

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Freedom from work at whim of capital



by B. Ann Lastelle

"Capital is not a thing but a relation of production established by the materiality of things."

—Raya Dunayevskaya, *Marxism and Freedom*

A first shift worker brought the news into the plant. She had heard on the radio, as she turned her car into the company parking lot, that our employer, Unilever, planned to close 100 manufacturing sites and lay off 25,000 employees worldwide. Since we already were experiencing a "reduction in hours" due, management had told us, to excess inventory and flat or declining sales, everyone immediately assumed the worst.

Unilever Home & Personal Care-USA announced the following day the closure of its St. Louis plant. "This decision supports the recently announced acceleration of our Path to Growth Strategic Agenda which calls for these, more focused regional manufacturing sites. These sites will be selected based on their ability to leverage scale, relevance of the products made and the efficiencies achieved," the company president said. Two hundred thirty-five people will lose their jobs.

A month later we have yet to hear anything definite about the future of the Chicago plant. Our wages are relatively high and the buildings are old, which worries us. Rumors abound. An executive from the home and personal care division headquarters in London toured the plant. Local management had us clean and paint for two days in preparation for the visit. No worker thinks that cleaning and painting will make a difference. "I wish they would just make up their minds and get this over with," said one woman.

"The economy is good. You'll find another job," said a

(Continued on page 3)

Black World

Battle of ideas over Fanon legacy



I have turned over the "Black World" column this month to Jennifer Pen's review of *Rethinking Fanon: The Continuing Dialogue*, edited by Nigel Gibson—Lou Turner

by Jennifer Pen

Forged in the colonialism of Martinique, confirmed by the racism of Paris and vividly enlivened by the Algerian revolution, Frantz Fanon's all too brief life (1925-1961) and thought were inextricably linked to the transformation of reality. Fanon's historical importance as a Black theorist with a total critique of imperialism has made him a crucial figure in the Black struggles in the U.S., the fight against apartheid in South Africa and postcolonial theory.

Rethinking Fanon: The Continuing Dialogue is a new collection of essays, edited by Nigel Gibson, which highlights Fanon's significance by airing controversies over his legacy. The issues which generate the most controversy concern the meaning of Fanon's humanism and his assessment of the role of women in the Algerian revolution. The two issues are intimately linked.

Fanon's famous critique of "The Pitfalls of National Consciousness" outlines the ways in which a revolution can stop short or turn into its opposite if a narrow vision of the past is imposed as a substitute for the ongoing development of a new culture. In one of the most moving pieces in the collection, Algerian feminist Marie-Aimée Helie-Lucas relates the hideous damage done by delaying women's liberation until after the revolution. The building of a "national culture" falls disproportionately on women, who become symbolic carriers of traditions which are "seen as ahistorical and immutable" (275). "Defending women's rights 'now'—this now being any historical moment—is always a betrayal of the people, the nation, the revolution, religion, national identity, cultural roots" (280).

Helie-Lucas holds Fanon partly responsible for this blind in which women were placed after the revolution, claiming that he created a myth of Algerian women's "revolutionary virtue of the veil" (275). T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting considers this argument, but rejects it, saying that Fanon was

(Continued on page 8)

New South American movements confront array of contradictions

by Mitch Weerth

Four different series of events emanating from South America over the past few months reveal many of the challenges facing freedom movements in that region: the U.S. proposal to grant Colombia \$1.3 billion in military aid; a new level of opposition to the crimes of prior dictatorships, especially in Chile and Argentina; the growing labor movement in Argentina, and the sad failure on Jan. 21 of a broadly based movement—a revolution, if you like—in Ecuador.

The approach that the U.S. has signaled in the past few months to the 40-year old civil war in Colombia is an ominous sign of what lies ahead for all of Latin America. The military aid package was announced by Clinton on Jan. 11—originally \$1.6 billion, mostly for high-tech helicopters—and represents the biggest infusion of military aid since Reagan's destructive adventures in Central America in the 1980s.

Similar to then, an indigenous population has been in revolt against the so-called national interests of U.S. corporations in the region. The U'wa people are resisting the encroachment and environmental ravages by Oxydental Petroleum whose particular interests have been championed by Vice President Al Gore.

To emphasize how eagerly this administration is throwing itself into a heightened militarization of the country, Madeleine Albright appealed to Congress in early February to accept this as a "political priority." Paul Coverdell, Republican president of the Senate subcommittee on foreign relations, spoke two weeks later of the need for a "new democratic doctrine for the Americas," wherein the U.S. should be prepared to militarily intervene on its own, wherever and whenever it perceives a threat to "democracy" in the hemisphere.

U.S. HANDS STILL DIRTY

This latest version of the old Monroe Doctrine, being articulated in different ways from Clinton on down, defines U.S. politics toward Latin America today in every respect. The recent release of former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet from his 16-month house arrest in a London suburb is one example. The Spanish judge who tested extradition laws to bring Pinochet to justice for the junta's murders of Spaniards in Chile touched a raw nerve in two generations of Chileans. They and those in solidar-



Among the rising tide of protests in South America are students in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil who protested state education cuts on March 28.

ity around the world sensed an opportunity to make him answer for his crimes.

Clinton wanted nothing to do with the affair and only let out some high sounding phrases about the need to prosecute human rights violators when he was pressed.

More importantly, the same week Pinochet was released to howls of protest in Chile especially, Terry Ward was awarded the CIA's highest honors for his "exceptional achievements" during his career. The former head of the Latin American division of the CIA had been fired in 1995 for covering for a Guatemalan colonel implicated in several assassinations.

One day earlier, the U.S. briefly detained in Houston the retired Peruvian mayor Ricardo Anderson, former member of the Peruvian Intelligence Service who was previously found guilty of torture, freed, and again is wanted on new charges for other torture cases. After a few hours he was freed on the pretext of being on "diplomatic status" since he had come to the U.S. in order to testify in court on behalf of the Peruvian government. Like Pinochet, he quickly got on a plane and headed for home.

These cases show that the U.S. wants absolutely nothing to do with prosecuting these criminals, whether they're U.S. nationals or not. The question is, why? Why wouldn't Clinton want to pose as the guarantor of human rights, when this is the posture he has attempted to foster elsewhere, such as the stance he has taken before the World Trade Organization?

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Rampart scandal exposes L.A. police crimes

Los Angeles—The Los Angeles Police Department has been exposed to the world as a corrupt organization, in particular from the street level where their so-called gang task force C.R.A.S.H. has been crushed from within. Chief of Police Parks said that C.R.A.S.H. must be disbanded while they implement new checks and balances.

The Rampart station's Officer Perez set these wheels in motion when he got busted for stealing some nine pounds of cocaine from the evidence room at Rampart. The code of silence was broken with Perez whose confession implicated himself and other officers of C.R.A.S.H. with crimes against the community.

They framed and imprisoned the innocent, killing, crippling, dealing drugs, and possibly murdering for hire and illegally deporting Mexican and Salvadoran immigrants with the cooperation of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Perez's crimes are not new to the Black and Brown communities of the inner city because this is not an isolated incident. It reflects organized crime from within the state. That is why Chief Parks' hand was forced; he let it be known that C.R.A.S.H. would be "abolished" while another group is formed with the imposition of a three-year limit for officers to be part of this special gang task force because of the unspoken but obvious element of corruption found within the system of the LAPD itself.

Despite espousing a view that power corrupts and that the LAPD has placed itself above the law, the court judge and district attorney work hand in hand within a corrupt system of injustice. The pledge by the politicians to be tough on crime is a racist political football to win votes. It has laid the ground to violate rights of masses of people,

citizens who can vote and immigrants who cannot.

Many Latino youth who were considered gang members were deported illegally by the LAPD within the Rampart district. The LAPD does not have the right to ask about citizenship status during the investigation of a crime, but they used the INS as a vehicle to deport 10,000 people who the police considered 18th Street Gang members.

"That was just ludicrous. The 18th Street doesn't have 10,000 members to deport," a senior INS agent stated. "That's not a gang anymore; that's a culture" that the LAPD was attempting to make disappear! (*Los Angeles Times*, 2/24/00)

That type of death squad mentality is already present in the U.S. What is needed to combat it is a mind in action that isn't shy about self-defense, to combat unfreedom, to uproot the ruthless reign of police terror, to set afoot a new humanity, a new man, woman and child. From Los Angeles to New York City the masses will not accept legal lynching forever, for the state creates its own grave diggers.

—Gene Ford

ON THE INSIDE

Special section, page 4

Notes on the Logic from Hegel's *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*

First of three-part serialization of Raya Dunayevskaya's detailed commentary



A new beginning for global feminism?

by Maya Jhansi

Never before has International Women's Day been so international. Just when it seemed that postmodernists had successfully deconstructed the idea of global sisterhood, a new solidarity has arisen amongst women from all over the world. Women from the Third World especially are challenging feminists in the West to join their struggles against globalized capitalism.

Amnesty International released a report on March 8, condemning the world's failure to improve women's lives since the much touted Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. This year showed women taking matters into their own hands in a new way. In Pakistan, exiled Afghan women, joined by Pakistani feminists and human rights advocates, rallied in protest of the vicious Taliban regime in Afghanistan, and against the threat of the Talibanization of Pakistan.

Women all over the world sent messages of solidarity to Afghan women, recognizing that their struggle is central to the struggle of women globally. In Chiapas, Zapatista women marched in San Cristobal de las Casas to demand the withdrawal of the army from Chiapas. In the Middle East, women have recently won small victories. In Egypt, for example, a law was finally passed allowing women to initiate divorce, while Palestinian women's groups have been organizing to pass a law raising the minimum age of marriage to 18.

This International Women's Day also saw the first-ever Global Women's Strike, originally called by the National Women's Council of Ireland to protest women's paid and unpaid labor and supported by women's groups from over 140 countries. Reports are still coming in. The strike was observed in several countries: India, Taiwan, Argentina, Nigeria, Brazil and others. In England, prostitutes in Soho went out on strike to protest gentrification policies that could leave many homeless.

In the U.S., the strike made its appearance most visibly in Los Angeles, where some 1,500 women observed International Women's Day by demanding justice and recognition. Hundreds of janitors and supporters blocked traffic at a noon rally, resulting in the arrests of 34 women. In South Central Los Angeles, women and girls chanted, "Don't Iron while the Strike is Hot!" In downtown Los Angeles, women dressed in white (the color of mourning in Asian countries) protested the sex industry dating back to World War II, when 200,000 Asian women were conscripted to work as sex slaves for the Japanese Army.

Although in many cities in the U.S., March 8 passed by quietly—in Chicago, we were hard pressed to find any serious International Women's Day activities to go to—it's clear that we are witnessing the beginning of a new sort of "globalization" of women's struggles against the further immiseration, violence, and alienation that capitalism spawns. Women are at the forefront of all kinds of battles, bringing together economics, politics and culture.

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

Close to 300,000 people chanting "No to reactionaries" marched in Rabat, Morocco, March 12, in support of a government plan to grant more rights to women. Representing women's groups and human rights organizations, the demonstrators endorsed changes which would replace automatic divorce by husbands with court divorces, provide for equal division of money and property, and support a literacy program for rural Moroccan women—60% of whom are illiterate.

Sixteen women health care workers, most of them Haitian, are fighting for their jobs after being fired from the Courtyard Nursing Home in Medford, Mass. in February for an "illegal work stoppage" protesting the suspension of another worker. The women have been subjected to verbal abuse and harassment as they try to get their first contract after joining SEIU (Service Employees International Union) Local 285 last April.

Women from the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW) recently picketed Sexpo, a sex industry conference in Melbourne, Australia. CATW charged that the exhibition, which promotes prostitution and strip shows under the guise of health, sexuality and lifestyles, "is teaching a whole generation of men that sex is and should be the degradation of women."

