleansing—the Kosova Liberation Army (KLA).

When Serb troops invaded Kosova in force in March, Milosevic boasted that he would eliminate the KLA in five days. He failed to do so. Despite massive destruction and loss of life and a shortage of arms and materiel, the KLA is regrouping and has expanded its operations. Thousands of Kosovars arriving in Albania from Germany, Switzerland, England and elsewhere, as well as thousands inside Kosova and in the refugee camps fleeing Serbian forces, are swelling the KLA's ranks.

The extent of this was shown in late April when thousands of KLA fighters defended 250,000

Support the Kosovar resistance!

Albanian civilians from ethnic cleansing in the Lapski and Shalja region of north Kosova, which contains the Trepeca mines.

According to one report, "Along with trying to protect Kosova Albanians, the KLA fighters are trying to prevent Yugoslav forces from completely depopulating it and securing the northern region as part of a potential partition offer. Fearful of such a deal between Belgrade and the West, KLA sources say they are concentrating their men and materiel in these strategic areas in the north, which Belgrade would need to control before suing for peace."

Meanwhile, the KLA's fourth brigade, operating in the mountains along the Yugoslav-Albanian border, has stepped up its operations. Mike Boettcher of CNN who accompanied it reported that "the guerrilla army shows signs of a gathering momentum aimed at striking back into the heart of Kosova."

The events of the past weeks have transformed the KLA from a group of disparate rebels into a force which has the support of virtually all Albanians inside and outside of Kosova. A potentially revolutionary subjective source of resistance to genocide has emerged which demands our

solidarity!

THE KLA DEMANDS OUR CRITICAL SUPPORT

Since the outbreak of the bombing campaign, KLA commanders say they have been increasingly brushed aside by the U.S. and NATO. The KLA's calls for material and logistical support have gone unheeded.

One KLA commander stated, "We have a well organized army and if we get armed very well, we can confront Serb forces. Neither Americans nor Germans nor British can push Serbs from Kosova. This has to be done by us."

The U.S., however, remains averse to allowing the Kosovars to decide their own fate. It has long opposed independence for Kosova. When the KLA began to undertake major actions in response to Serbian attacks in 1998, the State Department denounced it as a "terrorist" organization. When the U.S. promoted its "peace" plan at Rambouillet this spring, it stipulated that the KLA disarm. Though the KLA at first balked at this, it signed on after coming under intense pressure from U.S. officials.

When the U.S. finally decided to intervene against

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NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

Vol. 44 — No. 4

MAY 1999

50¢

Black World

Touchstone of 'American civilization'



by Lou Turner

As aware as we are that we are experiencing a violently changing world, we are much less aware that with everything we learn from that experience we are also forming a new concept of the world. World-historic events like the war in the Balkans, and events much closer to home such as the emerging anti-brutality movement sparked by the Amadou Diallo murder in New York City, and before that the NYPD torture of the Haitian immigrant Abner Louima, as well as the anti-death penalty movement that has grown up around cases like that of Mumia Abu-Jamal and a whole slew of wrongful convictions in the state of Illinois, are being connected in the minds of many. And then the Columbine High School murder rampage happens.

The meaning we thought we grasped of this changed world seemed almost to evaporate. This experience didn't fit in our developing concept of the world. In fact, we have only forgotten how we came to understand the meaning of such events as Kosova, on the one hand, and the racist low-intensity war on Black life in these United States, on the other. This forgetfulness marks every transition in our attempt to conceptually grasp the meaning of "American civilization."

The violence that so grips Black communities, whether of the police-state kind or the self-inflicted kind that arises from the depths of a social alienation created by a quarter century of Black economic devastation, has, as Malcolm X said at the time of the assassination of President Kennedy, "come home to roost."

Black life has never been anything but cheap in America. In the carnage of two deranged neo-fascist youth at Columbine, white America found that it was not spared such hatred, a hatred that its conservative culture the last 25 years convinced it to treat with "benign neglect."

In their Hitler's birthday attack on their classmates, Harris and Klebold, made clear their hatred for Blacks. Indeed, there is no more chilling account of the Columbine massacre than the one of the young white woman student who told of being targeted in the Columbine library by Harris and then being passed over when he saw a Black student. "I hate n—rs!", Harris screamed, and then pumped bullets into the head of Isaiah Shoels.

The media, and apparently much of white America, continue to ignore the racist handwriting on the wall, at the same time as they overindulge themselves in dime-store psychologism about our so-called "youth problem." In the same week as the Columbine massacre, there was more than enough evidence of a youth culture whose mind and spirit stays on freedom at mass youth marches in

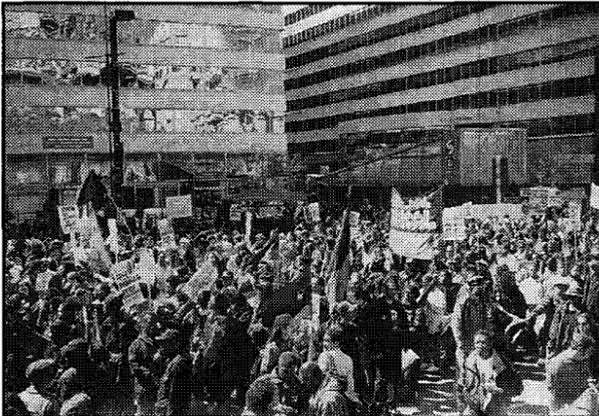
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Labor revolt and solidarity greet automation's 50th exploitative year

by Andy Phillips

Co-author of *The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.*

Detroit—Longshoremen shut down ports along the entire west coast April 24 in solidarity with U.S. political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. On that day, they led a march by thousands in San Francisco demanding a new



Longshoremen led 20,000 marchers in San Francisco, while more than 10,000 supporters of U.S. political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal converged on Philadelphia on April 24, above, to demand his freedom from Pennsylvania's death row. See page 11.

trial for him. These events, a week before May 1, came the closest as any to the spirit of May Day in the U.S. this year.

At the same time the cause for Mumia finds a solid grounding in the political consciousness of labor, a further challenge emerged naturally from their demand: Where is

labor's support for Mumia in Philadelphia where Mumia was seized, tried, and sentenced to death?

Both the new political consciousness and the tasks remaining present something of what's new in labor in 1999. The globalization of production, the rise of service industries, and deepening of economic and social crises comprise the context for the rise of new voices among workers, as well as new contradictions.

NEW INDUSTRIES, NEW MILITANCY

The growth of the service industry has exposed new kinds of alienation and given rise to new militancy. Often the positions are filled by immigrants and women who bring activist attitudes with them. Most recently 73,000 health care workers in California joined the Service Employees union, the biggest union victory since the birth of industrial unionism in the U.S. when autoworkers in Flint, Mich. conducted a new kind of strike, the sit-down.

In the transportation industry, 19,000 United Airlines workers signed with the Machinists Union. Northwest Airlines employees also won important gains, as did Philadelphia transit workers and GM workers in Ohio and Michigan.

The nation's clear and expanding gap between rich and poor has inspired new alliances. Students are increasingly participating in campaigns to organize university employees, as well as participating in organizing Chicago home health care workers and building national support for California Strawberry workers.

At more than 30 universities, students have forced administrators to assure that any item for sale carrying a school logos is produced by workers at a living wage and in safe conditions, targeting Third World sweatshops. Student employees themselves have organized and struck at public institutions across the nation.

Among the most promising developments is in

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Felix Martin, Labor Editor, 1921-1999

Felix Martin, Labor Editor of *News & Letters* from 1983 to his death last month, identified with everyone who was struggling for freedom all his life. "I was always involved with labor," he once said. "My daddy was a miner, organizing the mines, so we were organizers too." From those earliest years in Kentucky to the end of his life, he kept on fighting for freedom whether it was organizing a union or fighting a labor bureaucrat or arguing with his fellow workers to recognize racism as "the whip which the privileged use to keep us in our place — at the bottom." That was the appeal he made specifically to his fellow-workers at the GM South Gate plant in California in the very first article he wrote in *News & Letters* in April 1972, right after he found Marxist-Humanism, and saw in *Indignant Heart* not only Charles Denby's autobiography, but his own.

In her 1980 retrospective-perspective of the first 25 *Years of Marxist-Humanism*, Raya Dunayevskaya wrote that in the mid-1970s the "new militancy of workers white and Black raised again the question of what kind of labor human beings should do" and saw this as what was represented by a white production worker like Felix

Martin joining our Black worker-editor Charles Denby as his West Coast editor. That revolutionary relationship of Black and white is what permeated all of his life from that moment on.

Above all else, Felix Martin was a profound thinker, who manifested Marxist-Humanism's unique concept of "worker AS intellectual." At the memorial meeting for Raya Dunayevskaya, he said that "when I read chapter one of *Philosophy and Revolution* on Hegel, I could just feel the scales peeling off my mental seeing. Hegel wrote, 'Individualism that lets nothing interfere with its Universalism, that is, freedom.' What a smog Raya looked through to be able to say that."

That kind of individualism is precisely what his life manifested. Of all the stories he captivated audiences with as he delivered them in a unique hill twang, the story he most loved to tell was of how he found a way to read *Philosophy and Revolution* while he was working on an assembly line in the factory — reading a paragraph and then mulling it over as he turned to hang a door, his job on the line.

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ON THE INSIDE

Special section, pages 6-7

ROUGH NOTES ON HEGEL'S SCIENCE OF LOGIC

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



Is Marx's *Capital* about women's freedom?

by Terry Moon

Last month, Maya Jhansi ended her column by insisting that classes in Marx's *Capital* "are important for women and 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." Yet much of feminist theory has, for the most part, reduced Marx's philosophy of freedom to economics.

Alison M. Jaggar is an example of a feminist theorist who interprets Marx in a narrow way. Even though her work *Feminist Politics and Human Nature* was written

15 years ago, it remains one of the best examples of the truncated view of Marx that is still being put forth today. Jaggar critiques Marxists—she makes no distinction between post-Marx Marxists and Marx—for theorizing that "once women are fully integrated into wage labor, there is no material basis for the sex specific oppression of women" (p. 223). While post-Marx Marxists and much of the Left did claim that all our problems would be solved if only we were integrated into the labor force, this was **not** Marx's idea.

In a much maligned paragraph Marx writes that "modern industry, by assigning as it does an important part in the process of production outside the domestic sphere to women, to young persons, and to children of both sexes, creates a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes...." Jaggar, like many others, interprets this to mean that Marx thinks that "participation of all in public production" will end "the oppression of any group by another" (p. 225). Jaggar rightly criticizes this idea because she knows that women's oppression is not only linked to the workplace, but "that to reconstruct reality from the standpoint of women requires a far more total transformation of our society and of ourselves..." (p. 389).

But what Jaggar misses is what Marx says in the very next paragraph—that "in its brutal capitalistic form," women's entry into the labor force can be nothing other than a "pestiferous source of corruption and slavery." This makes it obvious that he wasn't saying all women have to do is work. Rather the entire society must be transformed so that the way we produce things would be done in a liberating manner.

What would we learn if, rather than thinking that what Marx said about women and labor was a limitation, we look at what it means for women's liberation today? Marx's chapter on "The Working Day" could have been written yesterday, describing, as it does in great detail, the conditions women and girls are facing right now. It is filled with descriptions that speak to the women and girls as young as 12 and 14 who have become the dominant labor force of multinational factories and sweatshops in the U.S.: "With a working day ranging from 12 to 14 or 15 hours, night-labor, irregular meal-times, and meals mostly taken in the workrooms themselves, pestilent with phosphorus, Dante would have found the worst horrors in his *Inferno* surpassed in this industry" (p. 356).

Moreover, we need to look at how women's liberation moved from an idea to a movement. The movement didn't only start with Betty Friedan and middle-class women. It was as well working-class women—Black and white—during World War II who went to work in the factories, resisted being forced out of their jobs at the end of the war, and raised questions that today's women's movement is still grappling with.

We can see this in an essay by Raya Dunayevskaya, "On Women in the Post-War World, and the Old Radicals" in *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*. Dunayevskaya writes that the women's experiences in the workplace did transform them to the point where, when they came home, they wished "to establish new relations there, too...They gained a new dignity and a new concept of what their relations to their fellowmen and fellowwomen should be, and they

Woman as Reason

refused to submit to the subordinate role in which they had been placed in the home before they got their factory jobs. So where they could not work out the new relations, they took to breaking up the homes..." (p. 32).

Contrary to Jaggar's interpretation, Marx was not saying that working outside the home equaled either socialism or the end to women's oppression. In every subject Marx touched, be it production, anthropology, or history, he was always looking for how human relations were changed. That was his focus because he was trying to work out the creation of a new society built on new human, instead of alienated, relationships.

Marx's studies, unseparated from the history of his time, enabled him to see the possibility of new human relationships, of "new passions and forces," that arise to create a new, truly human world. That is why confrontation with the fullness of Marx can help us make sure that our revolution is total from the start.



Fighting censorship and sexism at U. Memphis

Memphis, Tenn.—The Women's Action Coalition (WAC) has a fight on our hands. We are a University of Memphis student organization, but we noticed that many of our events would never appear in the student newspaper, *The Daily Helmsman*. We heard that the copy editor, Jonathan Cullum, had deliberately censored an announcement we had submitted last month on a safe sex action we did.

WAC member Jennifer emailed him requesting a meeting and he replied that as "a Southern Baptist...I have many objections to the agenda of your group...At the time I made the decision [to block the announcement], I felt a moral imperative not to contribute to the publicity of what I felt was an immoral event."

We told him that we found his behavior unacceptable for a student paper funded by a public university. We demanded: 1) an apology in the paper; 2) to

Who are the real targets in the Balkans?

Editor's note: The following comments by Slavenka Drakulic, Croatian journalist and feminist, first appeared in Zaginflat, a Zagreb newsletter.

Day in and day out Serbian citizens are holding hands or gathering in a square in the center of Belgrade, where rock concerts are being held on a daily basis. A paper target is fastened on their chests. They have lunch, read the papers, sleep, watch the news, go to work, and are baking cakes. At night they are disturbed by the explosions of a refinery, factory or ministry and the fear that the rockets could fall 500 meters to the left or right. But differently from the citizens of Sarajevo [from 1992 to 1995], the citizens of Belgrade are not targets, in spite of being accidental victims. They are aware of this and this makes the night bearable, in spite of the fear.

At the same time, a few hundred kilometers away, other citizens of the same state of Serbia are standing in the woods for days in the rain, be it on the border with Macedonia, or at border places where 50,000 people live and die without food and medical help, or squashed in refugee camps across the border in Albania. They have no place to go back to, no house, no lunch, no news, no concert, no native land, nothing. They do not need a paper target, they do not need symbols. They know that they are the targets, every man, woman and child.