—Information from off our backs

Woman as Reason

This raises important new theoretical challenges for feminists. Can the new globalism move beyond "internet solidarity" towards a movement of women that truly challenges global capitalism at its roots? Can we create a solidarity between women of different cultures without subsuming the specific and particular into a false abstract universal? How can we make sure that a new movement does not fall into the pitfalls of past movements, especially the trap of turning feminism into a private enclave, separated and distinct from the idea of revolution?

As we organize to pull off the "World March of Women 2000" scheduled for October, our attention to such theoretical questions, I think, will determine whether we are successful in re-energizing a truly new revolutionary women's movement in this millennium.



Zapatista women march in San Cristobal de las Casas, in the Mexican state of Chiapas, to mark International Women's Day and demand that the Mexican army leave their community.

Support Afghan women

Memphis, Tenn. — On International Women's Day, women demonstrated support for our sisters in Afghanistan and our anger at Senator Frist, who is on the Foreign Relations Committee. We stood outside his office on one of Memphis' busiest streets during rush hour with signs reading: "Afghan Women Deserve Their Freedom!" "Stop Gender Apartheid!"

The demonstration, called by the National Organization for Women (NOW), picked Bill Frist's office because his response to NOW's letter of concern was to say he would "monitor the situation." We don't need Frist's "monitoring" to know that women are dying in Afghanistan, that Afghan women are fighting some of the most draconian conditions anywhere on earth: not being allowed to work or to go out without a male relative, denied all schooling, widows forced to paint their windows black. The unbelievable list goes on and on. Afghan women are dying—many from hunger, others from lack of health care as they can only go to women doctors, who are forbidden to work. While Frist is content to "monitor" how many die, we demand freedom for our Afghan sisters.

While our demonstration was small, it's hard to think of a more important activity. —N&L participant

Africa through the eyes of women artists

Africa: Women's Art, Women's Lives by Betty LaDuke (Africa World Press, Inc., 1997)

At a moment when Africa approaches the year 2000 as poster child of the anti-millennium—bereft of the "miracle" of high-tech, and equally bereft of hope for the quarter of its population infected with HIV—producing a book devoted to the art of African women may seem close to the borders of self-indulgence. Yet I would argue that re-visioning Africa through the eyes of its women artists is urgently needed, now more than ever.

I first encountered Betty LaDuke's work in 1985 through her *Companeras: Women, Art, and Social Change in Latin America*. In the intervening years she has produced *Women Artists: Multicultural Visions and Africa through the Eyes of Women Artists*, both widely acclaimed.

Nor does she confine her commentary to art. She wants us to grasp the context of African, Latina, and Asian women's art within their daily lives and within their indigenous communities. One poignant example emerges from the collaborative work of Gurensi women living in polygamous households in Ghana and Burkina Faso. Using cow dung, locust bean pods, smooth stones, and pulverized red and black rock, every blank wall of their living space is transformed into a canvas for their expressive designs. Collectively, they decide what patterns and imagery they want to achieve, prepare the surfaces and materials to be used, and work side by side to complete the design.

Invited to watch a demonstration of the entire process, LaDuke came to see the decorated walls as "living sculptures with specially shaped interior and exterior spaces that bore witness to rites of passage, birth, marriage, and death. These were commonly shared traditions, uniquely enhanced by the hands of women who, for centuries, had painted these walls each year, developing a sense of pride in their own

Inside/outside dialogue

on women in prison

Berkeley, Cal. — Just in time to celebrate International Women's Day, University of California-Berkeley feminist graduate students put on a conference "Boundaries in Question 2000, Women Imprisoned" on March 3-4. The conference included many panels: on historical perspectives, on literature on women in prisons, on political prisoners, on Proposition 21, and more. Both academic papers and activists' reports were presented. Several hundred participated.

The most powerful were voices from the women inside themselves. In the workshop "Violence Against Women: Fighting Back," for example, we heard from activists organizing against rape and from Sherron Longfeather, a former prisoner, who shared her thoughts. She said, "I continually re-live my past experiences through the sharing I receive by mail and phone calls from women in prison. Cleansing comes through new interpretation of those experiences. Rediscovering [myself] has been my experience for the reclaiming of my future, my life."

The power of the voices from inside continued during the panel "Positive Women: Health Issues in Prison." Cynthia Chandler and Carol Kingery of Women's Positive Legal Action Network presented their work-in-progress of interviewing HIV positive women who became activists. They quoted Theresa Martinez, HIV peer advocate and prisoner activist:

"An activist is somebody who will fight and stand against all odds to win rights for others. I have been an activist on the inside. Being positive and being put in a group of people who are labeled unsafe makes me fight harder."

Another prisoner, Rebecca, said:

"Being an activist means getting incremental changes in a system, caring more about the rights of others, and having the courage to stand up against a system regardless of the consequences."

"I've been punished for being an activist. I've become close to a lot of people who have died. I have been threatened by a prison's chief medical officer that he'd commit me to a mental hospital and no one could do anything about it. When people think you're crazy, you have no voice at all. I've been put in isolation and have been forced to take toxic medications..."

"I receive inspiration from those of us who fought for equal rights until they could fight no longer, and in their deaths brought about the changes which they only hoped for in life, from those who in death brought about public awareness of what happens to the people society forgot."

Cynthia Chandler and Carol Kingery chose to interview HIV positive women activists, because so many of them are dying that we will not have their wisdom to draw on if we wait much longer. And the primary lesson I heard those activists teach is the definition of our humanity through our relationships with others. They are trying to become the social individual. That is a vision we can develop to overcome the ideology of capitalism, which creates a completely isolated individual in the service of value production. From the HIV positive women prisoners we heard, this is practically their last testament. And they universally point to the struggle for new human relations. —Urszula Wislanka

work as they created their own form of *bambolse* [beauty]. It is a process echoed among quilt makers in the U.S.—whose art was likewise almost uniformly ignored by art "historians" until the feminist movement showed them how to see.

The author includes a wide range of women's art, from the more traditional pottery of Togo and Mali, to the phenomenal Shona sculptures of Zimbabwe with their blend of African and European influences, to spectacular paintings by the revolutionary women artists/warriors of Eritrea.

I was especially drawn to her chapter on Cameroon, for this is where she describes the vibrant and ongoing 300-year-old self-organization of women known as *Anlu*, which has never hesitated to publicly confront men who commit an offense against women. "Kom women were active feminists, dealing with issues of social welfare and justice long before Western societies were willing to unveil the taboos regarding discussion and prevention of population explosion, incest, and physical abuse."

One intriguing story she relates is an episode in 1959 when 7,000 angry women farmers unseated the party in power because the women "perceived a threat to their land, which they regard as sacred." Reading this, I couldn't help recalling brief references I've seen to the 1929 Igbo Women's War in Nigeria, when women organized across tribal boundaries against both the British overlords and their local chiefs, who erroneously believed they could begin taxing the women for the first time in history.

Nineteen years after *This Bridge Called My Back* called upon white feminists to do their own homework instead of expecting women of color to lead them to enlightenment, it is heartening to see that Betty LaDuke has worked ceaselessly to respond to this challenge. Can anyone who is serious about women's liberation afford to do less?

—Jan Kollwitz

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Prisoners united in Speedrack strike

Hamilton, Ala.—Steelworkers at Speedrack Products Group Ltd. in Hamilton, Ala. went out on strike on Jan. 31 in an effort to get their first contract. Workers had first voted in favor of a union nine years ago. The company had begun using prisoners for additional labor sometime before that vote, and company appeals in regard to the appropriate bargaining unit held up organizing until last September.

A new election was held, including the prisoners, and the vote was 3 to 1 in favor of the United Steelworkers of America. During the nine years since several hundred workers first voted for a union, Speedrack has been laying off workers. The current workforce, which makes mainly industrial steel racks used by GM, has dwindled down to approximately 100.

Unit Chairman Raper credits the strikers with good solidarity. The imprisoned members in particular have supported the strike 100%. Speedrack got an injunction keeping union pickets 30 feet from the gate and has been driving in 30 to 40 scabs daily. One of the trucks hit a picketing striker, but it was two of the strik-

ers who got arrested.

The plant has accumulated approximately \$10,000 in fines from OSHA for safety violations. Smoke is one of the main hazards to the workers because there is no ventilation in the plant. Although Speedrack advertises wages at \$6.00 to \$11.50 an hour, no one makes the high end of that scale. Most workers make \$7.75 per hour in this company that generates up to \$50 million in sales annually.

The company has been reluctant to meet with the union to negotiate and has not moved in the workers' direction for improvements in wages and working conditions. The union has filed unfair labor practice charges against the company with the NLRB for placing workers under surveillance, refusal to discuss wages, and firing workers because of their union activity.

Speedrack is losing money during the strike, but so far is willing to pay to try to bust the union. The union is accepting donations for its strike fund, in care of USWA Unit Chairman Raper, 1730 County Hwy 71, Hackleburg, AL 35564. For more information call (205) 935-3693.

Workers reject pittance at Country Skillet

Indianola, Miss.—Just six miles down the road from the largest catfish processing plant in the world lies the next largest, Country Skillet, which employs 600 workers. Last month, the workers voted to reject the offer given by the company in a wage and vacation opener which offered most of the workers less than 20 cents per hour increase. The workers rejected the increase because they felt that it was time for this company to show their appreciation of the 10- to 13-hour shifts that they endured. They felt that Country Skillet has grown because of their hard work and they deserve a greater increase.

In December the whole contract is going to be opened for negotiation, which will start in October. If the company doesn't come back with a better wage offer now, it will be open to negotiation in the future. Then the workers can vote to strike and take other measures of their own.

They want to rid themselves of the 10-hour shifts, four days a week. That was something the workers wanted to try because they thought it would give them an extra day to take care of business, take the kids to the doctor or the dentist. But the way this company did it was to work them 12 and 13 hours a day in that four-day period. So they are exhausted and drained in that extra day they have off. They want to go back to what all catfish plants have: eight-hour shifts with time and a half after eight hours.

In the catfish plants, 90% of the workers are women. Women who have worked in these plants for the last 20 years had to fight for the organization of unions, and demanded dignity and respect within these walls of racial injustice. One worker said, "Rejecting this small offer that the company proposed is a signal that the workers will stand together in unity, even if we have to wait until the contract ends to take action to make this company treat us fairly."

In the Mississippi Delta, workers are standing up and saying no to these poverty wages that can't give them the security to take care of their families. One guy stated, "I barely make \$200 a week. How can I take care of my family with that income?"

Over the last several years women have been pushed into these plants off welfare, where they had medical security, and put to work at minimum-wage jobs that can't secure their families. It's about survival for these workers. They have no other choice but to fight for a better way.

—S. Hamer

Pride at Work organizing

Chicago—On March 11-12 over 3500 women responded to a call by the AFL-CIO to meet in Chicago and talk about what they have in common as workers. Women came from all over the country and from every line of work—steelworkers, railroad workers, auto workers, teachers, garment workers, office workers.

The best-attended and liveliest workshop I went to, with about 40 women, was on Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Workers, organized by Pride at Work, a decentralized constituency group within the AFL-CIO. Pride at Work gave out materials to help people organize within their local unions—language to include in contracts, as well as tips on bargaining for domestic partner benefits as an equal pay issue and broadening the base of support by making sure unmarried heterosexual couples are also covered.

Much of the discussion centered around transgender issues. A Black woman steelworker asked for advice because neither the men nor the women in her local want to shower with a transgender worker currently in transition from male to female. Several women offered ideas, including one who spoke of the need to educate **other union members because if we are a union then we're inclusive, because that's what a union is.** A woman from Canada pointed out the need to be careful when using expressions like **sexual orientation** since many transgender people regard themselves as heterosexual, adding that in Canada people now prefer the term **sexual identity**.

People were hungry for success stories. One woman announced, to great applause, that as she was boarding a plane for this conference, the legislators in her home state of Connecticut had just passed a domestic partnership law. Another woman described a company in upstate New York, American Flint Glass, where any worker who engages in gay-baiting can be fired under the company's zero tolerance policy.

Listening to these hope-filled, determined voices made me think back to a Pride at Work conference in 1996 where we first learned of Allan Berube's work in unearthing the story of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union from the 1930s until the 1950s. Their slogan—**No Race-Baiting, No Red-Baiting, No Queen-Baiting**—captured succinctly both the theory and the practice of this militant local union. That is, until the McCarthy era enabled racism, homophobia and red-baiting to destroy that practice and thereby end this magnificent chapter in labor history. It is very exciting that g/l/b/t activists are now able to organize within the labor movement at a time when queer liberation has moved from an idea to a self-aware, thinking mass movement, a movement that has gained at least a foothold of legitimacy.

—Jan Kollwitz

Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

friend who is a professional when I worried over the telephone. We'll probably all find other jobs, but at what wage? under what conditions? I am a 40-something woman, a semi-skilled machine operator. "What about a 59-year-old man?" asked a co-worker when a group of us debated our prospects in the lunchroom. We read the help wanted ads and know that we will likely suffer a substantial cut in pay when we find a new job.

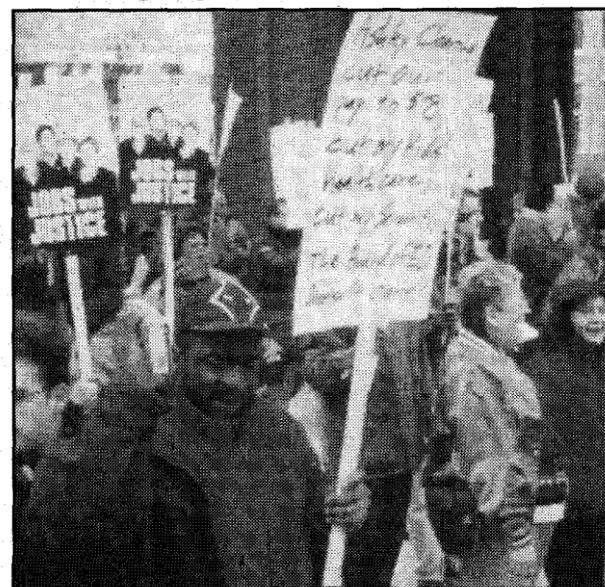
Crises like these reveal the "relation of dependence"—as Karl Marx called it in chapter 25 of *Capital*, "The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation"—between capital and the working class, whose labor-power "must incessantly be re-incorporated into capital as its means of valorization, which cannot get free of capital, and whose enslavement to capital is only concealed by the variety of individual capitalists to whom it sells itself."

The capitalist press touts today's tight labor market, the competition for workers and the potential for higher wages, but, wrote Marx, "these things no more abolish the exploitation of the wage-laborer, and his situation of dependence, than do better clothing, food and treatment, and a larger *peculium*, in the case of the slave." Furthermore, the unemployed form "a disposable industrial reserve army, which belongs to capital just as absolutely as if the latter had bred it at its own cost...it creates a mass of human material always ready for exploitation..."

The only mention in "The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation" of freedom for workers is capital "setting them free" from employment. "The worker exists to satisfy the need of the existing values for valorization, as opposed to the inverse situation, in which objective wealth is there to satisfy the worker's own need for development," Marx wrote.

Most of these things are felt, although not expressed in the same words, by my co-workers. It is perhaps inevitable under the circumstances that each person is preoccupied with individual, personal fears, dilemmas and plans. When and how will workers come to face this "relation of dependence" as a class and set ourselves free, not from employment, but from this whole inhuman mode of production?

Chicago janitors resist cuts



Janitors employed in Chicago's schools demonstrated March 12 against the school board's campaign to impoverish the building cleaners. They are already underpaid at a time when the state has poured cash into the district. Schools chief Paul Vallas has shifted custodial work to contractors with whom the janitors must now bargain, resulting in insurance benefits being eliminated and wages cut.

Colombian labor under attack

Chicago—The Chicago Colombia Committee sponsored a talk by Luis Alfonso Velasquez Rico, a Colombian trade union leader, at a union hall here on March 25. Velasquez sits on the executive board of the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT), Colombia's largest labor federation. His visit was intended to raise awareness of the impact that the huge military aid package currently being debated in the U.S. Congress will have on the dirty war being waged by the Colombian government and its paramilitary allies against the country's campesinos and workers.

Velasquez described in stark terms the oppressive conditions which right-wing death squads organized by the transnational corporations operating in Colombia impose on trade unionists there. "We are very weak," he said. "Most of us live under constant death threats. Many of us have to be accompanied by armed body guards. Collective agreements have gone downhill." Over 2,300 CUT members have been assassinated since the federation was founded in 1986.

He detailed the alliances the union movement has made with indigenous and environmental groups against a dire backdrop of Colombia's huge external debt, the neoliberal austerity measures undertaken by the government and the fragile peace talks underway between the government and the guerilla groups in the countryside. Velasquez argued that U.S. intervention in the form of a war on drugs may well expand Colombia's civil war into a regional conflict.

"We are talking peace in Colombia. In the U.S. Congress, they are talking war. It's a total contradiction. You can't at the same time push forward with a peace process and send aid to an armed force with the worst record of human rights in Latin America," he said.

—Kevin Michaels

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PART I INTRODUCTION AND PRELIMINARY NOTION

Editor's note

Over the next three issues we will be publishing Raya Dunayevskaya's 1961 notes on Hegel's *Smaller Logic* as part of our continuing effort to stimulate theoretical discussion on the "dialectic proper." Written on Feb. 15, 1961, these notes on Hegel's *Smaller Logic*—the first part of his *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*—comment on all sections of the work. Dunayevskaya's notes contain an especially detailed commentary on the "Three Attitudes of Thought Toward Objectivity," a section of the *Smaller Logic* which does not appear in the *Science of Logic* and a theme overlooked by many writers on Hegel. Here Hegel critiques not only Kantianism and Empiricism, but also romanticism and intuitionism. The text of the *Smaller Logic* used by Dunayevskaya is *The Logic of Hegel*, translated by William Wallace (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), which differs in some respects from later editions of Wallace's translation. All footnotes are by the editors. The original can be found in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 2834-2842.

Universal, are indeterminate and, therefore, not expressly (§9) related to the Particular: "Both are external and accidental to each other, and it is the same with the particular facts which are brought into union: Each is external and accidental to the other." And (§2) that the beginnings are not deduced, that is to say, you just begin somewhere without a necessity for so doing being apparent. Of course, says Hegel, "To seek to know before we know is as absurd as the wise resolution of Scholasticus,³ not to venture into the water until he has learned to swim" (§10). But, for any forward movement one must then go from the empirical to the critical to the speculative philosophy.

Not only is Hegel empirical and historical ("In philosophy the latest birth of time is the result of all the systems that have preceded it, and must include their principles" (§13). But he insists that you cannot talk of Truth (with a capital T) in generalities: "For the truth is concrete; that is, whilst it gives a bond of principle and unity, it also possesses an internal variety of development" (§14). In fact Hegel never wearies of saying that the truths of philosophy are *valueless* "apart from their interdependence and organic union, and must then be treated as baseless hypotheses or personal convictions."

fact" (§23).

We get a good relationship of freedom to thought and the *Logic* in general into its various parts [when Hegel says]: "For freedom it is necessary that we should feel no presence of something else which is not ourselves" (§24). He relates the *Logic to the Philosophy of Nature* and the *Philosophy of Mind*, as a syllogism: "The syllogistic form is a universal form of all things. Everything that exists is a particular, a close unification of the universal and the singular."⁵ "If for instance we take the syllogism (not as it was understood in the old formal logic, but at its real value), we shall find it gives expression to the law that every particular thing is a middle term which fuses together the extremes of the Universal and the singular."

While the *Logic* is what he called "the all-animating spirit of all the sciences," it is not the individual categories he is concerned with now, but the Absolute: "The Absolute is rather the ever-present, that present which, so long as we can think, we must, though without express consciousness of it, always carry with us and always use. Language is the main depository of these types of thought" (§24).

He will not allow philosophy to be overawed by religion, though he is a very religious man, but he insists over and over again "the mind is not mere instinct: on the contrary, it essentially involves the tendency to reading and meditation." He has a most remarkable explanation of the Fall of Man and the fact that ever since his expulsion from Paradise he has had to work by the sweat of his brow: "Touching work, we remark that while it is the result of the disunion, it also is the victory over it." (Note how very much like Marx the rest of the paragraph sounds). "The

Chapter Two: Preliminary Notion

You will note that this is something that Hegel would have opposed had someone asked him to state in a preliminary way what was his idea of Notion at the time he wrote the *Science of Logic* and told you to wait to get to the end. In fact, Marx said the same thing in *Capital* when he insisted you must begin with the concrete commodity before you go off into general absolute laws.⁴

In this *Encyclopedia*, however, Hegel does give you a preview of what will follow. Some of it is in the form of extemporaneous remarks that he had made while delivering the written lectures (all of the paragraphs which are in a smaller type than the regular text were spoken by Hegel and taken down by his "pupils"). He is showing the connection between thought and reality, not only in general, but in the specific so that you should understand how the Greek philosophers had become the antagonists of the old religion: "Philosophers were accordingly banished or put to death as revolutionists, who had subverted religion and the state, two things which were inseparable. Thought, in short, made itself a power in the real world..." (§19). The reference, of course, is to the execution of Socrates.

Interestingly enough, Hegel is not only rooted in History, but even in the simple energy that goes into thinking: "Nor is it unimportant to study thought even as a subjective energy" (§20). He then proceeds to trace the development of thought from Aristotle to Kant, the highest place, of course, being taken by Aristotle: "When Aristotle summons the mind to rise to the dignity of that action, the dignity he seeks is won by letting slip all our individual opinions and prejudices, and submitting to the sway of the

3. Scholasticus was a fictional character created by the Stoic philosopher Hierocles (CE 117-138).

4. In the Preface to the 1872-75 French edition of *Capital*, the last one he personally prepared for the printer, Marx termed the first chapter on commodities "rather arduous," adding that he "feared" the readers would skip too quickly ahead to the final chapters, where he took up the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation [MCIF, p. 104].

beasts have nothing more to do but to pick up the materials required to satisfy their wants; man on the contrary can only satisfy his wants by transforming, and as it were originating the necessary means. Thus even in these outside things man is dealing with himself."⁶

The last paragraph of this chapter (§25) deals with objective thought and decides that to really deal with it, a whole chapter is necessary, and, in fact the following three chapters are devoted to the three attitudes to objectivity.

To be continued next issue...

5. Just prior to this, in the same paragraph, Hegel writes, "If we consider Logic to be the system of the pure types of thought, we find that the other philosophical sciences, the Philosophy of Nature and the Philosophy of Mind, take the place, as it were, of an Applied Logic, and that Logic is the soul which animates them both."

6. Hegel stresses that the Biblical narrative of Adam and Eve being cast out from the Garden of Eden ends by declaring that human beings have become godlike, with knowledge of good and evil: "On his natural side man is finite and mortal, but in knowledge infinite" (§24). In a 1970 lecture reprinted in *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* (1985), Dunayevskaya writes: "Hegel had moved the myth of Adam and Eve from the theology of sin to the sphere of knowledge" (p. 23).

By
Raya
Dunayevskaya

Founder of
Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.

Chapter One:
Introduction

This book is known as the *Smaller Logic* and since it is Hegel's own summation of the *Science of Logic* and very much easier to read than the latter, I will be very brief in summarizing its contents, concentrating almost exclusively on the sections which are not restatements of what is in the larger *Logic*, but which are new.

The first thing that is new is both the easy style and the different subject matter taken up in the Introduction. The simplicity of the style is, of course, deceptive since it embodies as profound a theory as does the more involved style, and may lead one to think that he understands something, even though he doesn't see all of its implications.