One million Albanians have already been depopulated, which is the nicer word for ethnic cleansing. But they are—Albanians. They are something different. And now, these same citizens of Serbia who are not Albanians—the same people who were not concerned by Sarajevo or Srebrenica, nor Dubrovnik or Vukovar, not even Drenica and Racak—dare to parade around with a target on their chests.

For years the Serbs have been rejecting the under-

'Queer Revolution' confab

San Jose, Cal.—A conference entitled "Queer Revolution: To the Left and Over the Barricades" was held April 17 at San Jose State University. Sponsored by the campus group Queer Revolution, this day-long conversation covered such varied topics as Queer left history, labor struggles, civil rights, Marxist philosophy, spirituality and the relation to revolution, sexual fluidity, gender non-conformity, environmentalism, and the Mumia Abu-Jamal movement.

The guest of honor for the event was Harry Hay, founder of the Mattachine Society of the '50s, the Los Angeles chapter of Gay Liberation Front in the early '70s, and the Radical Faeries in the '80s. He spoke of his involvement in radical politics starting with his participation in the dock worker demonstrations in the '30s. His presence was a living reminder of the integrality of queers in all areas of leftist politics.

Though it was a small group, there was a wide variety of radical political perspectives and experience which made for a very dynamic discussion. For instance, a debate arose when Hay gave an essentialist view of queerness, inferring a superiority of queers over heterosexuals. Many in the group argued against this form of biological determinism, asserting that we need to emphasize the liberatory potential of all human beings. Yet we also realized the need to define the unique contributions of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered people to the revolutionary project as a whole.

There was also a very lively discussion around Marxist philosophy and revolution, and the envisioning of a new society that will not only reject oppression of queers, but will promote total liberation for all people.

—Julia Jones

Taking back the night

Memphis, Tenn.—Militant cheers were hollered by the Memphis Radical Cheerleaders squad at the Rhodes College Take Back the Night rally in April.

After the march around the campus where we made sure to yell our chants into the frat boys' windows and had a speakout. Unlike two years ago when Rhodes was only interested in covering up campus rapes, this year a suggestion was made to bring the clothesline project to Rhodes during the time parents visit.

The Clothesline Project is where the dirty linen gets hung in public. Women and children create a message on a T-shirt about domestic violence or rape, and these shirts are hung on a clothesline for all to see. The event can be supplemented with leaflets about the problems of date rape. If Rhodes does that this year, perhaps we won't need a march in 2000.

—Kind Lady and T. Moon

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

Women's organizations in Pakistan have strongly condemned the execution of 29-year-old Samia Sarwar by her family, April 6, in the office of AGHS, a well-known legal aid and human rights group in Lahore. Her parents opposed her attempt to end a ten-year marriage to an abusive husband. No arrests were made and her prominent family has launched an attack—including a public demonstration, April 9, of businessmen and religious fanatics in her hometown of Peshawar—threatening the lives of the human rights activists who supported her.

—Information from *Women Living Under Muslim Laws*

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Fifteen Turkish women living and working in Amsterdam have been conducting a protest—including a hunger strike—since Feb. 2 against government removal of their rights. Although they have lived and worked in the Netherlands for years, the new Koppelingwet Act has removed their child benefits, health care, work, rent rebate, disability and sickness benefits, and housing permits because they are immigrants.

standing that they are at war. The war did not concern them, the war was happening somewhere else. But now, suddenly, they have become victims and that is why they are wearing targets, probably utterly unaware of the unbearable symbolism of this idea.

For the Serbs are not the victims—the Albanians are the victims. Their fascinating autism is reflected in refusing to understand it even then they are being punished, when they are being bombed. They are still not asking themselves: what have we done? Have we really gone wrong somewhere? This lack of every possible doubt, every possible question over their actions is staggering and frightening.

Even today, even if they dare to say something against Milosevic, the Serbian intellectuals and the opposition do not mention the Albanians and their sufferings. They are able to lament over the issue of how the West did not help them, how nobody understands them, and at the same time ignore completely the suffering of their fellow citizens, as if they don't exist. That is why none of them can be deprived of the responsibility of keeping Milosevic in authority, even if they are not aware of this responsibility.

They did not know of the suffering of the Albanians? A real pity. They could have heard and found out about it if they had only wanted to. But this time, as before, they are in unison and homogeneous in lying to the world's face. In spite of testimonies, reports, recordings, facts.

This is why we are witnessing two parallel tragedies in progress. The first is the suffering of the Albanian people, their exodus which is already being called genocide by some people. There is no use in reminding now (but it should not be forgotten) that their fate is being shared by the Croats and Bosnians but also the Serbs from Krajina. The second tragedy is the autism of the Serbian people.

—Slavenka Drakulic

Felix Martin, Labor Editor, 1921-1999

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He credited his meeting up with Marxist-Humanism as what kept him from spending his life in prison for killing his foreman, when it made him see that it was the whole system that needed uprooting and that his life had to be spent on that and not wasted on one foreman. His deep respect for workers as the creators of all value allowed him to understand Marx's *Capital* as if all the categories were specifically about his life.

Most of all, he understood the imperative importance of a revolutionary organization like News and Letters Committees. In one especially powerful report he gave to an N&LC Convention, he told a story about visiting the Sherman tree in Sequoia National Park. "It used to be called the Karl Marx tree," he explained. "It's the largest living thing on this earth that is still growing. That's why it is still the Karl Marx tree to me. It represents the idea of Marx's Marxism, which is the greatest idea still living and still growing. What we're talking about at this Convention is the story of the Karl Marx tree in terms of our ideas and our organization that we have to make sure continues to grow."

The story embodied not only his deep love for N&LC but how deep was his love for nature, which made him a co-thinker with a whole generation of young environmentalists. Felix Martin's love for nature came out of his own multidimensional nature as both farmer and worker, and philosopher. The poetry you heard in his stories came out of the way he combined all of those dimensions spontaneously.

There was no one he met — from someone walking a picket line he came upon and joined, to a fellow-shopper in a grocery store he would engage in discussing the plight of the small farmer today, to the doctors and nurses tending him in the last years of his life — who was not introduced at once to Marxist-Humanism and *News & Letters*.

'True to his class'

Brother Woods [Felix Martin] and I have been friends and comrades close to 40 years. We met on the assembly line at the GM South Gate plant. During those years, Brother Woods and I became "brothers-in-arms" in the fight for justice and equality for the working class.

But our greatest battles for justice and equality for the workers took place every day of our lives on the shop floor and in our union. Every day we not only had to survive, but we had to fight GM management and the leadership of our national and local UAW union.

It is sad that during the witch hunt of the 1950s and 1960s in the auto industry, we lost many true and dedicated comrades because of the "Red" scare that was sweeping the nation. How did Isaac and I not only survive this nightmare, but over the years come to be respected and appreciated by the membership of our local union and now from the retirees group? We won many members of our union for our courage and dedication to our cause. We never backed down or sacrificed our principles.

Brother Woods and I, like most of the working class, have few material possessions to show for a lifetime of work and struggle, yet we are rich beyond measure. We are part of the working class that one day will bring peace, justice and equality to mankind.

In the years ahead, many who are here today, friends and comrades of Isaac, will man the picket lines and march in demonstrations in order to make a better world. Remember always that walking beside you every step of the way, Isaac will be at your side.

We can ill afford to lose a man like Isaac, but we must accept the realities of life. Each of us should pattern ourselves like Isaac who gave so much of himself and asked for nothing in return.

Isaac Woods died a whole man, true to his class, true to his youth, true to his comrades and true to the next generation.

—Rudy Salenta

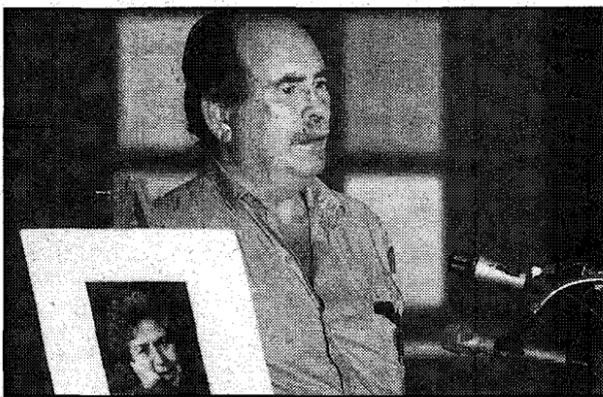
Appeal from Kosova Unions

Pristina, Kosova — The people of Kosova desperately need your help. We appeal to the people of Europe to defend us from this fascist violence. Please, come to Kosova with humanitarian aid, come to show your solidarity, come to see for yourself what is happening. We need you by our side or the Serbian regime's genocide is going to continue until they get their "ethnically pure state."

There is a blockade around Kosova which isolates the suffering people from the outside world. We need you to break this blockade. We need a humanitarian corridor reaching from the outside world right into Kosova. Let the fleeing victims of ethnic cleansing escape their torturers! Let food, medicine, educational supplies, and everything else needed for a human life, reach the communities who are resisting ethnic cleansing. Let Kosova live!

We ask everyone who hears this appeal to unite to organize a "convoy of aid and solidarity." Your action will signal that the people of Europe will not sit back and allow ethnic cleansing and will not allow politicians to make the promise "No more Bosnias" become empty words. Your action will give hope and strength to all the people in Kosova who want to establish a just and democratic society in which everyone can live and work in peace.

—Agim Hyseni and others on behalf of Kosovan miners, health workers and students
Contact Agim Hyseni: Tel/Fax 381 38 26 112. Or Ardiar Kastri: email upsup@albanian.com



He personified the overcoming of the gulf class society imposes between practice and philosophy and made the American Revolution seem imminent. As we mourn his passing and honor his life, it is abundantly appropriate that we are carrying our In Memoriam to this extraordinary American revolutionary in the May Day issue.

—Olga Domanski

Overnite purges militants

Memphis, Tenn. — The movement to get a union in at Overnite Transportation is still going on. But I was fired in February. In order to get rid of the union activists Overnite did background checks on everybody. I was a prime target, as I was one of the 16 people who started trying to organize Overnite Transportation.

When I went to work there seven years ago I had a prison record. But the government gave Overnite a tax break for hiring people like me. Now, all of a sudden, they tried to claim that I left my prison record off my application.

I talked to people in Nashville and the facts are on microfilm that Overnite was given a tax break April 13, 1992, to hire me. It's hard for them to say that they didn't know I had a record when they got a copy of my parole certificate!

We started working with Congressman Harold Ford, Jr. His office staff told us that any day now Overnite will render a decision on all those who were fired. Dealing with Overnite, I've learned not to get too excited about what they say, I wait to see what they actually do.

They are dealing with my case because if they take me back, we're pretty sure they'll take everyone. If Overnite puts me back and I've got a criminal background, then the only difference is Overnite didn't get paid to hire the rest of them. I'm glad I can be a part in getting these guys their jobs back. As for me, I'm just wounded, I'm not dead. I'm a soldier that got injured in the line of duty, but I'll be back in the war in a minute.

—Militant Black Overnite worker

Sears workers win

Olive Branch, Miss. — On March 24, workers at Focus Distribution, Inc. voted 114 to 90 to be represented by IUE/Furniture Workers Local 282. The stunning result was the first election victory by any union in this booming and notoriously anti-union suburb of Memphis. Focus Distribution is a warehouse and shipping operation for Sears appliances. Several past union drives, including a recent one by the Teamsters, had failed.

In January, a Black forklift driver called Local 282 and asked for union pledge cards. He had heard that Local 282 was a militant Black-led union which didn't make deals behind workers' backs. Before Local 282 staff could even get involved, workers had formed their own shop committee and signed up enough co-workers to petition for an election. "The organizing was done so carefully," Local 282 vice-president Ida Leachman told *N&L*, "that the company didn't even know there was a union campaign until the election petition was filed on Feb. 8."

The company fought back with anti-union flyers, meetings and videos. "There are about 260 workers in the warehouse, mostly Black men, but with white workers and women too," Leachman said. Workers said that the attendance policy was manipulated to avoid giving anyone raises, but what made them angriest was the way management talked down to them like children.

The shop committee really ran the union campaign. When the company showed the first anti-union video, claiming that the union would be coming to workers' homes to intimidate them, the workers put out a leaflet the next day saying "This is your campaign. Nobody will be coming to your door. It's your decision."

A white worker named Thomas Langston researched the internet for information on the union, and countered management propaganda with the facts, even putting out his own leaflets. Langston and other workers were passing out leaflets in the company parking lot and the company called the sheriff. They grabbed Langston and said that because he was passing out leaflets on his own time, he was trespassing on company property. After they took him to jail, the company withdrew the trespassing charge, but the state refused to drop a charge of failing to obey a direct order from a police officer.

Leachman is thrilled that a hole has been punched in Olive Branch's anti-union wall. "The company hoped that the arrest would frighten off the workers and kill the union campaign, but it went the other way."

—Michael Flug

Kinship with Black worker's life



The Workshop Talks columnists mourn the death of Felix Martin, the Labor Editor of *News & Letters* and our co-columnist. His was a unique voice. To allow him to speak for himself once more in this space, we reprint his 1979 review of Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*.

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

In the mountains where I grew up, those who couldn't get a job in the mines, and who needed something to eat, sharecropped. They were the really poor and used the corn raised to buy a few other things and for moonshine. The cropping in our area meant you supplied your labor while the man furnished the land, the tools and the seed. Where I was raised it was only white. There weren't any Blacks.

How much rougher it is when your skin is Black. Charles Denby, my friend and editor of *News & Letters*, has just had his *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* published and one chapter deals with sharecropping. In the deep South, where sharecropping was not white and white, but Black and white, the plantation owner gave only the land. The tools and seed and everything else was for the cropper to supply, and you always would end up in a hole to the plantation owner. Certainly the struggle of Appalachian white and Southern Black is similar, but that struggle is deeper and rougher if you are Black.

All through the first part of *Indignant Heart* I felt this kinship with Denby's life, that part of my life resembled his, and at the same time the depth of experience and struggle was profoundly Black. For the Black a run-in with the law was devastating whether guilty or not. Where I was raised we didn't pay attention to the law. We created our own.

When you come to the North, on the surface—for Blacks—it looks free. You can sit where you want. But then Denby explains how he often felt more at home entering through the back door in the South, where he knew where they stood, than the front door in the North, where there was such hypocrisy. I remember my own mountain accent in the North and how people would think of us as stupid mountain people. In Indiana where I first worked after coming North, my revolt against the conditions of work was immediately answered with the call of being just a dumb hillbilly striking out.

Denby in the North found that his slavery was to the boss and machine in place of the plantation owner. In speaking of Auto in the first part of the book he is profound. Twenty-five and more years ago (the first part of the book was written in the early '50s) he was seeing so much on the question of Black and white, of men and women and of conditions of labor—all in the plant—that he anticipates so many of the struggles of workers in the '60s and '70s, like the Black caucuses, and women in the plant, and most especially the fight of workers against the machines, speed-up and against the labor bureaucracy.