For example, §2 defines philosophy as a "thinking view of things... a mode in which thinking becomes knowledge, rational and comprehensive knowledge." But if the reader would then think that philosophy is then no more than common sense, he would be a victim of the simple style. In actuality that very simple introduction consisting of 18 paragraphs is the ultimate in tracing through the development of philosophy from its first contact with religion through the Kantian revolution up to the Hegelian dialectic, and further, the whole relationship of thought to the objective world.

Thus, look at the priceless formulation about "the separatist tendency" to divorce idea and reality:

This divorce between idea and reality is a favorite device of the analytic understanding in particular. Yet strangely in contrast with this separatist tendency, its own dreams, half-truths though they are, appear to the understanding something true and real; it prides itself on the imperative 'ought,' which it takes especial pleasure in prescribing on the field of politics. As if the world had waited on it to learn how it ought to be, and was not! (§6).

That same paragraph expresses the most profound relationship of materialism to idealism. If you will recall the chapter in *Marxism and Freedom* on the break in Lenin's thought which all hinged on a new relationship of the ideal to the real and vice-versa,¹ then this simple statement will be profoundly earth-shaking when you consider that it is an idealist who is saying it: "The idea is not so feeble as merely to have a right or an obligation to exist without actually existing."

Actuality, then, is Hegel's point of departure for thought as well as for the world and its institutions. So far as Hegel is concerned, his whole attitude to thought is the same as to experience, for in experience, says Hegel, "lies the unspeakably important truth that, in order to accept and believe any fact, we must be in contact with it" (§7). The whole point is that philosophy sprang from the empirical sciences, and in fact, the empirical sciences themselves could not have progressed further if laws, general propositions, a theory had not resulted from them, and in turn pushed empirical facts forward.

You will be surprised to find that actually I "stole" from Hegel that sentence in *Marxism and Freedom* that created so much dispute among intellectuals, that there was nothing in thought, not even the thought of a genius, which had not previously been in the action of common man.² The way Hegel expressed it was by saying that while it is true that "there is nothing in thought which has not been in sense and experience," the reverse is equally true (§8).

The reason he opposes philosophy to empiricism, then, is not because we could do without the empirical, but [because], in and of themselves, those sciences lack, (§1) a

1. See chapter 10 of *Marxism and Freedom*, "The Collapse of the Second International and the Break in Lenin's Thought."

2. The formulation appears in *Marxism and Freedom*, in the course of discussing the impact of the French Revolution on Hegel's thought: "There is nothing in thought—not even in the thought of a genius—that has not previously been in the activity of the common man" (p. 28).

Notes on the Logic from Hegel's Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences



Announcing a new series of discussions beginning in April... Beyond Capitalism: The Struggle for a New Society Against Today's Globalized Capital

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For a copy of *Rosa Luxemburg*, *Women's Liberation* and *Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* and other readings and for more informa-

tion, contact the News and Letters Committee nearest to you; see "How To Contact News and Letters Committees," page 3.

Essay Article

by Peter Hudis

The protest against the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Seattle at the end of 1999 has brought us to a new stage of development. It wasn't just a protest against the WTO. It was a protest against what the WTO stands for—a world capitalist system based on vast income inequities, sweatshops, environmental destruction, and racial and sexual discrimination. The way thousands of workers, students, feminists, gays and lesbians, environmentalists, and Third World activists came together to oppose globalization has raised questions like: What is the alternative to the WTO? Is it possible to go beyond global capitalism? And if so, what road must be taken to get there?

These questions, which arose from a practical struggle, are **theoretical** questions. Theory was not external to the anti-WTO protest; it was present by virtue of its very depth. The question now is whether we will follow through from Seattle by developing the theoretical issues which are at stake.

This is already happening, as seen in a host of post-Seattle discussions about how to project an alternative to the WTO and global capitalism.

One expression is the Winter 2000 issue of *Synthesis/Regeneration: A Magazine of Green Social Thought*. An essay in it by David Korten, author of *The Post-Corporate World: Life After Capitalism*, argues that in light of the Seattle protest the WTO should be dismantled and replaced by a new body that would limit the power of transnational corporations. Such a body, he says, could be a reinvigorated version of the Economic and Social Council of the UN.

A more radical proposal is put forward in the same journal by Joel Kovel. Unlike Korten, Kovel is not interested in reforming but in bringing down the world market system. He proposes getting to the "collective ownership of the means of production by the associated producers" by replacing the WTO with a World People's Trade Organization based on a federation of popular bodies organized worldwide.

What is interesting about this debate is that it raises the issue of whether capital can be controlled. Is it possible to ameliorate the debilitating impact of globalization by forcing capital to become democratically accountable? Should we instead be aiming for the **abolition** of capital? And if we favor the latter, how are we to project this concretely?

WHAT IS CAPITAL?

To grapple with these questions we first need to ask, what is capital? Capital is not simply a thing; it is rather a social relation mediated through the instrumentality of things. That is, capital is the expression of a specific social relation of labor. Capital is the congealment of abstract, undifferentiated labor. As Marx put it in his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, capital is the expression of "a special sort of work which is indifferent to its content, of complete being-for-self, of abstraction from all other being." We experience this "special sort of work" each day, in that the labor we perform is indifferent to who and what we are as human beings. Capitalism reduces all concrete labor to its opposite—to abstract, undifferentiated labor.

It is often said that labor is the source of all value. But the **substance** of value is abstract labor. That is, only that which is the product of abstract labor has value in capitalism. Capital is a social relation of abstract labor. Capital is therefore not simply a thing, but a value-relation; it lives by obtaining ever more surplus value, or unpaid hours of labor, from the worker who produces it.

Marx wrote, "The aim of capital is not served merely by obtaining more 'wealth'...but because it wants more **value**, to command more objectified labor" (*Grundrisse*, p. 353). Capital cannot persist without obtaining more unpaid hours of abstract labor from the worker; that is, unless it obtains more value. Capital is "value that is big with itself," or self-expanding value. As the repository of surplus value, capital is driven to constantly go beyond itself, irrespective of natural or human-imposed limits. Herein lies the secret of capital's enormous productivity as well as its destructiveness.

"Capital is the endless and limitless drive to go beyond its limiting barrier. Every boundary is and has to be a barrier for it. Else it would cease to be capital—money as self-reproductive. If capital ever perceived a certain boundary not as a barrier, but became comfortable within it as a boundary, it would have declined from exchange value to use value...Capital is the constant movement to create more of the same" (*Grundrisse*, p. 334).*

For this reason any effort to control capital without uprooting the basis of value production is ultimately self-defeating. So long as value and surplus value persist, capital will strive to self-expand; any external boundaries established for it, and whether by state intervention or regulation, can and will eventually be overcome.

This is the tragic lesson of the past century. Many socialists thought it was possible to control capital through the welfare state or government intervention. Such Social-Democratic experiments all ended in total failure. On the other hand, many revolutionary socialists thought that capital could be abolished through a centralized state plan and elimination of "market anarchy." That too proved to be a total failure, as seen in the exploitative nature of the state-capitalist societies which arose in Russia, China, Cuba and elsewhere.

Can capital be controlled?

Why have so many focused on ways to either control capital or abolish it through external means? Why getting to the elimination of value production? Why does the illusion persist that capital can be controlled, or even eliminated, without creating a totally new kind of labor which dispenses with value production?

BREAKING WITH COMMODITY FETISHISM

The Archives of Marxist-Humanism contain a wealth of material which speaks to this. Raya Dunayevskaya addressed it during the miners' general strike of 1949-50, when workers asked "what **kind** of labor should human beings do?" She wrote, "Let us follow the value-form of the product of labor, as it appears in the market. The value-form has absorbed the content, labor itself. This labor is now seen...as it is 'objectified' in a product. Labor [has] been materialized into some object. [I]t is this transformation which predominates in the market where 'things' are exchanged. So that all the intellectual sees [is] not the form of labor, but the process of exchange" ("Presentation on Form and Plan" [1950], in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection (RDC)*, 9260). Thus, even when the intellectual "knows" that social relations between people, not an exchange of things, is what is "really" going on, he easily falls for the illusion that relations in the market, instead of in production, are decisive.

The intellectual fails to grasp what workers know from their daily experience—namely, that the real problem is not what happens in the market, global or otherwise, but what happens in production. But to get to the **resolution** of the problem the worker too must undergo a journey of discovery.

As Dunayevskaya put it, "The personification of things keeps the worker from realizing that the means of production are not just property, an object outside him, but they are the materialization of his own labor" (*Supplement to RDC*, 11934). "Just as 'logic is the money of the mind,' so the fetishism of commodities is the mind, the ideology, of capitalist society; an ideology that holds prisoner not only the capitalist and his intellectual representative, but also the worker. Only freely associated labor will be able to strip the fetishism from commodities" (*Supplement to RDC*, 11898).

Since capital is a value-relation which shows itself through a process of exchange, the social relations of labor which constitute it are concealed in the product. Hence, the very nature of capital as a value-relation is that it is bound to be misunderstood. To break through the fetishism which attaches itself to products of labor, cognition must rise to the level of the workers' quest for **freely** associated labor. Only then will the illusion be stripped away that capital can be controlled.

This is not to suggest that there is anything wrong with focusing on the WTO and other institutions which play a key role in the exchange process of global capital. As Marx said in 1858, "The world market is [where] all contradictions come into play." The more globalized capitalism becomes, the more its contradictions come to the surface. The problem is not in making the target of critique the WTO or the exchange process of capital. The problem rather comes in when the way to **resolve** or **uproot** the contradictions is thought to consist of changes in exchange relations.

So what has to be changed to halt the destructive march of global capital? Marx addressed this when he wrote of the need to create a situation "where labor in which a human being does what a thing could do has ceased" (*Grundrisse*, p. 325).

Achieving this would truly be the foundation of a new society. For it would mean that instead of being treated as a thing, and therefore ultimately replaceable by one, labor would do what no machine can—namely, affirm the richness of human individuality, in all its diversity, contingency, and unpredictability, in the very act of laboring. The end of alienated labor heralds the end of capital itself.

SEATTLE IN THE HISTORIC MIRROR

For Marx's concept of a world "where labor in which a human being does what a thing could do has ceased" to be more than a distant wish, an **ought** that reality can be easily ignore as acknowledgment, requires that there be a subjective force immanent in the present which can realize it. Do such forces exist, and if so, what are they?

With this question in mind, let's return once more to the Seattle protest in light of the way thousands of workers marched alongside students, environmentalists, feminists, gays and lesbians and Third World activists against globalized capitalism.

The importance of this development can be appreciated if we view it in historic context. Toward the end of the 19th century, capitalism responded to incessant work-

ers' revolts and economic crises by trying to buy off a section of labor. Capital ended up paying some workers higher wages—in exchange for forcing workers to surrender control over the labor process through an array of new forms of reorganizing the work process. Such moves were inseparable from a new stage of capitalist globalization—imperialism.

This led to a divide in labor. Whereas the Black dimension was at the forefront in opposing monopoly capitalism-imperialism, a section of the labor movement capitulated to it—as seen in the sellouts of the labor bureaucracy and the capitulation of part of the socialist movement to reformism.

In the aftermath of World War II, capital again responded to intense labor strife by paying workers

higher wages—while exerting even more control over the labor process. It was part of the phenomenon known as Automation. This too was inseparable from a new stage of capitalist globalization, as the U.S. and Russia squared off in a struggle for world domination. It was reflected in the Marshall Plan and Warsaw Pact and neo-colonialism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The unstated premise was that in exchange for getting a bigger piece of the pie, U.S. workers would allow capital to do as it pleased overseas. Yet this premise is now being openly

challenged. The experience of Seattle indicates that a significant section of U.S. labor is breaking with the entire global strategy of capital.

In this sense, a new social consciousness arose out of Seattle. It's reflected in how the growing disdain for global capital is drawing many workers into solidizing with those in the technologically underdeveloped world. This opens new doors in cognition as well as in action. For what connects a worker in the U.S. to one in Malaysia if not that they are increasingly subject to the same **conditions** of labor? Be their payment high or low, workers are opposing very similar working conditions. The new global labor solidarity contains potential for projecting anew the question "what **kind** of labor should human beings do."

A BEGINNING THAT HAS NOT YET BEGUN

Crucial as these developments are, we still have a long way to go before we have a movement in hand to uproot global capitalism. As Marx never ceased to emphasize, socialism can only be created through the **emphatic** activity of masses of people. It cannot be brought in through the back door by a vanguard party or enlightened intellectuals. Masses of people will have to raise openly and work through the meaning of the new kind of society they wish to create, in order for it to become real.

A host of difficult questions confronts us on this. How to create a new kind of labor which breaks with the hierarchical division between mental and manual labor? How to create a new kind of labor which transcends the problems of racism and sexism, which long preceded capitalism? How to create a new kind of labor which is not machine-like while at the same time being able to meet the level of development and technology that humanity has grown so accustomed to, and which it will hardly be willing to forfeit?

These questions are far more serious and difficult than that of how to get rid of the personifications of capital—the capitalists and the bureaucrats. As we know from the history of post-Marx Marxism, leaving the question there solves nothing, and only allows a new form of capitalism, state-capitalism, to arise.

These questions cannot be answered without rooting thought in what comes from below—in the new social consciousness born from Seattle as well from other nodal points of revolt, from the Los Angeles rebellion of 1992 to the Chiapas rebellion of 1994-99. At the same time, thought must root itself in a **body of ideas** whose content provides direction for answering the difficult questions associated with the abolition of capital. That body of thought is Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence" as restated for our era by Marxist-Humanism. The dialogue between these ideas and mass creativity may well turn out to be pivotal for the new century.

*Capital's drive to overcome external limits does not free it from the limits which reside within capital itself. As Marx argued, "From the fact that capital posits every such limit as a barrier and hence gets ideally beyond it, does not by any means follow that it has really overcome it...the universality towards which it irresistibly strives encounters barriers within its own nature" (*Grundrisse*, p. 410). "The true barrier to capitalist production is capital itself. It is that capital and its self-valorization appear as...the motive and purpose of production...and not the reverse, i.e., the means of production are not simply means for a steadily expanding pattern of life for the society of producers" (*Capital Vol. 3*, p. 358).



WHY READERS WANT N&L TO CONTINUE

● CAMPAIGN 2000

I had to write a congratulatory note on your January-February issue. My friends and I have been bemoaning the fact that the candidates are little more than Fluff Dragons, campaigning on their ancestry, pseudo-compassion and pseudo-sincerity, as they seduce the public with their "smoke screen" politics. Meanwhile the USA's real problems are once again submerged until there is a sensational expose of racism-sexism-poverty which results in temporary emotionalism and little to no serious action taken to alleviate the problems.

Lou Turner's column on "Campaign 2000" was so perspicacious that I wish N&L could be on the news stands right next to the *NY Times* and *USA Today*. The public needs N&L.

Gloria Joseph
Virgin Islands

* * *

Corruption is the overriding characteristic of the capitalist political process. While there is nothing new about the buying of political office, there seems to be pride in getting away with it now. Where is the outrage? Has it been evident so long that it is now simply accepted?

One outraged citizen
Detroit

● SEATTLE'S 'NEW STAGE'

N&L's Lead on the "new stage" projected by Seattle (Jan.-Feb. N&L) was excellent in the way the ideas of the demonstrators were not separated from their actions. How much truer than the coverage in the Left press which concentrated on the critique of the World Trade Organization and then offered intellectual "solutions" like reforming the WTO to make it fair. That was all either the *Nation* in the U.S. or *Le Monde Diplomatique* in France did, instead of letting the workers, youth, women, and peasants speak for themselves. Once the Left accepts that "there is no alternative" it acts as a brake on the forces of rebellion and stifles their voices in the name of "realism." So long live N&L where the voices from below can still be heard as they question capitalism and search for alternatives. Here's my check to keep the paper going!

Richard Greeman
France

* * *

I have all kinds of reservations about Capitalism and I have read several quotes from Marx that impress me but you will never get anywhere with the general public by associating any movement in America with Marx. His name is associated with Communism and that is a recipe for being ignored. Put forth ideas and you will be listened to, but associate those same ideas with Marx and you will find yourself talking to a very small percentage of Americans. There is a knee-jerk reaction to the name. What happened at WTO is a stimulus to change, as you say, but Marx is in the dustbin of history to most people.

Clif
Cyberspace

* * *

The Archives column on Erich Fromm in the March issue is relevant today, not because he had a complete philosophy of revolution, but because he was moving from psychoanalysis to Marxism. He really loved Marx and kept learning from him. All the rest of the Western "Marxists" were going the other way. "Critical Theory" got its name because they were afraid to mention Marx, yet the youth were attracted to it as the new expression of Marxism! I see the same thing with Seattle. Marx's concepts were never more concrete, yet there is a great resistance to explicitly returning to Marx.

Marxist-Humanist
Oakland, Cal.

* * *

I don't feel Marxism is hard to understand. I'm not a philosopher. I'm a laborer, a "simple man" searching for a better way of life, one which I feel I have found in Marxist-Humanism. After reviewing the world of capitalism and other parties claiming to oppose it I feel it's time for a change and Marxism to me is the answer to our

problems now and tomorrow.

Prisoner
California

● CHINA AND MARX'S MARXISM

It was wonderful to see that Marx's Marxism is being taken up for the whole Chinese-speaking world through the new Chinese edition of *Marxism and Freedom*. In his introduction to that edition, the way Wang Ruoshui interprets Marx on socialization, not just as individuals in society but society through individuals, speaks to his appeal to today's pluralism. Far from this being an opposite of Hegel's absolute, as he seems to indicate, that absolute is about the unity of individual and the universal. For pluralism to have any meaning at all there has to be some common link. The default link is globalized commodity production. The problem we are facing is in articulating the positive expression of all the different groups who are linked together in a common opposition to global capitalism, as in the Seattle demonstrations.

Ron Brokmeyer
California

STRUGGLES
FOR
WOMEN'S
LIBERATION

African women are the most marginalized section of their society. Just take the crisis in Mozambique. One of the most moving stories and pictures was about a woman giving birth on a tree top. But that was not the whole story. The child would not have been born in a decent health center even without the flood, since one does not exist in their village. There are many reasons it is far from certain that the child will reach its fifth birthday.

Ba Karang
West Africa

* * *

I had just read in *Sister Namibia* that a rape crisis advertisement had been pulled off South African TV by the authorities who said they had received petitions against it. When it was learned that the petition had only 28 names, the ad got put back on the air. The ad states that "real men" would not stand by while a woman is raped every 26 seconds. The editor of *Femina* magazine said "rape is endemic in South Africa because so few men take it seriously." Then I came across a Reuters report that Nelson Mandela had made a speech, during the unveiling of a monument at his birthplace, in which he reminisced about his childhood and how his father had beaten all his wives, including his own mother! When this was met with nervous laughter he added that his father had beaten his wives only on the buttocks because they would be too embarrassed to show their injuries to the authorities. *Femina* was obviously right.

Outraged
Michigan

* * *

Cheri Honkala, who is president of the Kensington Welfare Rights Union (KWRU), went to Seattle for the protests against the WTO and was arrested for "assault." The charges were dropped against 500 others, but not against Cheri and 11 others, although the prosecutor had to reduce the charge to "obstruction," which could still mean a year in prison. He offered a plea bargain of 15 days in jail, a stiff fine and a two year ban on public political protest. It makes you wonder why the government is so determined to shut her up. Could it be because the KWRU's base is Philadelphia and it has already planned large scale protests when the Republican National Convention is there in July?

KWRU Supporter
Illinois

* * *

In the Essay on "What kind of labor should humanity do?" (Jan.-Feb. issue), one thing that jumped out at me was how C.L.R. James used the word "babbling" to characterize the theoretical work that Raya Dunayevskaya was doing in the 1940s-50s. Would he have

Readers' Views

used such an expression if he had been dealing with a man? I doubt it. It must have stunned him when that theoretic "babbling" developed into the book, *Marxism and Freedom*, which was published with an introduction by Herbert Marcuse and the first English translation of Marx's *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* as well as Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* as an appendix. That "babbling" has been translated into many languages. What a fatal underestimation of a woman's thoughts.

Women's Liberationist
Memphis

DISASTERS OF CAPITALISM

Franklin Dmitryev's article on the toxic spill in Romania (March N&L) told me more than all others I had read combined. Others make it seem only one article is needed and the media could just fill in the blanks. It would be called: "Who Got Screwed by Capitalism Today in (insert economically unstable country)?" Then they would insert the name of the indigenous, minority or poor peoples who met an untimely death when (insert name of capitalist money grubbers) happened to (drop a bomb, spill some poison, accidentally massacre) by mistake. Then we would learn the U.S. government, in the wake of this situation, did absolutely nothing, and that, in other news, stocks were up, up, up.

Youth ready to be a threat
Memphis

* * *

We recently saw what happened when electronic commerce sites were deliberately paralyzed by self-replicating data overwhelming the ability of computers to handle it. The same kind of dangers inherent in biotechnology, where less than fully knowledgeable research is being carried out daily, are frightening. A self-replicating bacterium that reaches an uncontrollable stage imperils humanity as much as nuclear weaponry. The chain reaction once confined to a bomb has migrated to the research lab. The growing number of analysts sounding alarms are being drowned out by the flood of instant millionaires spawned by the speculatively deranged stock market generating its own seeds of collapse.

Concerned non-scientist
Detroit

* * *

Government and industry tie everything into economics to convince people we have to have pollution to have a job. How can we expect the future generations to function considering what we are perpetrating on them? The smog in the Memphis area is so bad that the only way to stay healthy is not to breathe.

Environmental Justice activist
Memphis

THE 2000 CENSUS

This year's census brings another twist on U.S.'s "democracy" that is reminiscent of slavery. The 2 million prisoners, who are not allowed to vote, are automatically counted in the districts in which they are incarcerated. This means those rural areas for which the prison industrial complex is a lifeblood get disproportionately higher representation in Congress because disenfranchised prisoners' substantial numbers are counted as part of the local population. This is actually worse than when the original slavery stained the Constitution in this country. Then the white slave-owning oligarchy in the South could only count 3/5 of their slave population toward their proportional representation in Congress.

Disgusted
Oakland

THE KOSOVAR WORKERS

The Trepa workers want social ownership in order to decide their own future. They are fighting for all workers globally. NATO and the Kosovars have come close to armed clashes. Legally the whole region is part of

Serbia, but Albanians live there with no rights. Kosovars are expressing a desire for democratic rights. After the miners strike was ignored, the KLA got a lot of support from the population. They represent not just the idea of guns but also the idea of freedom.

Htun Lin
California

* * *

You have presented the Kosovo question too much from the point of view of why "the Left" has a skewed perspective and insufficiently from the perspective of how the problem could be explored. I am all for the right of civilians to defend themselves against their own government, but I remain skeptical about the politically amorphous KLA. The idea of placing selected cliques within this movement in charge of internal security seems to be a recipe for repression of working-class tendencies, as you have recognized. Perhaps if I lived in Kosovo and not in Oklahoma I too would be compelled to join a "united front" with KLA reactionaries as a matter of physical survival. But from my perspective the best I can do is try to invoke general principles of working-class solidarity within all of present Yugoslavia without advising either the Serbs or Albanians how to act concretely.

Allen Mui
Oklahoma

POLITICS
AND THE
ACADEMY
AWARDS

It was great to see how powerfully Rubin Carter, the ex-prisoner whose story is being told in the film "Hurricane," solidarized with Mumia Abu-Jamal at the press conference when the film opened in Philadelphia. I wish everybody knew what Carter said: "Jailhouse stool pigeons, jury tampering, jury fixing, paid criminals for perjured testimonies, the manufacturing of evidence by police departments, the lies in the seat of the government itself. That is what Mumia Abu-Jamal is in prison for. That's what I was in prison for."