The second part of the book, which deals with the last 25 years of Denby's life, is one in which you really see where you are going. It begins with Denby returning South, only it is a very different South. It is a South of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. It is a South of a people on the move. And the North that Denby continues to write of, not alone as observer, but as participant, is now a very different North.

This movement of the Black struggle, of workers against capital, certainly puts the stamp on the second part of the book. It allows a life in the process of becoming to have a certain direction, to find a way to go, and to, in turn, help give a certain direction to the freedom movement.

But it is not the movement alone which did this. The last 25 years of Denby's life has been as editor of this newspaper, *News & Letters*, a workers' paper. That experience as writer and thinker together with the development of a body of freedom ideas—Marxist-Humanism—puts its stamp on Denby's self-development as a revolutionary.

And it is here where my kinship with him is strongest. I have not had his years in association with *News and Letters* Committees. But in the time I have been with them, that self-development of Denby as an individual and as part of this body of freedom ideas, all of which is so forcefully presented in *Indignant Heart*, I have felt within myself. Thus my becoming has taken on a certain pathway toward something very, very different, new and human.

To some of my fellow workers, those who have struggled all their lives and are continuing to struggle, I want to take this book and say, "Look, read this. Here you are." To those who are beginning to struggle and open their eyes I want to say, "Here is a book in which you will find some of yourself." Indeed, anyone who has anything human within them will be able to find something of themselves in this book.



To order Charles Denby's
**Indignant Heart:
A Black Worker's
Journal**

See page 9

Supporting Kosova's struggle for self-determination

London—Since the air attacks against Serbia began veteran Labour Party left-winger Tony Benn and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have been holding demonstrations for "peace" along with Serbian nationalists. Groups like the SWP are engaged in contortions to justify in socialist language their defense of the reactionary Serb state, which they hypocritically attempt to square with defending self-determination for Kosova. Meanwhile, every night nearly 1,000 Kosovans have demonstrated in Trafalgar Square in solidarity with their homeland, which these leftists do not attend.

Those on the Left who are demonstrating for peace have done nothing for Kosova. They never lifted a finger to help when the Workers Aid for Kosova group organized a march last October in London. It was the most working-class demonstration I had been to in years—90% of them were emigre Kosovan workers. The labour movement was represented by a tiny number of union branches and active socialists who made up the rest of the solidarity campaign.

The feeling among people outside the organized Left is not like the Gulf War of 1991. I am encountering none of the cynicism that existed then. Far from it, many are saying "something should have been done a long time ago." There is however cynicism and criticism about the disastrous conduct of this war.

The fundamental issue for those who support freedom for Kosova, and wish to engage in solidarity with its struggle, is not the unprinciples of the peace party but the unprinciples of the war party. The important question is the objectives of this war—what they are and what they should be.

It was the principle of the Irish when the First World War began that "England's misfortune was Ireland's opportunity." Its application resulted in the Easter Rising of 1916. I believe the same principles apply to this freedom struggle.

Such are the contradictions of the present moment that there is a blend of historic opportunity for insurgent



Kosova and terrible tragedy. For there is a tragic similarity to another historic moment of Irish history which could yet happen—Michael Collins and the treaty that partitioned Ireland in 1921. Imposed under the threat of "a bloody terrible war," the war-weary rebels signed the treaty, hoping thereby to regroup their forces. Instead, partition was enforced brutally in the north and the pro-treaty forces in the south were the tools of counter-revolution from within the revolution. Partition looms over Kosova as a serious possibility as well.

Having sat back for ten years crying crocodile tears and colluding with Milosevic, the Western powers have now come to the proclaimed "aid" of Kosova. The bourgeois governments have raised principles in contradiction to the reality of their own objectives. They wage a war against Serbia to force Milosevic to sign on to a deal that will keep Kosova as an autonomous region within Serbia. The unprinciples of the big powers are revealed in the war's whole conduct thus far.

Most disgusting are statements of British Foreign Minister Robin Cook that they could not have expected such an exodus as a result of ethnic cleansing. As if the past ten years had not shown how Milosevic would conduct his war! To add to this hypocrisy the Labour government has just brought forward stricter immigration and asylum laws.

There is a force for liberation—the Kosova Liberation Army (KLA). But will they arm the KLA to inflict a defeat on the Serb forces? No! This indicates that the Western powers do not intend to defeat Serbian forces but strip away their strength until they sign a compromise agreement. But the lesson of Vietnam which the U.S. has still not learned is that you cannot bomb people into submission.

The cause of freedom in this war will be served by a defeat of the Serbian forces in Kosova by the organised forces of the Kosovan people themselves.

There is one important difference between Bosnia in 1995, when the Bosnian forces were on an offensive against the Serbs, and now, in that the KLA is now on the defensive. What will be decisive is the ability of the Kosovans to turn this into a revolutionary war. If the Kosovans can utilise the NATO attacks to the advantage of their self-emancipation, they could not only inflict a defeat on Serbia but also be stronger in relation to the big power maneuvers in the Balkans.

The peace party can see none of these possibilities. It sees two equals in the conflict and believes in a utopian scheme in which differences can be worked out through diplomacy. The irreconcilable relationship between the oppressor and the subjugated people does not figure in their schema.

I do not believe there is a place for the articulation of Marxist-Humanist principles within the peace party. The demand being raised for peace is utterly vacant of any content of freedom. The question I put to those who demand peace is what is their alternative—often it is an alternative they dare not speak. What is needed is a revolutionary war party with clear ideas as to what the objectives of a war for freedom for Kosova should be. If the Western powers will not risk the "bones of a single grenadier" then they should arm the KLA and allow them to defeat the Serbs themselves.

—Chris Ford

Battle of ideas over bombing of Serbia

London—On Saturday, April 10 a march to support Kosova was called by Workers Aid for Kosova which several hundred attended. We marched in the rain across North London to Clerkenwell Green and a rally was held with Kosovars and leftist speakers on the steps of the Marx Memorial Library. Workers Aid announced that they are organising another convoy through Albania as part of a political campaign to open up a corridor for aid into Kosova.

The representative of the Kosova Information Center said, "We are the indigenous population of Kosova. We have never sought to displace other people but have always stood up for human dignity and human rights." The feminist writer Amanda Sebastyn said that she has been in communication with groups like Women in Black and that women in Macedonia have said that they are being kept in the dark by the state media which are not telling them what is going on.

She added that for the Macedonian regime to leave the refugees in that field was an act of murder. Macedonia, she pointed out, is an apartheid state. She apologised for shaking as she detailed the betrayal of those in Belgrade she had worked with in solidarity with Bosnia. Mark Osbourne of Workers Liberty denounced the Left for organising an event the next day in collaboration with Serb fascists.

LEFTISTS TAILEND SERBIA

That rally, on April 11, was sponsored by Tony Benn of the Labour Party and the Socialist Workers Party with its slogan, "Stop the Bombing!" It was attended by 3,000. We handed out a leaflet there entitled, "Why We Are Not Marching For Serbia." The SWP rallying point was intermingled with Serbs and their flags. As we passed one of their leaders, Alex Callinicos, a friend of mine asked him, "Hey, there's a spare Chetnik flag there. Are you going to carry it on the march?"

After about half an hour of passing out leaflets we met a woman from the Mumia campaign who told us the Kosovars were holding a rally at Trafalgar Square, the same destination as this march! We left right away for it. The police were keeping the Kosovars out of the square and had cordoned them off on the other side of the road next to Admiralty Arch. There were about 300 Kosovars, chanting "Out of Kosova, Serbian Police," "UK, USA arm the KLA," "We are ALL KLA."

FIGHTING ETHNIC CLEANSING

An old Indian man was distributing stickers which said "764055 Kosova Concentration Camp." He gave us some, which we put on our jackets. He explained to us that when he was 13 years old, his home in India was destroyed by Hindu extremists, his relatives killed and he had ended up on the streets in Pakistan, so he knew what ethnic cleansing was, and that's why he was here today. When he moved to England he married a European and he said he was now being targeted by Islamic fundamentalists for his mixed-race marriage.

Then the front of the "Stop the Bombing" march came along the Strand. We erupted in fury at the sight of a sea of SWP placards amidst Serb flags and target placards, the banners of the Left, and the Greens and the pacifists, Stalinists, and Welsh Nationalists. As the Serbs under Nelson's Column waved their Chetnik flags at us, we shouted back "Fas-cis-ti! Fas-cis-ti!"

Our relationship with the Left can never be the same again, but we felt great about having "served the writ" on them. Hopefully some of them will know in their bones that they have screwed up, and betrayed everything they believed in and maybe consider our position as an alternative. We should hate the sin, not the sinner, and stand our ground.

—Dave Black

Voice of opposition to ethnic cleansing from Belgrade

Editor's note: The following piece first appeared in *Zaginfletch*, a Croatian anarchist publication.

Belgrade—The situation in Kosova is generally well-known to people in Belgrade, except that I still think a lot more Albanians have been killed than reported. I have heard from a verified source that the Trepcia works are now being used to melt down Albanian bodies instead of ore. I have also heard reports from Pristina [capital of Kosova] that policemen are entering Albanian houses and shooting at everything that moves.

The NATO hits in downtown Belgrade have been very precise, but that does not apply to most attacks outside downtown. The Yugoslav army is very mobile, especially at night, and has suffered few casualties to bombardment except in the first two nights. Most of the troops hide in highly populated residential areas like schools, parks, etc.

Most of the common people in Belgrade are being highly hypocritical, considering NATO attacks on Yugoslavia a bad thing, while at the same time calling the "ethnic cleansing" (combination of genocide and forced eviction of people from their homes) of Kosova Albanians a normal reaction of "us" to "their" attacks.

The most surprising thing to me was that many if not most common people who have had OK beliefs in the past are now readily supporting "our" fight against "their" attacks. Fortunately, most of the previous anti-war campaign activists and other peace activists aren't doing the same, although they are not doing much else either.

NATO has once again demonstrated its alliance with Milosevic in destroying all democratic forces in the region. Most peace and social activists in Belgrade live in constant fear of mobilization. The government media (all media here which have not been closed down yet) has provided no information about the mobilization in Macedonia except from official Macedonian sources until the mobilization boycott started to give effects (when reservists refused to go). The Yugoslav government is systematically covering up true NATO losses, vice-versa.

I fear that the deal between Milosevic and the USA goes far further. I can only guess, but I believe that this entire war has already been agreed upon during one of the Milosevic-Holbrooke meetings.

The supposed "humanitarian aid" from Russia consists of airplane parts to be assembled here and ammo. I've also heard unconfirmed reports of a weapons deal with Ukraine being planned. There is no more future in Yugoslavia for young people.

—Antiwar activist

To understand Kosova today,
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Marchers protest police brutality, demand justice

New York—"No justice, no peace." New York City residents transformed that essential truth into daily activity for a solid two-and-a-half months following the Feb. 4 police murder of Amadou Diallo, an unarmed African immigrant, in a hail of 41 bullets. The demonstrations culminated April 15, when 10,000 people or more marched from the Brooklyn Bridge to lower Broadway in front of the federal building. So many people filled Brooklyn Bridge that you could see neither the beginning nor end of the march.

Billed as a "rally for justice and reconciliation" by a coalition of civil rights, community and religious organizations, unions and politicians, the orderly march and two rallies contrasted with the still-angry mood of the Black working people and youth who turned out in force.

There was a strong representation of union members from the low-wage, mostly Black service and hospital unions. The crowd also included many whites, Latinos and Asians who have come to join the struggle against police brutality through the Diallo movement. Many people carried signs with the names of victims of police beatings and murders.

The protesters were both furious at how deep and wide are racism and brutality, and joyous about so many people coming together to fight back. Many were critical of the demonstration's call for "reconciliation" when nothing has changed and of the ten-point program for reforming the police unveiled there. The influence of politicians and union leaders could be seen in the mildness of the demands and one of them being to raise cops' pay. That one was roundly booed by the crowd every time it was read out.

Earlier protests had more militant themes. One called by Women for Justice kicked off a campaign of picketing police stations. Speakers said that in Black and Latino neighborhoods the police arrest all the young people and leave the drug dealers on the streets. One woman vowed to "dismantle and crush the police state that is forming in New York City."

The daily demonstrations at Police Plaza, which grew enormous and multi-racial over three weeks in March, were abruptly ended by Rev. Al Sharpton. In all, 1,200 people were arrested, including, on the last two days, CUNY professors, Chinese immigrants and Methodist ministers.

In his speech to the crowd the last day, Sharpton said, "They said we'd never get the races to walk together—they not only walked, they went to jail together. We showed that the city will arrest non-violent protesters, but not violent police. We exposed the contradiction." In the same speech, however, Sharpton truncated the dialectic he had begun to articulate, saying, "We don't care if you're a socialist or a capitalist, we have to protect ourselves before we can have debates."

The same week was the start of daily pickets at the Brooklyn federal courthouse, where the cops who tortured Abner Louima are about to go on trial. The abiding theme of all the demonstrations has been mass opposition to Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's attempts to "clean up the city" by sacrificing the poor and minorities. He is hoping to run for higher office by appealing to racism.

Did April 15 mark a new stage of the mass movement or put a lid on it? Whereas Sharpton became the focus of

the demonstrations due to his clear articulation of police brutality issues, his insistence on only symbolic law-breaking and legalistic demands may have held the movement back. It is also possible that this terrible killing has brought out so many ideas for discussion—including Mumia Abu-Jamal, institutional racism and loss of civil liberties—that New York will never be the same again.

—Anne Jaclard and Paul Geist

New York—The April 3 National Emergency March for Justice and Against Police Brutality in Washington, D.C. brought together several thousand people from many cities and small towns who have been organizing for years around these issues. "People start to reminisce about what happened in their little towns years ago and do not forget their history—the struggle for civil rights. We are still in the midst of it—a few doors have opened and many have shut," said a president of a South Jersey branch of the NAACP.

Speakers addressed the crowd for several hours. One said, "Police brutality has been part of the fabric of this society since the formation of police to capture runaway slaves." Jane Bye of the Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence pointed out that the murder of Amadou Diallo in New York was "part of a long and violent history of police brutality against young Third World immigrants." A speaker from the Lakota Nation, Rosebud Reservation, brought "greetings from the invisible people."