Denzel Washington did a powerful job acting the part of Carter and it would have been important to see if he would act like Carter in solidarizing with all those suffering from the criminal INjustice system. Unfortunately, we'll never know, since the award he should have won was denied him by an Academy that wanted no part of any solidarity with our prisoner population.

Mumia supporter
Chicago

* * *

After last year's uproar over the presentation of a lifetime achievement award to Elia Kazan, Sam Gelfman (a member of the Academy's producers branch) made a proposal to devote a segment of the show this year to the blacklist. It did not get accepted. The Academy president said they would not want to change their policy of not making any political statements. The truth is that when the Academy collaborated with the blacklisting half a century ago, they were making one of the strongest political statements ever made. It was so strong that it helped send many in the industry to prison or to lose their jobs. Fifty years after, it's time to make a new statement.

Movie-goer
Illinois

THANKS FOR
CONTRIBUTING TO OUR
EMERGENCY APPEAL!

We want to thank all those who responded to our emergency appeal. For those who have not yet done so please send in your contribution today! It is of crucial importance in keeping N&L going.

FIGHTING POLICE BRUTALITY



The October 22 Coalition to Stop Police Brutality has just published a second edition of a powerful and chilling book which makes clear the price paid by all of us when we allow those hired to serve and protect us to abuse their power. *Stolen Lives* documents and describes over 2000 cases of people killed by law enforcement agents through the U.S. since 1990. Copies are only \$15 each, including shipping. Checks or money order can be made payable to IFCO/October 22 and should be sent to:

October 22 Coalition
PO Box 2627
New York, NY 10009

As the British Labour Party looks to America for the big idea, there is never any reflection on the problems of American society. Thus, "two strikes and you're out" is the present formula. Britain, which has the biggest prison population in Europe, continues the present drive to turn the working population into a slave one. Now we are learning about the L.A. police force and the robberies, killings, wrongful arrests it has been involved in but there is still no discussion of New York's "zero tolerance" policy. In the UK the bogey man is the Irish nationalist and while a number of deaths have occurred with the security forces in northern Ireland there has been recent execution style killings of suspects. It could be said we have taken more from America than fast foods.

Pat Duffy
Britain

Joseph Gould was an African-American man who worked as a vendor for *StreetWise*, the paper written and distributed by homeless people in Chicago. Joseph was shot in the head in 1995 by Gregory Becker, an off-duty police officer, for the "crime" of offering to clean the windshield of his car. Becker fled and Joseph was left to die alone in the street, clutching his only weapon, a wash rag.

Becker was never charged with murder but was sentenced to 15 years for "armed violence with a handgun." He is now trying to get his sentence reduced, which could mean he would be free after the mere 3 years he has already served. The case will come up for a hearing before Judge Robert Bertucci on April 7. So far, 90 local, national and international organizations have signed on to an attempt to keep Becker from getting away with murder. We invite anyone concerned with justice to join our appeal.

StreetWise editors
Chicago

RELIGION — OF THE OPPRESSED OR THE OPPRESSOR?

What is unique about N&L is how it deals with organized religion. You usually see a counterposing of religion and Marxism. Yet in the March issue there was an article on Maria Stewart that showed how she used her religion as part of her opposition to slavery. A similar attitude was expressed by John Alan in his article about David Walker's *Appeal*. Religion of the oppressed is very different than religion of the oppressors. The Pope's visit to Israel, for example, cannot mask the Catholic Church's total disregard for Jewish lives during the holocaust.

Observer
San Francisco

Taking the teaching of evolution out of Kansas high schools is part and parcel of an attack by the organized Religious Right and its wealthy backers on the "wall of separation" between church and state. To my mind, the Right isn't actually religious at all but concocts phony issues to distract workers from their true concerns regarding the power of the globalized economy, downsizing, the world's largest per capita prison population, and the racism inherent in the criminal justice system.

David Tyler
Louisiana

On March 24 it was 20 years since the Archbishop of El Salvador, Oscar Romero, was murdered while performing Mass. He had repeatedly denounced government repression and terrorism and refused to adopt a more conciliatory attitude unless

the government stopped its persecution of the church and repression against the Salvadoran people. On Feb. 19 he had written to President Carter asking him to reconsider his offer of giving \$50 million to the military junta. On March 24 he was assassinated. Carter always claimed to be a religious man but his was a very different kind from Romero's. We are still trying to shut down the School of the Americas where the assassins were trained by the U.S. Army.

Solidarity Activist
Illinois

WHO ARE THE SAVAGES?

Are the savages the ones that we see in the pages of *National Geographic*, or the rulers of the country that locks up more of its citizens than any other country on the planet? I have never seen a prison in *Geographic* which was indigenous to the native population. What do they know that we don't? Who are the true savages?

Prisoner
Tennessee

We have celebrated the millennium by achieving the imprisonment of 2 million men and women in the U.S. That achievement has been accompanied by an enormous rise of the prison-industrial system. Prison labor is now being put to work at everything from telemarketing to manufacturing — and manufacturing means everything from computer circuit boards to furniture. Across the country more than 80,000 inmates work for governments or private companies, earning from 25 cents to \$7 an hour. Easily exploited and with no bargaining power they are seen as a way to hold down wages for "free" labor. I agree with the political science professor who called it a problem "poised to explode."

Prisoner-Solidarity activist
Illinois

Friends of unjustly imprisoned Native American activist Leonard Peltier will be glad to hear that federal prison officials have finally consented to treat him for a debilitating jaw condition. Peltier has suffered severe ankylosis throughout his prison stay and treatment provided by prison doctors only worsened his condition. He underwent successful surgery at

the Mayo Clinic on March 21. He is due for parole review on June 12 and his defense committee is urging all concerned persons to call the White House comment line (202-456-1111) to demand justice for Leonard Peltier.

Supporter
Illinois

It's a given that the death penalty is racist. But it is also anti-human. They can easily agree to kill more white guys. The answer is not a more "fair" death penalty. We're killing a human being. That's what the demonizers of so-called criminals don't want to admit.

David
San Francisco

DUNAYEVSKAYA, MARX, AND THE BLACK DIMENSION

In Dunayevskaya's piece on race and class (*Jan.-Feb. N&L*), she wrote that ideas have "a logic of their own, and we must follow each to its logical, bitter end." It is breathtaking how she does just this and reveals an idea that thought itself to be radicalization proved to be instead a retreat from a total challenge to this class-ridden society. Quite often that is the guise in which a retreat first appears.

Franklin Dmitryev
Memphis

I heard recently that the Black political scientist and author of *Black Marxism*, Cedric Robinson, spoke in Los Angeles about, among other things, the insufficiency of Marxism in speaking to the black dimension. When Gene Ford challenged this, reminding Prof. Robinson of his 1983 television interview with Raya Dunayevskaya, Robinson responded that Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism was surely an exception to his assessment. Even more interesting was what Robinson said next — that though it's not widely recognized, Raya Dunayevskaya's work in developing Marxism in relation to the Black struggle surpassed that of her one-time collaborator, C.L.R. James. Given that Robinson's *Black Marxism* takes up W.E.B. DuBois, Richard Wright, and C.L.R. James, his public recognition of Dunayevskaya's contribution to the Black dimension raises interesting questions about the meaning of "Black Marxism."

Lou Turner
Chicago

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

BOOKS

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

- Marxism and Freedom: From 1776 until Today**
1988 edition. New author's introduction\$17.50
- Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao**
1989 edition. New author's introduction\$14.95
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**
1991 edition. New author's introduction. Foreword by Adrienne Rich\$12.95
- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future** (1996 edition)\$15.95
- The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism: Selected Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya**\$8.50
- The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya**
Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes."\$3 paperback, \$10 hardcover

By CHARLES DENBY

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

By KEVIN ANDERSON

- Lenin, Hegel, and Western Marxism: A Critical Study**
First full-length treatment of Lenin's studies of Hegel. \$15.95

PAMPHLETS

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard**
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa" by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby\$2

- NEW! Voices from within the Prison Walls**
by D. A. Sheldon. Prisoners' views of (in)justice system and organizing from within.\$8
For pamphlet plus donor copy for a prisoner\$16
- Harry McShane and the Scottish Roots of Marxist-Humanism** by Peter Hudis\$3
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by Lou Turner and John Alan\$3
- Working Women for Freedom**
by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan, and Mary Holmes\$2
- Dos ensayos por Raya Dunayevskaya**\$2
- News and Letters Committees Constitution**33¢ postage

- Marxist-Humanist Literature Catalog**
A full list of publications (includes many not listed here) available from News and Letters Committees...\$5¢ postage

ARCHIVES

- Guides to Collection and Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of Its World Development**
Full description of 15,000-page microfilm collection...\$4.50
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Black World

(Continued from page 1)

not trying to make a stagnant principle out of the veil. Instead, he was dialectically recording a fluid revolutionary situation, relating "Algerian women's resistance in a way that can be remembered, recalled, and corrected by women in their present quests for self-actualization" (350).

The debate on women's liberation is the most exciting section of the book, framed as it is by the voices of Algerian women liberationists. Zouliha, described as an activist, writes movingly of the silences that pervade an Algeria terrorized by armed Islamist groups, but she warns that it is not enough to simply oppose religious fundamentalism. Those "women's associations who limited themselves to the struggle against the Islamists ended up allying themselves with the state power" (366).

A NEW HUMANISM

The issues Zouliha raises are key to understanding the dialectic of revolution for which Fanon was reaching. As Nigel Gibson writes, "in contrast to an 'Islamic' nation, Fanon posited not simply secularism but a 'new humanism'" (29). This concept is taken up by Lou Turner and John Alan in an excerpt from the News and Letters pamphlet, *Frantz Fanon, Soweto & American Black Thought*. They stress that the culture that mattered to Fanon was not an invented Black past or idyllic utopia, but the new ideas and new human relations forged in revolution: "To Fanon, culture without revolution lacks substance" (117).

Postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha takes a dimmer view of Fanon's humanism, which he dismisses as being "as banal as it is beatific," reductively equating this humanism to psychological categories like "overcompensation" (191). Edward Said traces the logic in Fanon's humanism, though he fears it has been "too strenuous for the new postcolonial states to actualize" (213).

Nigel Gibson understands Fanon's humanism as the dialectic pulse of "the social and democratic processes of becoming historical protagonists" (435). He contends that Fanon saw decolonization as the process of how a "culture becomes reinvigorated as a fighting culture... (which) rather than valorize 'tradition' seeks to forge totally new relations between people" (420).

Such an engaged battle of ideas marks the entire book and Fanon's legacy. For instance, the relationship of violence and revolution that Fanon developed theoretically is often taken as a blanket justification for violence. But Fanon was a dialectician and a revolutionary: all actions take place in the context of concrete historic particularities. Thus, he writes that the uprisings against colonialism are "not a treatise on the universal, but the untidy affir-

Toxic whitewash

Memphis, Tenn.—The Black community around the Defense Depot has been fighting its contamination since they found out it is on the Superfund list of toxic sites. Since the first "health assessment" by the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry in 1995, Defense Depot Memphis Tenn.-Concerned Citizens Committee has been fighting to have a real health assessment done. ATSDR held a public comment session on the draft of a new assessment last month. With the meeting held outside the community, only a handful of residents showed, but each blasted the whitewash of the Depot's toxic racism.

Kevin Clay, a member of DDMT-CCC, set the tone when he said: "The assessment is a sham and based on a pack of lies. Why don't you hear what we're saying? You have to knock on some doors to find out about people's health. You didn't do it. Missing from all your maps of drainage from the Depot is the drainage ditch at Boyle and Hays. Nothing about this is real. You're taking inadequate information and coming to an erroneous conclusion." He recited more evidence given by local residents but never followed up on by ATSDR.

Doris Bradshaw, president of DDMT-CCC, was so outraged that she demanded that the group's name be stricken from the report: "I see our organization slandered. I'm done with cooperating. Why were you trying to get credibility on our backs? I know the tactics ATSDR uses to divide and conquer a community."

Bradshaw and Clay recounted numerous incidents of toxic exposures over the years, refuting the assessment's rosy picture. Community residents also told of the horrible working conditions Black workers at the Depot had had to endure and that they had brought the toxins home and exposed their children.

Franklin Dmitryev from News and Letters Committees pointed out that "with over 100 chemicals identified at the site, there are no data to determine effects of exposure to some of them and almost zero to determine effects of exposure to combinations of them. But the assessment uses 'comparison' levels based only on wild guesses to conclude that there can be no harm to people. Uncertainty is stressed when it means that we can't be sure anyone was harmed, but uncertainty is downplayed when it means we can't be sure people are not harmed. Over and over the report says there is no proof of hazard."

"There are two different world views. One is the community's and workers' knowledge from experience that they suffer tremendous health problems and that the Depot has been lying to them for years. The other is that of bureaucrats and 'experts,' who each look at their own jurisdiction and explain away all the problems."

Since it became clear that the government was interested only in public relations and not the truth, the community members walked out, leaving the bureaucrats to twiddle their thumbs.

—Terry Moon and Franklin Dmitryev

Rethinking Fanon

mation of an original idea propounded as an absolute" (quoted 209). As Tony Martin writes, "the most eloquent testimony to the depravity of French colonialism is provided by the fact that it could have driven a man as desirous of justice and a true humanism as Fanon was to the inescapable conclusion that violence was the only answer" (85).

'ABSENCE OF IDEOLOGY'

This untidy affirmation of struggle evidences itself in the social organization of movements for freedom. Lou Turner brings all the issues together in his article on "Dialectics of Organization and the Algerian Revolution," tracing the organizational struggles of the FLN, showing how the focus shifted from "the new Algerian society to come" to "diplomatic and military concerns" (373).

Turner shows Fanon's revolutionary practice: how he fought this betrayal by going directly to those fighting in the countryside and how *The Wretched of the Earth* was written to warn of the dangers ahead. Turner concludes that the "crisis in F.L.N.-governed Algeria today is haunted by the specter of this retreat from defining the ideological ground of the revolution," which left an "ideological void...filled by Arab nationalism and Islamicist tendencies" (379).

It was Fanon who warned that "the great danger that threatens Africa is the absence of ideology" (379). The voices of the women's liberationists in this book make clear the cost of settling for anything other than totally new human relations and a new society. The battle of ideas matters; lives are at stake.

A bridge named for Crispus Attucks

Framingham, Mass.—On March 5, 2000, at the same hour as the 35th anniversary commemoration of the "Bloody Sunday" march in Selma, Ala., there was another commemoration in Framingham. On the 230th anniversary of the Boston Massacre, Framingham finally welcomed home one of her native sons, Crispus Attucks. Attucks had broken his chains by fleeing slavery and later became the first to die in the cause of American freedom.

Several hundred people, white, Black and Asian, including local politicians, participated in naming a small bridge at Cochituate Brook in Attucks' honor. The bridge stands near the grist mill where he once worked as a slave. On a chill, windy Sunday afternoon, a group of Native Americans sang traditional songs and recited the Lord's Prayer in the Massachusett language.

Early on the morning of March 5, 1770, about 60 demonstrators confronted an outpost of British troops, two regiments of whom had been occupying Boston since 1768. Among the leaders and first to fall was Crispus Attucks, a 47-year-old sailor and rope maker. Of both African-American and Native American ancestry, Attucks had been a fugitive in Boston for 20 years.

These heroes of the Boston Massacre have long had a controversial reputation in Massachusetts. John Adams, later to become president of the U.S., served as defense lawyer for the Redcoats, who were charged with



Boston Massacre, 1770.

What about those imprisoned for life?

For the Mothers, Brothers, Sisters and loved ones of those imprisoned, lifers in particular:

Within the system there should be a window of hope for a prisoner's future. The life term should have a point of release, a goal where freedom can be won without any attempt to break the spirit! A life sentence should not be a death sentence, locked away without a key for release. The governor of the State of California has the last word at the parole board. But if you should be judged by an audience of your peers in a jury hearing, why not at a parole hearing as well?

Political views or remorse determines the existence of prisoners, who seem treated as animals while the state hasn't a concrete goal of achievement for those releases. Remorse in most cases is only a matter of opinion, a judgment call many times based on prejudices of race and class.

Rebellion for many prisoners can mean survival, while remorse can equal guilt. What about those that maintain innocence in relationship to conviction? Or those who are forced to do things which prison forces upon an individual where in reality violence is the environment of imprisonment? Prison reform is destroyed; punishment is the highest law; the system has created a monster. Its own destruction is growing within prison walls for social, human freedom.

—Gene Ford

the murder of Attucks and four other protesters. Adams called the demonstrators a murderous, unruly mob. Over the years some have viewed them with condescension. After decades of struggle by Boston's African-American community, a statue in honor of Attucks and the others was erected on the Boston Commons. The

actual site of the massacre lies unmarked except by a circle of cobblestones in the pavement.

You may think these are controversies of long ago, but in February 2000 a few virulent local anti-Attucks campaigners denounced the protesters of 1770, who were of Irish, English, Black and Native American origin, as "hard drinking thugs" and "vulgar ruffians." This perennial outcry is nothing less than "racist and patronizing,"

according to Edwina Weston-Dyer, a descendant of slaves and chairwoman of the Framingham Historical Commission's African-American Historical Committee.

Boston has a long history of both abolitionism and racism. In the decades since the notorious school busing riots of 1976, African-American and Irish-American Bostonians, including residents of the overcrowded "triple-deckers" in Southie and Dorchester, have increasingly realized their common struggles. And Framingham, surrounded by mostly white suburbs, is a diverse, working-class and middle-class, multiethnic and multiracial city. Today it also has a bridge named for Crispus Attucks.

—Mitch Kamen

Black/Red View Henry Louis Gates and Africa today

by John Alan

The recent PBS documentary on Harvard University professor Henry Louis Gates Jr.'s grand tour of Black Africa was undoubtedly, for many, an "eye opener." It revealed that Black people living in regions south of the Sahara Desert created great civilizations and had a major influence on the creation and development of the ancient Egyptian civilization.

Gates was very credible in his pursuit of hidden Black civilizations. He interviewed an Italian archeologist working in the Sudan, who had no difficulty showing that the Black people of the Nubia, today's Sudan, were intimately involved in the creation of the great Egyptian civilization. Gates visited the ruins of an old city and an ancient library still filled with crumbling manuscripts in West Africa. In South Africa he found a white historian who agreed that the ancient stone ruins of Zimbabwe were once the seat of a great African civilization.

Gates also took a remarkable journey into rugged areas of Ethiopia in hope of finding the Ark, the chest in which the ancient Hebrews kept the tablets of their law. He didn't find the Ark, but he did find the Archbishop of Canterbury at a mass baptismal rite. The Archbishop and Dr. Gates mused about the implications of the ancient break of the Coptic Church from the main line of Christianity.

There is nothing wrong with uncovering the significant role Africans have played in human history. However, that alone is not enough since it has no power in the crucial battle to roll back the sea of poverty now extending from Ethiopia to South Africa. This poverty and the social havoc it has caused, plus the droughts and the floods, now threaten the lives of millions of people. Africa can expect only a minimal amount from the U.S. and Europe, as was indi-

cated by the slow and halfway aid those countries gave to the people of Mozambique after the recent devastating flood.

It is important to recognize that the contingency of nature's violence is not the primary creator of Africa's social problems. Those problems have their origin in the fact that the African masses are denied the right, as Karl Marx put it, to establish in Nature their own world.

This is not a theoretical abstraction. For example, three decades after the African revolutions the white descendants of European settlers are still the owners and managers of a major portion of the natural resources in the former European colonies. In Zimbabwe Blacks are 99.4% of the population, but the white minority owns 70% of the land. In South Africa Blacks are 76% of the population, and the white minority owns 85% of the land. This white minority also owns or runs the major capitalist enterprises in South Africa, where the Black unemployment rate is 40%.

This Black and white relationship in Africa has been politically stabilized by governments which are predominantly Black and had promised the African masses that they would lead them to freedom and away from the exploitation of colonization. After more than 30 years of postcolonial rule this promise has not been realized. Neo-colonialism has integrated Africa into the world economy. However, this situation cannot exist peacefully forever. A new revolutionary spirit is bound to burst forth in opposition.

Professor Henry Louis Gates and his colleagues at Harvard have long been engaged in showing that non-European people have made great contributions to the European civilization. They have avoided looking at the essential problem of history, which is humanity's struggle for freedom, that is, construction of a non-exploitative, humanist society.

Philosophic Dialogue

New Afrikan prisoner on race and class

Editor's note: In response to our invitation to readers to respond to Raya Dunayevskaya's Archives column in the January-February 2000 issue of News & Letters, "Revisiting 'Black Power,' Race and Class," New Afrikan political prisoner Ali Khalid Abdullah has sent us the following analysis (which we regretfully had to excerpt for space). As part of the continuing dialogue and debate on this crucial question for today's liberation movement, we will publish future responses in subsequent issues.

Raya Dunayevskaya wrote a thesis from the Marxist-Humanist perspective which was presented to the September 1966 Convention of News and Letters Committees on "Black Power, Race and Class." News and Letters revisited the issue in their January-February 2000 issue of *News & Letters* that I've read and want to revisit myself and hopefully stimulate some serious dialogue on. With the ever increasing New Afrikan (Black), Latino, Native American (First Nations) and other peoples of color being incarcerated at alarming rates, and as the jobs shrunk and the workers become more divided and splintered, and as corporations dominate more and more of the economic pie, thus creating a limited and unfair market, it is imperative to revisit the Black Power Movement and the issue of Race and Class.

RACE AND CLASS

In her analysis, Raya Dunayevskaya commented on the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) that Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture) was chairman of and remarked how Ture spoke of there being a "white psyche," and that this "white psyche is part of the white fear-guilt complex resulting from the slave revolts." This comment was made at a time when Black people were seeking to find ways to develop a new consciousness from the old consciousness of tolerance and acceptance of white supremacy. What Ture was doing was trying to develop a statement, a doctrine that would enhance Black Pride and reverse the inferior nonaggressive attitude that Blacks have long held internally towards any white authority, by using reverse psychology on the minds of the Black masses. In other words, Ture was instilling the concept of Black Pride in order to stimulate and empower a dormant Black mass to become a powerful Black mass forging forward to develop their agenda.

We must understand and recognize that at the time Ture and SNCC were in operation the U.S. government was doing its best to destroy all forms of Civil Black Protests. The old vanguard of the Civil Rights Movement was losing steam as more and more Blacks were beginning to doubt Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s philosophy of "nonviolence" and tolerance. Ture was trying to interject a new force of power into the Black psyche. Thus, Ture used the concept of "white psyche" to instill in the minds of Blacks that "all whites" are part of a collective, and that we should view "all whites" as the enemy; at the same time, he did not take into consideration that this is historically untrue and actually counterproductive in building a mass, broad-based movement to defeat racism.

The premise of Black Power (though its concepts have good points) did not go deep enough to sustain itself because Black Power alone cannot fuel or change capitalism. And it is capitalism which was, and is, the fuel for racism to keep the people divided along race and class lines. What is missing in this discussion of Ture and Dunayevskaya's analysis is the fact that racism was created to justify the stealing of vital resources in Afrika and the building of the European empire and Amerikkka. In order to extract the resources there had to be a justification for this in order to subjugate masses of people and reduce them to mere "things" and "property" so that the humynize psyche can accept or condition itself to dehumynize another living humyn. Racism was created to do just that. Now when we look at Ture's comment in this light, it is not hard to see why he made them (flawed as they were) to a people that have met nothing but institutional racism and economic injustice for hundreds of years.