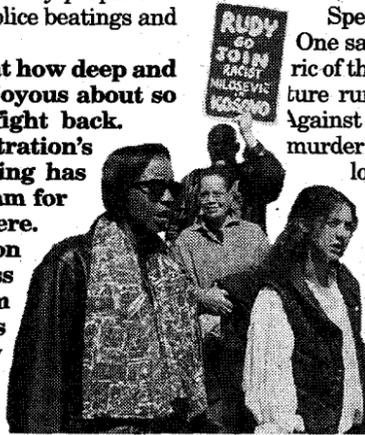
Richard Perez of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights called for a higher level of unannounced civil disobedience at One Police Plaza in New York, as did Al Sharpton. Sharpton said, "You can't preach morality in Yugoslavia and ignore it in the U.S. You can't send our boys to Yugoslavia, and we are afraid when they walk the street in Chicago." Pam Africa called on us to unite to save Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The most powerful experience to me was when the family members of those murdered by police began to speak for several minutes each. The list went on and on—20, 30, you lost count! New York, Kentucky, Chicago, North Carolina, Ohio, Florida, Pittsburgh—you felt this is truly a national epidemic! The details of each case were horrifying. You began to see a pattern of sheer unprovoked brutality, of state cover-ups.

We had an open mike discussion on the bus on the trip home. A Puerto Rican mother who had been struggling for justice for eight years immediately said she was angry at Sharpton for emphasizing the Diallo case so much, when so many others have been struggling for years.

Several African-American women spoke to this thoughtfully, emphasizing that they were by no means apologists for Sharpton, but that he had called for reopening all the cases. More importantly, one cannot predict which is the case that will move masses to action; we had to see this as a process of all these cases building on each other. Diallo came after the Abner Louima case last year, with its mass march across Brooklyn Bridge, and that is part of its context.

One African-American woman explained that in the Louima case the movement stopped, partly because the



Black World

(Continued from page 1)

Philadelphia and the San Francisco Bay Area, April 24, in support of Mumia and other political and death row prisoners.

Black, white, Latino and Asian youth have seen something in the Black dimension of "American civilization" that not only squares with their own rejection of this degenerate society but represents a radical challenge to it, in thought and in action.

And yet, as we saw at the Philadelphia Mumia demonstration, local struggles in New York and Chicago were in large part responsible for raising the struggle around Mumia to a new national level, especially when the media, at the behest of the powers-that-be, do everything in their power to "disappear" the movement.

New York, more than anywhere else at the moment, is the focal point of whether the movement will achieve a new stage or succumb to old contradictions and reformist politics. With, not one but, two high-profile police brutality trials about to begin, that of the cops in the Louima torture and in the Diallo murder, New York is where Los Angeles was seven years ago with the Rodney King trial.

The difference is, however, that the New York trials were preceded by three months of mass protests and civil disobedience. The slightest perception that the "justice" done in the New York trials comes anywhere near the racist outcome of the Rodney King trial, and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's New York will take LA to the next stage. Although it took New York seven weeks to bring out white support and become "fully" multicultural, in fact, it was radically multicultural from the start. It disclosed the Marxist-Humanist concept of the Black diaspora's "triangular trade of revolutionary ideas" between Africa, the Caribbean and Black America.

These two crucial aspects of the present objective situation, namely, New York's continuity with the 1992 LA rebellion and the growing radicalization of its multicultural character, are the context in which to assess the movement and its Black political leadership. That means not only Rev. Al Sharpton, but local and national leaders who provide him the cover of legitimacy.

The stage is now set in New York to answer the question posed in Los Angeles seven years ago, namely: Was the LA rebellion the end, the last echo, of a dialectic of history set in motion in the 1950s and '60s Civil Rights and Black Power movements or the beginning of a new dialectical motion?

In the momentum of the present moment, this question is less likely to be worked out by the Left, including the Black Left, than by the Black masses themselves. The Black Radical Congress (BRC), titular heir to the Black left tradition, has ventured out on the high seas of international politics and in the Black radical tradition has even tried to connect the Kosova situation with the one at home, only to obfuscate both. The National Council of the BRC adopted a lengthy draft statement of the International Committee of the BRC on April 18 on the situation in the Balkans.

The BRC statement is pitifully abstract in its rhetorical demand to dismantle NATO and hopelessly naive regarding the UN (Lenin called its precursor a "thieves kitchen" for Western imperialism), and international law. More contradictory is that the BRC analysis of Milosevic's fascist history of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosova is vitiated by its abstract demand to end NATO bombing without troubling itself about the 40,000 Serbian troops that have carried out the genocidal ethnic cleansing of the entire population of Kosovar Albanians.

The one fact of the changed world that the BRC statement does recognize is that "The struggle for democracy in multiethnic and multiracial societies is a totally new terrain where the present leaders of the USA [and Europe] have no experience." Unfortunately, the BRC is at sea when it comes to this new reality too. (The April 17 fascist bombing in the Black Brixton neighborhood in London, and two subsequent bombings in an Asian neighborhood and at a gay bar, still finds the Tony Blair government in a state of denial about the depth and extent of racism in Britain.)

The revolutionary struggle for radical multiethnic democracy is in no way separable from condemning genocidal ethnic cleansing wherever it occurs and supporting national self-determination, from East Timor and Palestine to Kurdistan and Kosova. That radical tradition, more than anything in today's changed world, continues to disclose the Black dimension as the "touchstone of American civilization."

Black/Red View

by John Alan

Two related events happened over the last two months in northern California. Jesse Jackson made several highly publicized visits to Silicon Valley to pressure the corporate moguls of the high-tech industry to open the doors of their boardrooms, executive positions and engineering departments to African Americans.

Jackson's efforts were another attempt to concretize the concept that the problems of racism and poverty can be resolved in the world of high technology. This concept has been advocated for a long time by upper-class African Americans as the class distance between them and the Black masses widens. Jackson dramatized this situation by announcing that the Rainbow Coalition had bought stock in a high-tech corporation.

POWER TO POLLUTE

Less than a hundred miles north of Silicon Valley, in Richmond, Cal., poor African Americans lived through a fearful experience with high-tech. On March 25 the Chevron oil refinery exploded. For hours acrid smoke shifted with the winds over their houses and in the streets of their community.

Hundreds of people went to hospitals suffering from nausea, irritated eyes, breathing difficulties and diarrhea. According to Chevron's managers, the nearby Black community was not immediately warned of the coming catastrophe because the computerized alarm system had failed.

For years African Americans and environmentalists have complained that Chevron's oil refinery is a threat to the health and life of Black people living near it. Neither Chevron nor the Richmond city government did much to alleviate that threat. Richmond's politicians have never been in any position to compel Chevron to clean up its act. They are well aware of the fact that Chevron is the dominant economic power in Richmond and thus the de facto major political power.

Chevron pours more than \$15 million a year into Richmond's tax revenues, about 20% of the city's gener-

Technology no answer

al fund. Chevron also, according to a Chevron spokesman, does business with companies in Richmond and pumps annually another \$25 million into the Richmond economy. The record also shows that Chevron is a major contributor to candidates running for the Richmond City Council.

This lacing together of politics and an oil economy is the political economy of Richmond. The negative human results of that political economy are racism, poverty, health problems and environmental abuse. The only real potential forces capable of challenging Chevron's economic and political domination over Richmond are the African Americans and other minorities in the community, the oil workers and the environmentalists.

POTENTIAL FORCES

A mere whisper about controlling commodity production by strict enforcement of clean air laws creates fear in the minds of all politicians, including those who verbally oppose Chevron's pollution. They say, yes, we don't want polluted air, but if Chevron leaves, as one city council person put it, "There will be a massive lack of jobs and no tax support. The people would know what a dead town is."

The Chevron explosion came a few weeks after a Feb. 23 explosion at the nearby Tosco refinery. Four workers were killed. Now there is a new alliance between refinery workers and the community, trying to make the oil companies criminally liable for the human suffering they cause. The new organization, the Bay Area Labor Community United for Health and Safety, demands not only that Tosco officials be indicted for murder, but also that workers take over the health and safety functions in the refineries, even if that means controlling production.

We know that all the technology that Chevron uses in the production of gasoline and chemicals has not solved the health and safety problems of either the workers or the community. Neither does high-tech change class and race relations or end poverty. Those conditions are natural to capitalist production and can only be changed through the social action of the masses.

PART 4 DOCTRINE OF NOTION

Editor's note

The following concludes our four-part publication of Raya Dunayevskaya's detailed commentary on Hegel's *Science of Logic*. It was written in 1961 and appears 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 serve as an anchor of a nationwide series of classes News and Letters Committees is holding on "The Dialectic of Marx's *Capital* and Today's

Global Crises."

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

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



By
Raya
Dunayevskaya

Founder of
Marxist-Humanism
in the U.S.

Volume II¹: Subjective Logic or the Doctrine of the Notion

With the Notion, we reach, at one and the same time, that which in philosophic terms is oldest, most written about, and purely intellectualistic; and, from a Marxist point of view, least written about, most "feared" as idealistic, unreal, "pure" thought—in a word, a closed ontology.

And yet it is the Doctrine of the Notion that develops the categories of Freedom and, therefore, should mean the objective and subjective means whereby a new society is born. It is true that *consciously* for Hegel this was done only in thought, while in life contradictions persisted. But what was for Hegel consciously does not explain away the objective pull of the future on the present, and the present as history (the French Revolution for Hegel), and not just as the status quo of an existing state. Be that as it [may], let's follow Hegel himself.

Before we reach Section One, there is the Introductory "On the Notion in General." We will meet in Lenin constant references to Marx's *Capital* from now on. Thus, in this early section, Lenin notes that Hegel is entirely right as against Kant on the question of thought *not* separating from truth, but going toward it, as it emerges from the Concrete and moves to the Abstract: "Abstraction of *matter*, of natural *law*, of *value*, etc., in a word, *all* scientific (correct, serious, not absurd) abstractions reflect nature more deeply, truer, *fuller*. From living observation to abstract thinking, and from this to practice—such is the dialectic road to knowledge of truth, the knowledge of objective reality. Kant degrades knowledge in order to make place for belief; Hegel elevates knowledge believing that knowledge is knowledge of God. The materialist elevates knowledge of matter, of nature, throwing God and the philosophic rabble defending him into the dung heap" [LCW 38, p. 171].

The section to which Lenin refers in Hegel is "It will always remain a matter for astonishment how the Kantian philosophy knew that relation of thought to sensuous existence, where it halted, for a merely relative relation of bare appearance, and fully acknowledged and asserted a higher unity of the two in the Idea in general, and, particularly, in the idea of an intuitive understanding; but yet stopped dead at this relative relation and at the assertion that the Notion is and remains utterly separated from reality;—

so that it affirmed as true what it pronounced to be finite knowledge, and declared to be superfluous and improper figments of thought that which it recognized as truth, and of which it established the definite notion" [SLII, p. 226; SLM, p. 592].

It could also be said that Khrushchev's "peaceful coexistence" and Kant's indifferent coexistence of Absolute and the Particular or Reason and Understanding coincide also in the fact that Kant does see a dialectical relationship between the two, unlike Leibniz, who saw only harmony arising from it.

Section One: Appearance

Chapter I: Notion

The forms of the Notion are: Universal, Particular, Individual. These three forms of Notion are the categories which express development in this entire book, even as in the Doctrine of Essence it was the categories of Identity, Difference and Contradiction; and in Being, it was Quantity, Quality and Measure, with this difference: that the movement in the Doctrine of the Notion from Universal to Particular to Individual could characterize the movement of all three books of the *Science of Logic*, thus, Being standing for Universal, Particular standing for Essence, and Individual standing for Notion.

It is this first meeting with U-P-I that makes Lenin say that it reminds him of Marx's first chapter in *Capital*. Not only that; he begins immediately thereafter (that is, after dealing with chapter II—Judgment—and in the Approach to chapter III on Syllogism) to make the famous aphorism: (1) Relating to the relationship between Abstract and Concrete: "Just as the simple value form, the individual act of exchange of a given commodity with another already includes in undeveloped form all major contradictions of capitalism—so the simplest generalization, the first and simplest forming of notions (judgments, syllogisms, etc.) signifies the ever-greater knowledge of the objective world connections. Here it is necessary to seek the real sense, significance and role of Hegelian logic" [LCW 38, pp. 178-79]. (2) Where he rejects Plekhanov as a vulgar materialist, or at least having criticized Kant only as a vulgar materialist. (3) Includes himself when he says that all Marxists at the beginning of the twentieth century had done so. (4) And where he concludes that it is impossible to understand *Capital* without understanding the whole of Hegel's *Logic*. (The friends should reread the whole chapter on Lenin in *Marxism and Freedom*.)

I have had to skip a great deal which at

another time must be studied more carefully, both on the question of the Judgment—where Hegel lists four major forms and a total of twelve for a sub-section—and the syllogism, where we have three major sections, each containing four sub-sections. It is not only because I am hurrying to get to the sections which have not been dealt with in any great detail by Marxists, but because for our age this section on Subjectivity is *not* the subjectivity which has absorbed all objectivity and which we will first read in the Absolute Idea. One phrase from the last paragraph in Hegel's section on the Syllogism will, however, be of the Essence: "The Syllogism is Mediation—the complete Notion in its Positedness" [SLII, p. 342; SLM, p. 704]. The key word is Mediation. It is of the Essence in all thought, as well as in all struggles. Indeed, it could be said that mediation is the conflict of forces. For example, all of Essence could be summed up in the word Mediation, or, if instead of Essence, you're thinking concretely of production in *Capital*, then of course it is production relations. So that what U-P-I does in showing the general movement in *Logic*, mediation is the concrete struggle and appears in all three books: in Being, it is Measure, which is, of course, the threshold of Essence; in Essence, it is Actuality, or more specifically, Causality which, as Reciprocity, brings us to the threshold of Notion; in Notion, it is Action, Practice, which supersedes Subjectivity of Purpose and *thus* achieves unity of Theory and Practice.

Section Two: Objectivity

The three chapters in this section—I, Mechanism; II, Chemism; III, Teleology—are devastating analyses of Bukharin's *Historical Materialism* over one hundred years before it was ever written...²

For us, what is important is Lenin's profound understanding in 1914, as against the period when *he* gave the green light to vulgar materialism with his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, of the fact that the mechanical, chemical and even teleological—that is to say, subjectively purposeful—are no substitute for the self-developing subject. Lenin notes here that Hegel laid the

basis for historical materialism, quoting Hegel's statement "In his tools man possesses power over external nature, even although, according to his Ends, he frequently is subjected to it. But the End does not only remain outside the Mechanical process: it also preserves itself within it, and is its determination. The End, as the Notion which exists as free against the object and its process and is self-determining activity, equally is the truth which is in and for itself of Mechanism..." [SLII, p. 388; SLM, p. 747].

Lenin further defends Hegel for his seeming strain to "subsume" the purposeful activity of man under the category of logic because, as Lenin states it: "There is

here a very deep content, purely materialistic. It is necessary to turn this around; the practical activity of man billions of times must bring the consciousness of man to the repetition of the various logical figures, in order that these should achieve the significance of an axiom" [LCW 38, p. 190].

I believe that Hegel here is criticizing what we will much later in history know as

2. Nikolai Bukharin, *Historical Materialism: A System of Sociology* (New York: International Publishers, 1925). This work was attacked for its "positivistic Aristotelianism" by Antonio Gramsci. See Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), p. 437.



The Plan. Intellectual planning, or what Hegel would call "Self-Determination applied externally,"³ is certainly no substitute for the self-developing subject, not even as idealistically expressed by Hegel in the Absolute Idea.

Section Three: The Idea

Lenin notes that the introductory section to this is very nearly the best description of the dialectic. It is in this section that we will go through chapter I on Life; chapter II on the Idea of Cognition, which will not only deal with Analytic and Synthetic Cognition, but will take up the question of Practice, Volition, the Idea of the True and the Idea of the Good; and finally, chapter III on the Absolute Idea.

It is the section in which Lenin will write, although he will not develop it, that "man's cognition not only reflects the world, but creates it" [LCW 38, p. 212]. He will also stress over and over and over again *totality*, Inter-dependence of Notions of *all* Notions, *Relationship*, Transitions, Unity of Opposites and various ways of defining dialectics from the single expression that it is the transformation of one into its opposite, to the more elaborate threefold definition of dialectic, as including Determination, Contradiction and Unity; and finally, the sixteen-point definition of dialectic, which passes through Objectivity, Development, Struggle and finally Negation of the Negation.

Lenin will also do a lot of "translations" of the word Idea, the word Absolute, which in

3. Dunayevskaya has here apparently shortened the phrase "self-determination is applied to them only externally" [SLII, p. 391; SLM, p. 750].

1. Although the Doctrine of the Notion or Subjective Logic is, Hegel writes, "the third part of the whole" [SLII, p. 209; SLM, p. 575] it was originally published as volume two of the *Science of Logic* in 1816. Parts One and Two, the Doctrine of Being and the Doctrine of Essence were first published four years earlier in volume one, entitled "The Objective Logic."

some places he uses as no different than Objective, but in other places as the unity of Objective and Subjective. It is obvious that Lenin is very greatly moved by the fact that Practice occupies so very great a place in Hegel, but feels that, nevertheless, this practice is limited to the theory of knowledge. I do not believe so. (See my original letters on the Absolute Idea, May 12 and 20, 1953.)⁴

Let's retrace our steps back to the beginning of this whole section on the Idea. Hegel argues against the expression "merely Ideas: now if thoughts are merely subjective and contingent they certainly have no further value. . . And if conversely the Idea is not to be rated as true because, with respect to phenomena, it is transcendent, and no object can be assigned to it, in the sensuous world, to which it conforms, this is a strange lack of understanding, for so the Idea is denied objective validity because it lacks that which constitutes appearance, or the untrue being of the objective world" [SLII, p. 396; SLM, p. 756]. Hegel gives Kant credit for having rejected this "vulgar appeal" to experience, and recognized the objective validity of thought—only to never have thought and reality

On that same page, he states, in very materialistic terms indeed, that the "Idea has its reality in some kind of matter." Hegel will then take idea through Life through what he calls the Idea of the True and the Good as Cognition and Volition.

In the Idea of Cognition, Hegel will inform us that his *Phenomenology of Mind* is a science which stands between Nature and Mind, which in a way seems contradictory since it has served as the "introduction" to his *Logic*, and he will further summarize it when he comes to the *Philosophy of Mind*.

He will hit out a great deal sharper at Jacobi than at Kant, although he gives Jacobi credit for showing that the Kantian method of demonstration is "simply bound within the circle of the rigid necessity of the finite, and that freedom (that is, the Notion, and whatever is true) lies beyond its sphere and scope" [SLII, p. 458; SLM, p. 816].

But he gets less and less interested in other philosophers, the more he reaches the question of Freedom, Liberation, Unity of Theory and Practice: "In this result then Cognition is reconstructed and united with the Practical Idea; the actuality which is found as given is at the same time determined as the realized absolute end, —not however (as in inquiring Cognition) merely

concept of Absolute, Absolute Substance, Hegel rejects, even as he rejects the Absolute Ego of Fichte and Schelling, and the Absolute of the General Good Will of Kant. Note how every single time, in no matter which section of the *Logic* you take, [when] Hegel reaches an absolute for that stage, he throws it aside to start out all over again. So that when he reaches the Notion, he is dealing with it as a new beginning *after* he rejected Absolute Substance, and that even his Notion has the dialectic of further development; indeed Universal, Particular, Individual is the absolute Mediation, or the development of the *Logic*.

If, for example, we stop in the Absolute Idea at the Expression: "the self-determination in which alone the Idea is, is to hear itself speak" [SLII, p. 467; SLM, p. 825], we can see that the whole *Logic* (both logic and *Logic*) is a logic of self-determination and never more so than at the *very point* when you have reached an Absolute—say, growing internationalization of capital. You then go *not* to taking over, but breaking it down to the new beginning in the self-determination of nations; or when the state had reached the high stage of centralization, you most certainly do not go to taking over, but rather to the destruction of the state.

Hegel can reach these anticipations of the future because a very truly great step in philosophic cognition is made only when a new way of reaching freedom has become possible, as it had with the French Revolution. If at that point you do not cramp your thoughts, then you will first be amazed on how very close to reality—the reality of the present which includes the elements of the future—thought really is.

To me, that is why Hegel makes so much of the method. It is not because that is all we get from Hegel—method—but because the end and the means are absolutely inseparable. Thus, on p. 468, Hegel writes: "The method therefore is both soul and substance, and nothing is either conceived or known in its truth except in so far as it is completely subject to the method; it is the peculiar method of each individual fact because its activity is the Notion." It isn't true, for example, as Lenin stated, that Hegel ended this chapter at the point [SLII, p. 485; SLM, p. 843] where Notion and reality unite as *Nature*, which Lenin translated to mean as Practice. In this final paragraph, Hegel proceeds on to show the link back from Nature to Mind, and of course we know that those two transitions were in themselves two full books.⁵

Or as Hegel puts it: "The transition here therefore must rather be taken to mean that the Idea freely releases itself in absolute self-security and self-repose. By reason of this freedom the form of its determinateness also is utterly free—the externality of space and time which is absolutely for itself and without subjectivity" [SLII, p. 486; SLM, p. 843].

Marcuse thinks that it is this statement about the Idea releasing itself freely as Nature, "this statement of putting the transition forward as an actual process in reality that offers great difficulty in the understanding of Hegel's system."⁶ But he himself doesn't attempt to overcome these difficulties. On the contrary, he disregards them, accepting the idea that it is a closed ontology and the best we can do is take this method and use it as a critical theory.

One thing is clear to me, that when Hegel wrote that the "transcendence of the opposition between Notion and Reality, and that unity which is the truth, rests upon this subjectivity alone" [SLII, p. 477; SLM, p. 835], the subjectivity was certainly not to be that of the philosopher, despite all of Hegel's hopes that it would be, but that of a new, lower, deeper layer of "world spirit," or, to be specific, the proletariat and those freedom-fighters in backward Africa, who just *will* freedom so much that they make it come true. For what happens after [the revolution], however, that truth must arise not only from the movement from Practice, but also that *from Theory*. The negation of the negation will not be a generality, not even the generality of a new society for the old, but the specific of self-liberation, which is the humanism of the human *being*, as well as his philosophy.

Rough Notes on HEGEL'S SCIENCE OF LOGIC

as objective world without the subjectivity of the Notion, but as objective world whose inner ground and actual persistence is the Notion. This is *the Absolute Idea*" [SLII, p. 465; SLM, p. 823].

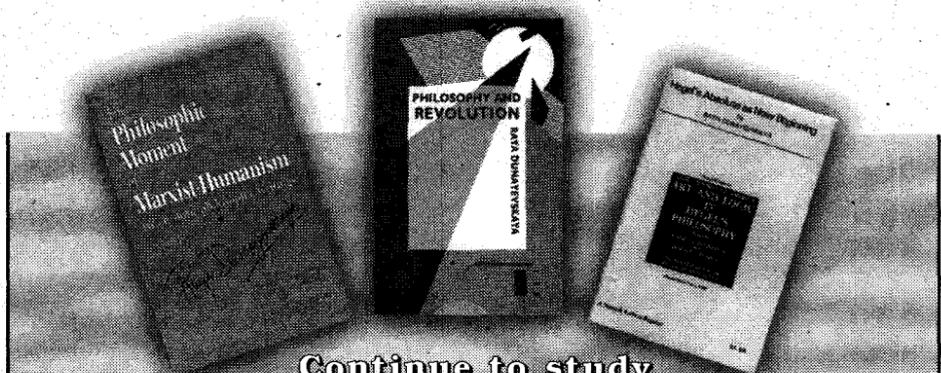
This is because, in reaching this final chapter, the Absolute Idea, he is through with all which we would politically describe as "taking over"; that is to say,

capitalism will develop all technology so perfectly for us that all the proletariat will have to do will be to "take over." As we reject this concept politically, Hegel rejects it philosophically. He has now so absorbed all the other systems that, far from taking over, he is first going back to a TOTALLY NEW BEGINNING.

Here is what I mean: Take a philosopher like Spinoza. Despite his profound dialectical understanding that "every determination is a negation," he went to God taking over. This

meet. Hegel breaks down the Determinations of Idea as, first, Universal; second, a relationship of Subjectivity to Objectivity, which is an impulse to transcend the separation; and finally, the self-identity of Identity and Process so that "in the Idea the Notion reaches Freedom..." [SLII, p. 399; SLM, p. 759].

4. These letters are included in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1989).



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5. Hegel's *Philosophy of Nature* and *Philosophy of Mind*.
6. Marcuse, *Reason and Revolution*, p. 166.

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FIGHTING RACISM AND ETHNIC CLEANSING IN KOSOVA AND AT HOME

As a Southeast Asian immigrant, I have experienced my own form of ethnic-cleansing, as our family was forced to leave my birth country under General Ne Win, when Burma was under the throes of a racist paranoia, narrow nationalism and xenophobia. During the hysteria of the late '60s we were called "foreigners" even though we were born there and spoke nothing but Burmese. That is why the Kosovars have my unwavering support and solidarity in their struggle for self-determination.

It is depressing to see the reactions of the so-called socialists here in the U.S., whose vanguardism does not allow them to see beyond their narrow opposition only to US/NATO. Do they think racism is an exclusive property of the right-wing? I saw one leaflet passed out at a demonstration here by a Serb nationalist which compared the Kosovar Albanians with "hordes of Mexicans coming to Southern California...and then declaring independence and expecting NATO to bomb Southern California for their cause." To see the vanguard-Left marching alongside those circulating this kind of racist trash reveals to me the putrid racist underbelly of such a "Left."

**Asian-American
California**

In a very real sense, Milosevic is the product of the massacres and forced expulsions carried out by Ante Pavelic's Independent State of Croatia against Serbs, Jews and Roma during World War II. The Serbs' image of themselves as perpetual underdogs, fighting for national survival, is a deadly false consciousness today, but it is nurtured by genuine memories of terrible oppression. Milosevic is a "mirror image" of Pavelic.

There is also the question of how far the legacy of Tito is responsible for the present horrors. I think Tito would be horrified by the resurgence of narrow nationalism. What Milosevic did inherit from Tito was the apparatus of dictatorship, in particular control over the media. Milosevic rose to power through the League of Communists so in part he is a product of state-capitalism calling itself Communism in its period of dominance as well as its collapse. I don't consider Milosevic can be accurately described as a product of Western powers, such as the USA or Britain. They have indeed tried to strike deals with

him but that is not the same thing. If any ruler in the region is a client of the U.S., it would be Franjo Tudjman, I think

**Richard Bunting
Oxford**

I doubt any war is for humanitarian reasons, whether for Kosovo, Iraq, WWII. They are for the security (the national security label) of multinational corporations that gain slave labor or cheap resources.

**Bernice Russell
Illinois**

I consider the following to be a realistic view of the two dimensions of NATO intervention in Kosovo: The first is the human one of trying to interrupt the violence of Serbian soldiers to the civilian population. The economic-political one may not be so unequivocal. The intervention is a contribution to the evaluation of the military ability of NATO forces and the efficiency of the technology in an other than desert environment. Should they succeed in removing Milosevic they will start aiding the post-war reconstruction of the country. Magnanimous loans will be provided, of course. In the final phase Western military equipment will be sold to a friendly Serbia. On the whole, a good strategy to gain new outlets for Western services and goods.

**Observer
Czech Republic**

I see all the refugees from Kosova on the Spanish news station. What I see makes me cry. Now Serbia has closed its border with Albania. What are all those refugees going to do? Does the U.S. really care about them? They are like the Indians in Mexico. I know about their situation because my father is from Chiapas. The U.S. is friends with the government of Mexico which is trying to get the Indian guerrillas out of the Lacondon jungle to crush the revolt there. Unfortunately Marcos hasn't been able to bring about change, but the U.S. friendship with the ruling PRI hasn't helped.

**Mexican woman
Chicago**

Women Strike for Peace published a disgusting statement expressing their outrage that anyone should ask for "removing from Yugoslavia's jurisdiction the seat of Serbia's cultural, religious and national roots and of its economic



MARCHING FOR MUMIA

We hear daily criticisms of Serbian dictator Milosevic's control of the media, by which he is able to keep the truth from the Serbian people. But what is one to say about the supposedly "free" media in the U.S., when all during the day of the Saturday march in Philadelphia, not a word was said, not a picture flashed on TV, of the thousands marching in support of Mumia Abu-Jamal? Even the next day, the Sunday *New York Times*, supposedly a bastion of the free press, did not carry a single article on the march. We apparently don't need dictators in the government, we have enough of them in the editorial newsrooms.

**Disgusted
Detroit**

Our March for Mumia started at the main train station and ended at the American embassy. Most of the 300 attending were young people and members of the solidarity group here. One solidarity member was confronted while hanging posters by the police who told him that nothing could stop the "grilling" of Mumia. The racism of the police in Oslo reflects the same attitude as in the U.S. By the time we reached the embassy riot police had blocked the road and secret agents were all over taking our pictures. It was said that similar demonstrations were held in Germany, Stockholm and other parts of Europe. Mumia's case is well known in Norway and some parliamentarians have shown solidarity with our work.

**Participant
Norway**

I got involved in support for Mumia because he is a political prisoner. I learned about his situation through the struggle for freedom by another political prisoner, Leonard Peltier. My mother was involved in the movement to free Peltier, as well as solidarity with Nelson Mandela when he was in prison for so many years. She taught me why it's important to be behind the liberation movements these people represent.

**Native American woman
Philadelphia**

AMADOU DIALLO

I've been to many of the Diallo demonstrations. I like that so many white and Jewish groups have joined the protests. The initial response was terrible, but that has changed. America is waking up to the need for social movements. In my own lifetime, every movement to make things better has been initiated by Blacks.

**Don
New York**

Many see Diallo's murder as a catalyst for bringing out the atrocities perpetrated against Blacks and Latinos. Demonstrations against police racism and brutality are now taking place in New Jersey over the police murder of a Black man in Orange and over the constant harassing of Black and Latino motorists by the state police due to "racial profiling."

**Protester
New York**

COLUMBINE MASSACRE

I agree with Mary Mitchell's column in the *Chicago Sun-Times* that we have to stop calling the Trench Coat Mafia an anti-social "clique" of outcasts and call

Readers' Views

READING MARX

There were two organizational tasks Marx put forth in his letter to Meyer and Vogt, which was discussed in the "Workshop Talks" column in the April issue. The first reads: "Hence, the task of the 'International' is everywhere to put the conflict between England and Ireland in the foreground and everywhere to side openly with Ireland." Omitting this first task denudes the letter of its full organizational content. So does referring to "two American Friends" instead of specifying the organizational relationship of Meyer and Vogt to Marx. Importantly it was not alone to "awaken the consciousness of the English worker" but to organizationally and concretely side with the deeper revolutionary subject. Philosophy giving action its direction is thus lost.

**Observer
Prague**



JOHN BROWN'S LEGACY

Your readers might want to know that we are celebrating John Brown's 199th birthday on May 9 at his gravesite near North Elba, in upstate New York, in the Adirondack Mountains, which he often said had been placed there to serve the emancipation of the American slave. Nominally white, John Brown represents the abolitionist cause, making war against slavery. Those who think it saner to collaborate with evil than to resist it have labeled him a madman, but it was not for his madness that he was hanged. It was for obeying the biblical injunction to remember those that are in bonds as bound with them. Anyone who wants to honor his memory is welcome to join us.

**New Abolition Society
PO Box 400603
Cambridge, MA 02140-0007**

EUROPEAN LABOR MARCH

Big demonstrations are planned by different European initiatives for an anti-summit in Cologne close to the time of the June 3-4 summit there of heads of the European Union which will be followed on June 19 by a summit of the heads of G8. Within a short period of time, the heads of the most important economic, financial and political powers will meet. The appeal for an anti-summit Conference points out that those summits will be bringing together "representatives of a world where a great part of the population is struck by unemployment and misery, while wealth increases and destruction of the environment continues."

The demands are becoming European in scale which is why they appeal for a common march with four main demands: 1) a guaranteed individual income; 2) massive creation of new jobs as well as a reduced working time; 3) improvement of social rights in Europe without racism and solidarity with peoples of the South and East; 4) a debate on the need for an economic model which does not depend on the market and competition.

There were 50,000 marchers in Amsterdam in June 1997, mostly against the Maastricht treaty. Even more are expected for this year's Euromarches in May and June.

**Stephen
Prague**

EDUCATING FOR CAPITALISM

Governor Engler's legislation ram-rodged through his Republican-controlled state legislature to take the school system away from the elected Board of Education is being fiercely challenged by a majority of Detroiters. Engler is not interested in the students. He's interested in the corporations that need better educated workers for their technological-advancing production lines that are costing companies millions in training programs. Engler is simply transferring the costs to the public school system paid for by the taxes of the people in Detroit.

**Educator
Detroit**

and industrial strength." So much for the self-determination of the Kosovars, whose genocide is never even mentioned. Rather WSFP denies the deaths, rapes and scorched earth policy of Milosevic, claiming that the reports of atrocities are only to "mask the interest of multinational corporations in Kosovo's rich natural resources." They don't call for an end to the murder of the Kosovars but only for opposition to NATO.

**Women's Liberationist
Memphis**

Being a Central European, I am very cynical. I think the scenario between the West and Yeltsin, with his red face, fist and threats, is pre-fixed. But it is a very dangerous game. He may not control the Communists and Nationalists in Russia.

I don't think NATO will protect the Czech Republic at any time. A deadly game is being played and Central Europe is once more in the middle. Our former Prime Minister Klaus is pro-Yugoslavia. Members of political parties who would never work on issues with Communists and right-wing Nationalists in Parliament now march side by side with pro-Milosevic supporters in Ostrava. At the Congress of the government party that signed the Czech Republic into NATO, 50% of the delegates signed a petition condemning NATO attacks and sent it to the Yugoslav embassy here. Sadly, it is the Kosovars who are dying.

**Student
Central Europe**

The April Lead, "NATO bombing of Serbia allows Milosevic to intensify genocide in Kosova," scores many relevant political points, but also philosophical ones. It asks us to reconsider what we know of the very concept of "politicalization" as Marx practiced it. There's a reason to challenge the Left to consider theory in the midst of a war in so direct a way. It's because the Left has never before displayed such a total ignorance of what a liberation struggle is all about. If we remember that a key element in Milosevic's effort to "ethnically cleanse" Bosnia was the capitulation of important Yugoslav Leftists such as the one-time socialist humanist Markovic, we will see that these transgressions bode very poorly for our future here as well.

**Mitch
California**

them what they were—a hate group who wore swastikas on their clothes and whose creed includes white supremacy doctrines. It's no little thing that Eric Harris and Dyland Klebold chose to execute 13 people on Hitler's birthday. Yes, there was something terribly wrong with those two teens but hate was what held that group together. If they had been Black kids in a Chicago school the media would not be treating them so sympathetically. They would be called gang-bangers. That's what the Trench Coat Mafia was.

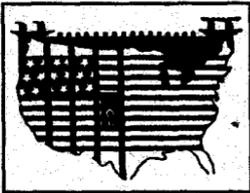
**Angry
Chicago**

In the wake of the Colorado school shootings, an "expert" from a local mental health facility (where teens are often imprisoned for being gay, rebellious, etc.) appeared on TV to discuss intervening with youth who become violent. One of the two "danger signs" the TV anchor unctuously warned about was "counter-cultural behavior." Next they'll be requiring lobotomies for kids so they can be as blissfully soulless and obtuse as TV news anchors.

**Still rebellious
Memphis**

While watching CNN and other TV stations the weekend after the massacre at Columbine High School, I was struck by the horribly grotesque juxtapositioning of the reports on the funeral of a student killed in Colorado and the pictures of NATO bombing attacks in Belgrade and Kosova. One minute you heard students and pastors in a church pleading for an end to alienation and violence and the next you saw the bombs destroying the countryside and the indescribable fear and terror mirrored in the faces of fleeing Kosovar refugees. Hypocrisy knows no bounds.

**Retiree
Michigan**



OUR CRIMINAL INJUSTICE SYSTEM

While Native Americans in prisons are battling for access to sacred religious articles, officials at the State Correctional Institute at Smithsfield, Pa., were giving one of America's highest tributes to a pigeon when they flew the flag at half mast after the staff's pet pigeon was killed by a skunk. As a Native American, I believe all living things are sacred and should be afforded high respect, although half mast seems a little much. But it seems ironic that a pigeon is afforded a higher place in Euro-American ideology than American Indians who are treated like a disease, with our ceremonies called barbaric and little more than "heathen worship." This kind of incident just reinforces our belief that we are mostly alone in our struggle to obtain spiritual cultural rights, even in prison.

**Prisoner
Huntington, PA.**

There is a popular misconception that, except for the men on Death Row, all prisoners are guilty of the crimes for which they were convicted. The truth is that there are nearly as many people innocent of the crimes for which they were convicted as there are guilty. Even among those, a far higher percentage were convicted by illegal and unconstitutional practices than by proof of guilt. Until people in the "free world" begin to understand and acknowledge this they will never be able to overcome their brainwashing but will continue to believe we are getting what we deserve and the system is protecting them. They need to know that the people running the "criminal justice system" are more criminal than those they are holding in prison. The mere fact of their innocence is no indication that they will not soon be inside with us.

**Prisoner
Huntsville, Texas**

The state of Tennessee wants to be Texas. Prosecutors and prison officials here, where there hasn't been an execution in 39 years, traveled to Texas to see how they could execute so many on Death Row like on an assembly line. We have 102 on Death Row here. The state of

Tennessee wants to commit murder in our name.
**Steve Earle
Fairview, Tennessee**

Thank you for your intense newspaper. I especially appreciate keeping up on the labor front but all the issues you address really relate to those of us in these U.S. prisons. It has come to my attention that many of the conditions prevalent in our U.S. prisons don't exist in other countries, where men are paid an honest wage even in prison-connected labor. That says a lot about the U.S.

**Prisoner
Kansas**

Voices from Within the Prison Walls by D.A.Sheldon is right on track with what the prison system is — a conglomerate to make money, to keep a cheap labor force for state and federal use. We build portable houses under the guise that it will help the elderly and low-income people. B.S. They are built for making money. There are work crews that wire schools, libraries, etc. with computer networks, and crews that work on roofs on state buildings. All for 25 cents an hour. All these so-called work programs take jobs away from the private work sector. That leads to more crime for out of work people to pay their bills. We have people locked up for writing a bad check for five dollars or breaking a window.

The conditions we are in all across this country make me think of "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest." Yes, we need a revolution because this system has gone too far. I wish we could get 25 or 50 million people to read *Voices* and act on it.

**Prisoner
South Dakota**

Voices is very impressive, covering so many prison issues and pulling them together as a whole. What is especially important is that it is so positive throughout, despite the subject matter. I will try to help its distribution in Britain.

**Activist
England**

Editor's Note: See below for how to order this important work.

**INTERNATIONAL SCENE
ISRAEL**

The brutality of the demolition of Palestinian homes reached a new height with the planned destruction of the Hope

Flowers School. This Palestinian school has been courageous in advocating reconciliation with Israel. It would be unforgivable for the Israeli authorities to defy Palestinian peace overtures by harming their work. We are demanding that Israel approve the request of the school for rezoning their property from green area to public use. We know that Israel issued virtually no permits for Palestinians to construct in the Occupied Territories and that zoning laws are applied in a blatantly discriminatory way, always to Palestinian homes and never to Israeli settlers who moved to the territories.

**Peace activist
Israel**

CANADA

I have watched with dismay the deterioration in every sector, economic, political, cultural in Canada over the years. This trend accelerated since the signing of the Free Trade Agreement, then NAFTA, and now we are living under the Damocles Sword of the MAI (Multilateral Agreement on Investment). In its drive for globalizing its interests and acquiring the cheapest labor markets, the U.S. is projecting a more and more belligerent attitude worldwide, acting as the only Superpower in the world whose corporations and military forces can dictate to the whole world. Can we still speak of democracy in Canada or the U.S.? I don't think so, in view of the fact that economic and even political decisions are not made anymore by the elected representatives of the people but in secret back-room negotiations, between various corporate power brokers. Not long ago, we had a more or less free press in Canada and in most of the Western democracies. Now practically 80% of our daily newspapers are in the hands of one individual, one company, which pursues not national, but corporate goals.

**Concerned citizen
British Columbia**

ITALY

Both TV and newspapers censored any announcement of the National School workers strike against government financing of private schools but nearly 30,000 came out to march against the law that gives money to clerical nursery schools in the Emilia-Romagna region. This bulwark of Italian Communists was the first region to finance non-state

schools! Politicians and syndicalists compromised with the present "Leftist" government, exploiting and misappropriating the meeting; they marched against themselves. The strike was a victory for the alternative workers' organizations and self-organized schoolworkers unions. At the head of the procession were many Kurdish people with their prohibited flags, asking for freedom for Ocalan. The Italian demonstrators wanted to pay their debt to the Kurdish people for allowing D'Alema's "Leftist" government to throw him out of Italy.

**Correspondent
Italy**

ENVIRONMENTAL INJUSTICE SYSTEM

The Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry and Tennessee state legislators met with Black residents of the Defense Depot at the end of March, where community people voiced their concerns about the many health problems of people in Black communities created by exposures to hazardous waste releases here. I took the meeting on a tour of the area which focused on pathways of toxic contamination of the Defense Depot entering Black communities and posing imminent danger to human health and the environment, including a river of contamination from the Defense Depot running straight through Hamilton High School. The sight was a shock even to Dr. Johnson of the ATSDR. After the tour the Health Assessment of the ATSDR was ruthlessly attacked for protecting rich white corporations and the military instead of poor and people-of-color communities.

**Doris Bradshaw
Memphis**

NIGERIA

I want to compliment the author of your *Lead on Africa*, especially West Africa, in the March *N&L* ("Nigerian elections reflect new upheavals on African continent" by Ba Karang), having known many Nigerians, personally. The article showed clearly the tremendous difficulties facing the general population of the whole region. There is no doubt that the oil companies are behind the white manipulation.

**D. Tyler
Louisiana**

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New labor revolts greet automation's 50th exploitative year

(Continued from page 1)

the deep South, where in the early 1990s Black women workers at the Delta Pride catfish operations in Mississippi vowed to end plantation conditions and carry union organization to other workers in the region—and to complete what the Civil Rights Movement left unfinished.

In fact, unresolved conflicts have continued to this moment, the most formidable being a question posed 50 years ago: What kind of labor should a human being do?

NEW STAGES OF PRODUCTION, REVOLT

That question was raised in the heat of an historical general strike. The strike erupted against the effects of automation where it was first introduced into the labor process, the coal fields of West Virginia and Kentucky. The weight of new laws against labor organization and of company violence and even of out-of-step union leaders could not suppress, and indeed inspired, such questioning.

A frightened Congress passed the Taft-Hartley slave labor act in 1947 to cripple labor power in the wake of the near general strikes that swept the nation in major industries. In both 1947 and '48 when the miners went on strike President Truman invoked Taft-Hartley against them, declaring a national emergency that resulted in throwing Mineworkers union President John L. Lewis into prison and fining the union millions of dollars for breaking the law.

In 1949 Lewis changed his tactics, ordering a three-day workweek and selective regional strikes to deplete coal reserves and avoid Taft-Hartley, since no national emergency could be declared. After six months of reduced work weeks, in-again out-again work periods and on-again off-again contract talks, miners in northern West Virginia refused Lewis' order to return to work in January of 1950.

After a series of mass rank-and-file meetings, a rank-and-file organization created by the miners through which they reached decisions and carried them out themselves took control of the strike away from Lewis.

In the following month-and-a-half, against the opposition of Lewis and the union bureaucracy, the press, courts, police, coal operators and President Truman, the miners accomplished the following: They established committees to spread the strike nationally, closing all union and non-union mines; enlisted students who sent letters to national labor organizations to solicit aid; set up a Miners Relief Committee and sent striking miners to speak to local unions in the East and Midwest, forging links of solidarity with steel, rubber, and auto workers, resulting in financial aid as well as truckloads of food and clothing; established and operated food and clothing distribution centers; discovered a way to protect Lewis, the union and miners from the Taft-Hartley act (since a law could not be passed against an individual, each miner took it upon himself to stay out); and forced the operators to negotiate a contract.

The March 3 contract won wage and benefit improvements, but not what the miners wanted. They knew automation, in the form of a truck-size instrument called "the continuous miner," would further dehumanize working conditions, reduce the work force, and hurt and maim miners. They called it a "man-killer." Their frame of reference was their lives, not a contract.

On the minds of many was that question: What kind of labor should a human being do? Before, it had been: What should be the fruits of one's labor? translated into wages and benefits. It renewed the

vision of putting an end to the division between mental and manual labor itself, the hallmark of capitalist production which Karl Marx described over a hundred years ago.

A Marxist theoretician, Raya Dunayevskaya, who stayed with a mining family during the strike, caught the significance of what the miners had brought onto the historic stage, seeing the todayness of Marx's philosophy in their actions. She posited their practice as a form of theory itself. Connecting Marx's philosophy with today's labor consciousness called for a new philosophy, Marxist-

especially outsourcing—another word for runaway shops—tops the agenda, with forced overtime also high on the workers' priority list.

The main focus is on GM, which has divested itself of its Delphi parts unit under contract with the UAW. By getting rid of its parts plants, GM hopes to cut worker wages and benefits from \$20-25 per hour with good benefits to \$10-15 per hour that non-union suppliers pay without benefits. Ford and DaimlerChrysler long ago got rid of most of their parts plants.

More ominous however is the concept and practice of modular production, wherein suppliers produce parts and deliver assembled units to be installed on the production line. Some have already started to do this, and the logic of this development is seen in a Volkswagen plant in Resende, Brazil, where parts producers and line production work side by side, but in separate demarcated areas.

The modules include whole wheels, full axle components, a combined transmission and suspension unit and a cabin, chassis and engine unit. The modules, delivered to the production line, are quickly installed by a drastically reduced line force. It's not hard to picture production quotas set by union workers competing against non-union workers toiling under one roof.

Right now, Ford and GM are both constructing similar modular plants designed to produce low-cost cars next year. GM was negotiating with three UAW locals for modular agreements, including the Spring Hill, Tenn. Saturn plant, but the UAW stopped this to deal with the explosive issue in the national contract. They are looking over their shoulders at a recent revolt in the Spring Hill UAW local which tossed out the local's founding leadership and with it, a separate, productivity-based union contract.

As Karl Marx emphasized over and over again, capital has but one function, and that is to reproduce itself, regardless of the consequences. That has not changed in a hundred years, nor in 50. Marx first spelled out this process. Coal miners experienced it anew when automation was born, and Marxist-Humanism restated the problem for this age. Once the socially necessary labor time required to produce a product is established, every producer must meet it—or revolt.

Retrogression at heart of school massacre

Evergreen, Colo. — I live in Jefferson County where the Columbine High School massacre occurred. My daughter attended Chatfield High School in the adjacent school district to the south where the Columbine students will finish this school year. South Jefferson County is an upper middle class community containing a lake, bicycle paths and a view of the Rocky Mountains to the immediate west.

My first thoughts upon seeing the initial news coverage of this tragedy were of the Oklahoma City bombing. Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, who planned this attack on Hitler's birthday, were intrigued by white supremacy, racism, neo-Nazism and the use of bombs. A student testified they had singled out an African-American student in the school library and killed him.

Understandably the corporate-owned, government-sanctioned press avoided the obvious connection to the Oklahoma City bombing.

Indeed, these were atrocities and need to be considered an integral part of any serious philosophic analysis of life and labor in the U.S. In the minds of the mainstream press however, by avoiding the connection to the Oklahoma City bombing, they thought they could limit the "meaning" of the Columbine High School massacre to "boys" psychological problems.

Now these so-called journalists thought they could narrow the causes of the massacre to problem teens, gender straitjackets for boys and a culture of violence. Now that the causes have been narrowly defined come the proposed remedies:

Tighter gun laws—even though much of the carnage resulted from home made bombs.

Another proposed remedy was early identification and treatment of alienated kids. Few of us, young or old, could pass such scrutiny. As far as our high schools are concerned, only the homecoming queen and jocks would be spared from being dragooned into therapy.

Finally, parental responsibility—unfortunately this responsibility doesn't extend to creating a better world by allying with our revolutionary youth.

It isn't known at this time if Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold had links to any militias or help of any other kind. What is known however is that we are in a period of deep retrogression. Racism, nationalism, white supremacy, neo-Nazism, and so on are on the rise. The Right is currently winning the battle of ideas and there is no clear mass movement for freedom in sight. This is fertile ground for retrogressive acts of violence such as the Oklahoma City bombing and the spate of shootings at schools. Unchecked we could end up with absolutism.

We need to take "real" responsibility by talking to youth about revolution and with them, staying the hand of U.S. imperialism, destroying capitalism and creating a new society based on fundamentally new human relationships.

—D.H.

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Humanism, which was to become the basis for a new type of revolutionary organization, News and Letters Committees.

CONTRADICTIONS WON'T GO AWAY

The ramifications of automation and the contradictions of capitalist society have only grown. The miners' fears of automation came true, with employment in coal slashed from 500,000 in the mid-50s to less than 100,000 today, with the same effects in other industries as automation swept through them.

Labor productivity has increased under the whip of technology, layoffs and unpaid labor time done by more and more workers and consumers. Technology has succeeded in transferring labor time from workers to consumers, nowhere more frustratingly clear than in voice mail. It is nearly impossible to talk to a human being at a company or city office. Callers are routed through a maze of time-consuming push-button directions—all at the consumers' time and with the loss of jobs.

Other unpaid time runs from factories where workers do set up and clean up on their own time, to office workers who start an hour early and take work home in what is becoming a 12-hour workday, but are paid for eight hours. These unpaid hours amount to billions in extra profits—and affect productivity measurements.

Every worker knows that employers implement new technology to lower labor costs, driving down wages and throwing people out of work. While national unemployment is at a low 4.2%, not included in the data are those who have dropped out of the job market, who have two or more jobs, or are in the military or in prison. And in inner cities, unemployment often exceeds 50%.

Cheaper imports from Asia, Latin America and Russia and reduced exports to these economically devastated countries have decimated U.S. agriculture, textile and steel industries, with steel employment now at 170,000, down from 500,000.

Since the first strike against automation revealed divergent class interests between workers and the labor bureaucracy, the divisions have widened.

Thanks to concessionary contracts, workers face two or more tier wages, team work schemes where workers criticize and discipline each other, interplant competition for jobs, loss of seniority protections, ignored health and work grievances, forced overtime when others are laid off, and unbridled technological changes and outsourcing that lead to inhuman speed-up, injury, and plant closings.

In strikes and lock-outs over the last decade and a half at Hormel, Caterpillar, Staley, Firestone and the Detroit newspapers, rank-and-filers were eager to shut down these operations immediately, but were overruled by their union leaderships that insisted on "legal" tactics, even as the corporations brought in replacement workers and stalled negotiations in the courts.

Finally the role of racism in diverting from the roots of unemployment and poverty in capitalism itself continually escapes the union bureaucracy. When workers reported anti-Black graffiti spray-painted in the bathroom of an auto plant in suburban Detroit, they were ignored by both the company and union until the incident was publicized by a reporter. Only then did they condemn the racist act and threaten disciplinary action.

STRUGGLES ON THE HORIZON

That's not to say that workers, in unions and outside, have stood still even as globalization and technology have socialized labor in terms of '90s issues. As with service work, confrontations in old-line industries like auto reveal new alienations and revolts. Recent strikes at GM's Buick complex and in Flint, Mich., challenged inhuman demands of massive overtime which was to lay the ground for corporate restructuring, meant to ultimately cut jobs.

On the immediate horizon are the UAW-Big Three negotiations which begin in June on contracts expiring Sept. 1. Talks will cover 220,000 GM employees, 101,000 at Ford and 78,000 at DaimlerChrysler. Job security, and

'Ex-gays' rip lies

Memphis, Tenn. — A diverse group of mid-Southerners gathered March 23 at First Congregational Church for "Focus on ALL Families: A Forum for Gay and Lesbian Equality." This conference was the culmination of a week's worth of statewide activities with the overall theme of Equality Begins at Home.

Mark Perriello told of the torment he had experienced in the fundamentalist "ex-gay" program: "They say they save souls. It's the exact opposite. They oppress souls." The two final speakers were a gay couple who met at Liberty University (a fundamentalist Baptist college), while they were students there. These men, Marc Adams and Todd Tuttle, now travel the country telling their story of trying to become "ex-gays." They finally came to the realization that they could be happy and healthy as gay men.

All of these topics were especially pertinent in light of activities happening that same day on the other side of town at Central Church. There James Dobson's Focus on the Family and other far right groups were conducting training for those who want to "love" homosexuals straight.

Tuttle said, "It's not James Dobson, the person, that's dangerous. It's his philosophy that's dangerous. They say that gay people can't be happy, that if you have the right kind of family you won't have gay children. That's a lie. There have been gays in every country, culture and time of history. They accuse gays of 'recruiting.' There wasn't a pink bus going around my neighborhood when I was a child, picking up kids and filling their heads with 'gay ideas.' But there was a bus taking kids to the fundamentalist church that taught these lies."

—Lesbian feminist activist

Youth

International mobilization demands freedom for Mumia

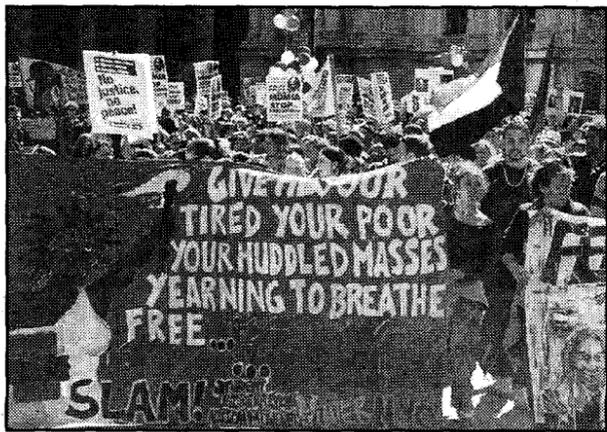
by Kevin Michaels

The date April 24 was in the minds and on the lips of supporters of imprisoned Black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal for much of this spring. That day had been chosen by organizers for a massive solidarity rally in Mumia's home town, Philadelphia, because it is both Mumia's birthday and the third anniversary of the signing into law of the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, a retrogressive piece of legislation which severely circumscribes the process of appeal for prisoners sentenced to death. This law will imperil the fight to win Mumia a hearing at which the evidence not brought forth at his first, grossly unfair, trial—as well as the new evidence discovered by his current lawyers—can be presented.

The nationwide organizing efforts for the march, dubbed "Millions for Mumia," included house meetings, video showings, benefit concerts, appeals at churches and numerous other means of getting out news about the day. A complementary march in San Francisco was planned for the West Coast, as well as local actions on the part of Mumia's supporters worldwide. A section of organized labor lent a hand when the members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union declared that they would not work on April 24.

Chartered buses rolled into Philadelphia as the beautiful spring day dawned—including one bus of stalwart supporters from Texas—and participants marched to rally at City Hall from various pre-arranged points in the city. As the crowds downtown swelled, speakers including Mumia's son Mazi Jamal, writer Julia Wright and lawyer Leonard Weinglas, offered accounts of the importance of Mumia's struggle.

One look at the 12,000-strong assembled crowd made it plain that to a substantial degree, the movement for Mumia's freedom is a youth movement, made up of both Black and white. A large percentage of those participating were in all likelihood born after Mumia's 1982 trial, making this event the largest political gathering of their lives.



One of hundreds of colorful banners.

Their presence in such numbers made it clear that they reject the retrograde political trajectory of the country in which they are coming of age. They represent the beginnings of a movement which has the potential to challenge this direction.

The day's main march was remarkable for its variety of colorful banners, giant puppets and creative chants. It wound its way through downtown Philadelphia and passed through the intersection of 13th and Locust, the site of the incident for which Mumia was wrongly convicted, and returned to City Hall to hear further speeches.

It would be misleading, however, to give the impression that the day was not without its contradictions. Despite the positive content of the majority of the speakers' messages, a few went out of their way to distort the nature of the tragic events transpiring in Kosova. Zack de la Rocha, the singer for the band Rage Against the Machine, typified this effort. He denounced the railroading of Mumia as a human rights violation and tried to draw a

parallel between it and the ongoing bombing of Serbia, without breathing a word about the forcible expulsion of an entire nation from its homeland. This willful overlooking of the ethnic cleansing of Kosova simply because of a perverse need to portray Milosevic's Serbia as some kind of a remnant of socialism undermined an otherwise powerful day.

The April 24 march in Philadelphia, the even larger gathering in San Francisco and the numerous demonstrations in Europe and Latin America represent the single largest concerted effort for a political prisoner facing the death penalty since the height of the movement for Sacco and Vanzetti. The creative energy on display on this historic day was evidence of a movement which can successfully challenge the racist state's grip on Mumia and much work toward this end is ahead of all who support Mumia. Hopefully, the new eyes of the youth who came out in such numbers on April 24, will see past the self-imposed limitations which were in evidence among some in attendance to find a road towards freedom for Mumia.

Labor fires Bay Area Mumia march

San Francisco—"An injury to one is an injury to all! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!" The April 25 march and rally for Mumia Abu-Jamal was led by the Longshoremen, who organized a one day complete West Coast work stoppage to show their support.

More than 20,000 came to San Francisco from all over the West, from San Diego, Oregon, and Colorado. There were many Blacks, whites, Latinos and Asians, including many immigrants. One of the many banners read "Asians on the move for Mumia."

We marched from the primarily Latino Mission district, through the mainly Black Western Addition, to end up at the Civic Center. Many youth, a generation not even born when Mumia was put on trial, came from high schools and middle schools. The Oakland school district created great interest regarding Mumia's case in the Bay Area by forbidding a teach-in on Mumia. The youth have a keen interest in the issues of police brutality and police violence.

They also identified with the plight of the Kosovars who face police killings of their own. This is in sharp contrast to many Left banners calling for nothing more than stopping the bombing of Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, most of the older Left was still burdened with a narrow opposition to NATO without expressing solidarity with the Kosovar struggle against ethnic cleansing.

While the youth don't constrain their passion for humanity everywhere, the new in this particular march was massive participation of labor. One Longshoreman, who helped organize the work stoppage, said labor supports Mumia partly because of Mumia's tremendously brave act of solidarity when Mumia refused to give ABC an interview to show solidarity with locked-out ABC workers. Another longshoreman said that workers today understand that there is something larger than "traditional" labor issues, such as wages, at stake here. Speakers made connections between fighting racism and labor struggles.

While labor's participation in this march was seen by everyone as one of its high points, the workers themselves felt that Mumia's life would not be saved until labor stood up for his cause in Philadelphia itself. A Turkish man said that while class struggle is important, we have to include the Kurds, the Rwandans and Kosovars of the world. In general, marchers were looking for ways to transform this inhuman society through the struggle to save Mumia's life.

—Participants

Editorial

(Continued from page 1)

Serbia, it was not out of any desire to aid the KLA or the Kosovars, but rather to assert the power and hegemony of the NATO alliance. According to Barton Gellman's detailed analysis in *The Washington Post* (April 18), U.S. officials expected that Milosevic would capitulate to U.S. demands after a few days of air strikes. That Milosevic might use that period to try to eliminate the KLA did not bother U.S. officials in the least.

Gellman writes, "Policy makers generally assumed the Serb leader would try to eradicate the rebel KLA, as he boasted he could do in five to seven days. They did not foresee Serb efforts to depopulate Kosova of its 1.6 million ethnic Albanians, some two-thirds of whom are now homeless and many thousands believed dead, and therefore made no military plans to halt them."

Milosevic had originally planned to invade Kosova later this spring under the code-name "Operation Horseshoe." ("Horseshoe" refers to the Serb tactic, first used in Bosnia, of assembling villagers inside a horseshoe-shaped ring; paramilitaries then move in to vent their appetite for rape and murder, with the exit road left open for those who survive.)

When Milosevic decided to move up his full invasion of Kosova in response to NATO's bombing, a new situation was created. Serbia's intransigence has so embarrassed NATO that it has been put into the position of fighting an extended air war and/or using ground troops. Yet the U.S. continues to disregard those already on the ground who can hit back at the Serbian forces—the Kosovars themselves.

Shrem Dasgobia of the KLA states, "When we signed the Rambouillet agreement, we were led to believe that NATO and the USA would help the Albanians. So we stopped arming and mobilizing ourselves. If NATO will not

Support the Kosovar resistance!

aid the victims of genocide, then our wish is that they leave us alone to resolve our own problems. We're convinced we can handle the Serbs by ourselves, provided we get arms."

THE LEFT IN DISARRAY

What stands in the way of the needed solidarity with Kosova is the disorientation in the Left. Many are responding in a knee-jerk reaction to the U.S. bombing by supporting Serbia, as if it has any right to sovereignty over a people it ethnically cleanses. Others blame the Kosovars for starting the problem, as if they have no right to independence. And others stoop so low as to call the KLA a "CIA front."

This is a vicious lie. The KLA grew out of a core of Marxist-Leninist guerrillas who fought Serbian rule in the 1980s. It was until recently a small and rather marginal force, since most Kosovars supported Ibrahim Rugova's Kosova League for Democracy which advocated non-violent resistance. That approach, however, proved a total failure by 1997 in light of increasing Serbian attacks. By that time the KLA merged with the Kosova Parliamentary Party of Adem Demaqi who favored armed struggle. As against any narrow nationalism, Demaqi proposes that Kosova join in a federation of equals with Serbia and Montenegro after gaining independence.

By mid-1998 the KLA had grown rapidly—not because of support from the U.S., but because its resistance to Serbian ethnic cleansing won it the full support of the local populace.

Those who attack the KLA in the name of opposing U.S. imperialism remain trapped in the mind-forged manacles of the past. Throughout this century radicals have made excuses for one or another state-capitalist regime that called itself "Communist" on the grounds that it resisted U.S. imperialism. Those regimes are now largely gone, but the nostalgia for some state power to serve as the "Other" of the U.S. is very much with us. Yet this now means tailoring an outright fascist power!

Others oppose the KLA not out of support for Serbia, but because they desire a "peaceful" solution. But a pacifist approach is absurd when an entire people is subject to genocide. It fails to differentiate between the violence that inflicts oppression and the violence that resists it. From whatever standpoint, those who fail to extend solidarity with the Kosovars today are taking an accommodating position toward genocide itself.

As Ian Williams of *Balkan War Report* writes, "Many are inveighing against NATO intervention in tones far more strident than we ever heard them use during the siege of Sarajevo, the massacre of Srebrenica and certainly more angrily than they speak now about Milosevic's ethnic cleansing in Kosova. There was a time when the Left supported liberation struggles by oppressed peoples. Now, too many seem prepared to condemn them to remain quiescent

victims of nationalist terror. Activists who called for unconditional support for the IRA, for the ANC, for SWAPO, and hundreds of other acronyms of varying merit, unite with the Serbs in regarding the Kosovars as beneath the rest of humanity in their claims" (*BosNet*, April 14, 1999).

Williams also says, "Soon NATO will be faced with two alternatives—either to stop the bombing and 'negotiate,' or to commit ground troops." This may be how NATO sees the matter, but why should we? Why narrow the choices to supporting U.S. bombing or capitulating to Milosevic? There is a very different alternative we can choose—that the KLA be allowed to obtain the arms and materiel it needs to defend the Kosovars and to defeat Serbia.

A TALE OF TWO OPPOSITIONS

The Kosovars are not the only opposition to Milosevic. Montenegro has declared itself neutral in the fight between Milosevic and the U.S., and many Montenegrin youth refuse to have anything to do with the Serbian army. On April 13 workers at Bar, Montenegro's largest commercial port, denounced Milosevic as a warmonger and protested Serbia's use of the port to shoot at NATO warplanes.

The opposition in Serbia itself is more muted. This is not only because of severe repression and the way the U.S. bombing makes it easy for Milosevic to accuse anyone who opposes him of being a traitor. It is also because the opposition in Belgrade, to the extent that it exists, has never come to grips with Serbia's responsibility for genocide in Bosnia and now in Kosova. Until it does so, it will not be able to pose any kind of meaningful opposition.

Solidarity with Kosova is not only needed by those in the Balkans. The genocide occurring there may well reflect the kind of future the rulers have in store for us here at home. Racism and ethnic cleansing have long been integral to U.S. history, from the genocide against Native Americans to the decimation of Africa through the slave trade to the lynchings and mob violence against African Americans. As capitalism faces new crises and instability, it is returning anew to the ethnic cleansing and racism that marked its origins. It is seen in everything from the draconian cutbacks against welfare to unbridled police abuse against African Americans and Latinos.

Can the movements opposing police violence and state-sanctioned racism in the U.S. willfully ignore the fact that in Kosova a militarized police force is violently expelling an entire people from their towns and villages because of their ethnic identity? We cannot generate freedom for ourselves if we ignore genocide against an entire people. That is why we call on all our readers to support independence for Kosova and the right of the KLA to obtain arms.

—April 28, 1999

NEWS & LETTERS

Vol. 44, No. 4

May 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 of 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.

759-C

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Subway workers in Seoul went on strike, April 19, against a government plan to lay off over 2,000—20% of their workforce. The strike was initiated as the first in a series of "rolling strikes" by unions affiliated with the militant Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU), aimed at reversing President Kim Dae Jung's IMF-ordered economic "restructuring" policies.

Subway workers returned to their jobs a week later under government threats to arrest union leaders, fire striking workers, and break up any resistance with force. The same day, the 42,000-member Korean Telecom workers union cancelled a planned strike to protest layoffs and wage cuts.

The KCTU has characterized Kim's policy "unilateral restructuring" because workers have shouldered nearly the entire weight. When the Asian crisis struck South Korea and the economy nose-dived in late 1997, the Kim government wholeheartedly embraced IMF "neo-liberal" mandates to secure a \$58 billion bailout.

Since then, tens of thousands of workers have been thrown onto the streets in a society with virtually no "safety net." Unemployment has soared to nearly 9%, and upwards of two million people are jobless, the high-

Turkey moves right

Turkey's April 18 elections resulted in unanticipated new strength for the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party, which placed second. Nationalist Action espouses Pan-Turkism and has a long history of links to the Gray Wolves and other police and paramilitary death squads. According to the April 24 *Financial Times*, "the party is ferocious in denying that Turkey's Kurdish problem is anything other than a 'terrorist' one."

The largest vote-getter was current Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit's Democratic Left, a party that is leftist only in name. The fact that the Islamic fundamentalist Virtue Party did worse than expected, placing third, does not lessen the danger inherent in a coalition between Ecevit's party and Nationalist Action.

With such a coalition likely, it is virtually certain that Turkey's anti-Kurdish war will be intensified. That war has already resulted in the destruction of more than 3,000 Kurdish villages, six million displaced persons and 29,000 deaths.

Kurdish guerrilla leader Abdullah Ocalan sits in jail, soon to go on trial for his life, after having been kidnapped from Kenya with U.S. support. Turkish and U.S. pressure not only prevented any European country from giving Ocalan asylum, but has also resulted in Britain's agreement to shut down the world's only Kurdish TV station and France's scrapping a Senate vote condemning Turkey's 1915 genocide against the Armenians.

However, the Kurdish people show no signs of allowing themselves to be cowed. Their Peoples Democracy Party garnered overwhelming support in predominantly Kurdish southeastern Turkey despite heavy repression, including threats to ban the party and police violence against peaceful demonstrations.

CHICAGO AREA READERS

A memorial meeting for

Felix Martin

will be held on

Sunday, June 6, at 6:30 p.m.,

at 59 E. Van Buren, room 707.

South Korean workers fight layoffs

est rate since 1982. Another 400,000 workers are expected to lose their jobs this year.

Workers are most furious at the government's leniency with the financial sector and the chaebol (conglomerates), whom they blame for bringing on the economic collapse. Under a state-imposed plan called the "Big Deal," the top five chaebol are supposed to "swap" businesses among themselves to rationalize production, and sell off less profitable companies. Workers in the bloated, debt-ridden chaebol are being forced to balance the books by losing their jobs. At least 170,000 workers in chaebols are expected to be laid off in 1999.

"Coincidental" with the start of the subway strike, Daewoo (dubbed "Debt Pile Daewoo" by workers) announced the proposed sale of its shipyard to foreign investors. Workers immediately went on indefinite strike. Later in the week, auto workers walked out over a plan to sell off Daewoo's bus manufacturing division.

Other workers, from steel to university employees,

held work stoppages and one-day strikes to press their own demands and show support for the subway workers. Several thousand scientists and technicians struck on "Science Day" (April 21) against proposed layoffs of staff at state-run research facilities.

The Kim government has taken a hard line against the strikes and in support of "restructuring" in order to keep the spigot of international capital flowing into the country. However, this stance is not likely to deter worker actions anymore than it will solve South Korea's economic mess this side of the next millennium.

Autonomy for East Timor

The Habibie government in Indonesia has agreed to hold a referendum on "partial autonomy" for East Timor in August under UN auspices. This is essentially the same rotten proposal put forth by Habibie at the beginning of the year, when he claimed he would "cut East Timor loose" if autonomy was rejected. Habibie refused to allow the question of full independence on any ballot.

Since the autonomy referendum was proposed, the military has intensified its program to recruit, train and finance East Timor militia surrogates to sabotage the political climate for any vote, much less an open dialogue on East Timor's self-determination. Knowing the referendum deal was near to conclusion, militia thugs increased their terrorism. One of their most brutal massacres was staged in Liquica on April 6 when paramilitaries opened fire on over 2,000 people who had sought sanctuary in a church.

A week later, 7,000 paramilitaries, armed with lists of names of people who they beat and killed, swept through the capital, Dili. This well-organized rampage followed a pro-Jakarta rally, during which the militia leader ordered them to conduct a "cleansing" of independence supporters from Dili.

While Habibie and the military are talking truce and elections, their actual intent under the "autonomy" smokescreen is to never permit full independence in East Timor. Not the least of their fears is that an independent East Timor would fan the flames of self-determination in other parts of Indonesia.

China's May 4 movement

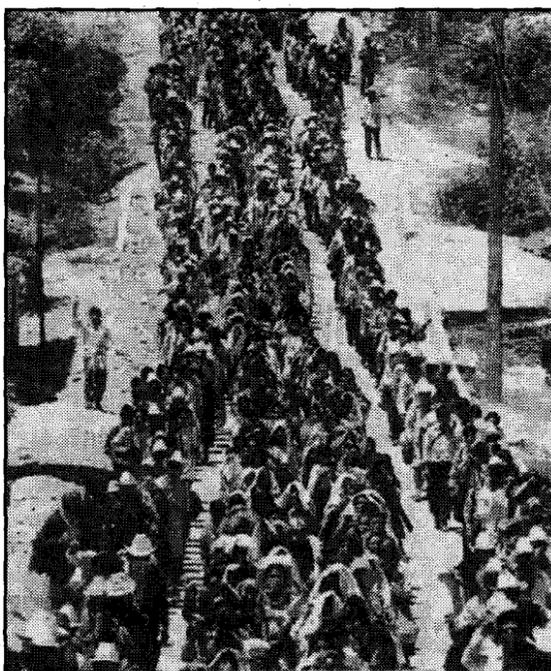
This May marks the 80th anniversary of China's May Fourth Movement, one of history's most creative youth movements. It began on May 4, 1919 when students took to the streets of Beijing to oppose Japanese occupation. The students soon gained the support of China's new working class. Massive solidarity strikes, especially in Shanghai, forced the release of arrested students and resignation of pro-Japan government ministers.

The May Fourth Movement exemplified not narrow nationalism but a profound concept of national liberation. For no sooner had the youth seen the government hesitate than they surged forth with a whole series of new demands that challenged China's traditional structures of class, age and gender oppression.

Sparked by women students, new groups such as the Women's Association of Hunan launched the demand for the famous "Five Rights" for women: 1) equal property and inheritance rights, 2) the right to vote and hold office, 3) an equal right to education, 4) an equal right to work, 5) an end to arranged marriages and their replacement by free choice.

It was during this period that Marxist ideas really penetrated China for the first time, as Marxists and adherents of John Dewey's pragmatism debated the best philosophy with which to liberate China. May 4 has resonated ever since, most recently in the mass democratic uprising of 1989.

March in Chiapas



Over 1,000 unarmed Zapatista supporters marched into San Andrés Larrainzar in Chiapas on April 8 and reclaimed the town hall which state police, sent in to carry out the PRI government's attack on Zapatista "autonomous zones," had seized the day before.

Algeria's election farce

Algeria's one-candidate election on April 15 only deepened the crisis, possibly giving a second wind to Islamic fundamentalist groups that have engaged in a seven-year campaign of murder, rape and kidnapping.

After becoming convinced that a massive vote fraud was about to take place, six presidential candidates withdrew from the race leaving Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the favorite of the current military rulers, as the sole candidate. His opponents ranged from a moderate Islamicist to a socialist.

On election day turnout was extremely low, yet the government reported it at 70%. The day after the election, youths demonstrated against the government in several cities.

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 nuclear 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.