As for whites having this "guilt complex" for their treating Blacks as they did/do, I doubt that this is true. Furthermore, guilt had nothing to do with the equation. Greed did. However, when we probe further into Ture's "white psyche" concept, we must ask ourselves whether or not this psyche exists or to what degree does it exist? We only have to look about us to understand that there is a certain psyche that has been drilled into people's minds about Blacks and vice versa. This has become so ingrained that it does reach the level of invading one's psyche; and this is, perhaps, what Ture was referring to but added more to it thus weakening his argument by professing that "all whites are part of the collective white Amerikkka."

Dunayevskaya was correct when she stated, "[t]o further insist that 'whatever their political persuasion,' 'all whites' are 'part of the collective white America' so that the U.S. has '180 million racists' is to blur the class line which cuts across the race divisions as well as to muffle the philosophy of total freedom which has created a second America." This I can agree with. We cannot say that "all whites" are racist any more than we can say that "all Blacks" hate whites. There is no clear "all or nothing" line here. There are always degrees and shades. However, Ture's comments about the "white psyche" cannot be readily dismissed as baseless.

What I mean by this is that whites do have a certain psyche about Black people. Even the most well intended

white person in Amerikkka has a degree of the "white psyche" which pervades even when they denounce its existence. For example, to be white in Amerikkka is to have a certain amount of privilege. This can't be denied. There is a different wealth or thought to be viewed by the wealthy white. Nevertheless, all Blacks are viewed in a similar manner regardless of educational, financial or political status. This is so because its basic foundation was formed by racism and it shows daily. It is shown on TV, in movies, ads, employment, housing, education, etc. It is a fact of life. This, in and of itself, will have an effect on one's psyche regardless who is the dominant race.

ABOLITIONISM AND MARXISM

I disagree with Dunayevskaya's comment that "the most remarkable organization this country had ever seen [was] the Abolitionists." The Abolitionists had flaws even as they preached for the abolition of slavery. The flaws were that though people argued for the end of slavery, they were not willing to see that "ALL forms of Slavery" be "hereby and forever uprooted." Once the Civil War ended, where were the Abolitionists? Their concepts were limited to ending chattel slavery and failed to go further. This is why so many freed slaves returned to their old plantations. They had nowhere to go but back to their former slave owners and, in fact, were still SLAVES, only freed on paper. That is the distinction. The Abolitionists did not press to see that justice prevail beyond bondage, beyond the chains; nor did they continue to further reverse the ills of slavery during the Reconstruction period.

Further, many of the Abolitionists who lived in the North REFUSED to have freed ex-slaves living in their

neighborhoods and, in fact, the Northern states became just as prejudiced as the Southerners were, but used a different approach. The truth of this is glaringly evident today. I am not indicting the Abolitionists, however, but presenting the facts as they should be given for more critical thinking and analysis. Yet, I agree with Dunayevskaya when she says, "the Bourbon South not only failed to brainwash all the [white] people, but a very important section was inspired by the slave revolts...." But the "too few" who were not brainwashed weren't enough then and aren't enough today to stop the deeply rooted racism that prevails, nor change the STILL EXISTING "white skin privilege myth" which is, when we boil it all down, a psychological phenomenon, or psyche.

Dunayevskaya ties the Abolitionists and Karl Marx together by stating, "the affinity of his ideas and theirs should have revealed how indigenous, how deep were the American roots of Marxism." If the Amerikkkan roots were "deep" then how is it that the capitalistic roots were not only controlling the economy but creating economic class divisions among the people and fueling the continuation of racism?

BLACK-WHITE LABOR UNITY, 1930S AND NOW

Raya Dunayevskaya suggested that it was necessary that Blacks integrated with the white labor movement and that Kwame Ture was wrong when he advocated the separation of the races. Again, it is true that Blacks fought with whites to obtain fair labor benefits and wages, but what is not true is that white workers fought just as hard for the Black labor force. It is a sad fact that if the white worker has problems with management, the

(Continued on page 11)

Letters continue historical prison writings

Revolutionary Prisoners Speak! Selected prisoner correspondence: 1998-1999 (Chicago: News & Letters, 1999)

In 1903, Jack London wrote that "no economic argument, no lucid demonstration of the logic and inevitability of Socialism affects me as profoundly and convincingly as I was first affected on the day when I first saw the walls of the Social Pit rise around me, and felt myself slipping down, down, into the shambles at the bottom."

London's conversion came after spending 30 days in the Erie County Jail for vagrancy in 1894. What makes his articles such as "Pinched: A Prison Experience" and "The Pen: Long Days in a County Penitentiary" so interesting is the similarities with today's prisoners.

Years ago, in-house prison publications offered a view—if somewhat censored—of what was going on inside U.S. prisons. We have read memorable treatises of prison life from such notables as George Jackson, Eldridge Cleaver, and Mumia Abu-Jamal; Jack Abbott, in 1981, gave a glimpse of the true purpose of prisons.

It should not be surprising, then, that prison publications are practically nonexistent in today's political atmosphere. For if those voices were heard it might give pause to those who feel that prisons are truly the answers to society's myriad problems.

One is drawn to the similarities of Jack Abbott's "State-raised convict" from *In the Belly of the Beast* (1981), and "State Raised" (30) in *Revolutionary Prisoners Speak (RPS)*. It reminds us that, after almost 20 years, nothing has really changed: "I sat here years at a time with a wounded spirit, broken heart, and a wandering mind, asking why, why, why."

It brings to mind the real need for publications such as *RPS*: to remind people that prisons are not simply a problem of a culture dealing with its vision of law and order. It is also a people problem, people who do more than sit around and contemplate their next crime—as some would have others believe—people who do question themselves and their environment for days, weeks, and years on end, bouncing those questions—like echoes—off of the walls of rooms which they know more intimately than many people know their own children.

Prison walls, gates, and cells do not restrict a person's thoughts. One writer in *RPS* writes about the war being waged against America's youth, screaming—as much as one can scream with the written word—"WE MUST STOP THIS MADNESS!" (32). Another warns US ABOUT George W. Bush well before he announced his bid for the presidency, when, after reading Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, he comments, "I was immediately impressed with how humane and benevolent the vicious Stalinist prison was in comparison with the Texas prison system today!" (20).

What affects the community-at-large affects the pris-

oner as well. "Each Texas prisoner," one writer comments, "costs taxpayers over \$24,000 a year and produces very little. For the same \$24,000 a capitalist can hire a more productive free worker, and install modern machines, that will result in productiv[ity] 10 or more times more efficient than TDCJ prisoners" (19).

It is prisoners who often shout the loudest about money spent on building new prisons, while schools scrape and beg for a tenth of those monies to simply make their schools safe for their students. In *RPS*, it is a prisoner who says, "The distinctive character of capitalism is that it reduces all human relations to the dictates of value production" (53). Another prisoner retates us: "The things we produce now appear to define who we are and how we relate to one another. This, of course, denies all of us our individuality and forces us to see ourselves in relation to production rather than each other" (44).

Charles Dickens once wrote, after a visit to Eastern Penitentiary in Pennsylvania, "Over the head and face of every prisoner who comes into this melancholy house, a black hood is drawn; and in this dark shroud, an emblem of the curtain dropped between him and the living world...[H]e is a man buried alive; to be dug out in the slow round of years; and in the meantime dead to everything but torturing anxieties and horrible despair."

The black veil is now the omnipresent threat of "supermax"; the shroud is the absence of reality within a stark, mind-numbing soundproofed room. What one reads in *RPS* is only a selection of letters and essays by prisoners received by News and Letters Committees. The writing might seem modest when compared to Dickens, but that makes it all the more compelling. Each writer realizes that the concept of freedom does not exist at the prison gate, if the society itself is not free. It is simply a tradeoff of one prison for the uncertain realities of another.

In reading *RPS*, do so with an open mind. Forget, for a moment, that the writers are incarcerated; ignore the political meanderings and rhetoric of the hired assassins of individual thought, the prisoncrats who shout the loudest of ridding the community of the "criminal elements in our society," and who just as easily vote to place toxic waste dumps into a community composed of minorities; who allow workers to die in unsafe working conditions; who would rather spend 50 million dollars on a supermax prison than one million dollars to upgrade a school in the inner city. If such a criminal element needs to be uprooted from a society, then prisoners are very much at the forefront of the concept "revolution in permanence." For only with that philosophy, only with the philosophy of a humanistic approach to the dialectic, will criminality on all levels cease to exist.

—Robert Taliaferro



**Revolutionary Prisoners
Speak! Selected Prisoner
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**Revolutionary Prisoners
Speak!**

South America movements confront array of contradictions

(Continued from page 1)

The answer, it seems, is that the U.S. correctly perceives that these cases are not just about Pinochet, Terry Ward, or Ricardo Anderson. They are about a growing revolt that is threatening to shake up what is left of the "stability" the U.S. is so intent on maintaining, at any cost, throughout the hemisphere.

REMOBILIZATION IN ARGENTINA

Argentina is the proof of this. On Feb. 24 at the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires, the same place where the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo have been clamoring for justice for 22 years and continue to do so, 50,000 workers came out to fight the labor reform imposed by the new president Fernando de la Rúa.

This program, designed to impress the IMF, lengthens probationary periods and allows companies to sidestep unions by letting them negotiate salaries directly with individual workers. After it was passed, the IMF approved a line of credit of \$7.4 billion over three years with the stipulation that it be used only to avoid a serious crisis.

That crisis is brewing rapidly. The workers at the march carried banners denouncing the reform and the IMF. But their deepest anger was reserved for the leaders of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) who helped the president negotiate the reform. During the past decade these stooges approved all of former president Carlos Menem's measures to throw out many important labor victories.

Now there is a genuine opposition within the CGT. They have organized joint actions, like the February march, with the independent Argentine Workers Union (CTA), which itself has become more radical after massive demonstrations in December in the northern province of Corrientes. Those protests, which developed as a result of several thousand state workers being denied months of

pay, brought down the right-wing provincial government and left two workers dead and dozens injured.

It is impossible to say where this movement will lead in the coming months and years. What is certain is that nobody has any idea how to bring these countries out of the economic crises they're in, one proof being the strings attached to Argentina's new IMF loan that show these financiers to be bracing for the worst.

While Argentina presents the hope of a serious new labor movement on the rise, the events in Ecuador since the beginning of the year reveal a mass movement that has already unraveled.

THE CRISIS IN ECUADOR

The first week of January began with a series of protests demanding the resignation of President Jamil Mahuad as he announced the *dolarization* of Ecuador's economy. This plan, so far fetched that even the IMF wasn't thrilled with it, is supposed to stem the free fall of the sucre, which was devalued an incredible 197% in 1999, a 61% inflation rate, and turn the tide of poverty that the government says afflicts 60-80% of the population.

All of the actors in the drama made themselves heard that first week: thousands of students came out in Quito on Jan. 5 and were attacked by the police, Mahuad declared a state of emergency the next day, and 15,000 transit workers answered with a strike that brought the port city of Guayaquil to a near standstill three days later. Not to be left out was the U.S. State Department, which called to express its full support for the Harvard-trained economist Mahuad and his military.

All eyes, however, were on the indigenous movement. For ten years the Quichuas, Shiwiars, Achuars, and others who make up the indigenous population of the country (40% of the 12.5 million population) have developed their

organizations, the strongest of which is the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (Conaie).

January was to mark the high point of that decade of struggle as a sizable proportion of the indigenous peoples was expected to descend upon the capital in the coming weeks, explicitly to bring down the government. Ricardo Ulcuango, vice president of Conaie, spoke in that first week of the aim of the movement: "The resignation of Mahuad is no magical medicine, for we are out to establish a government of the people, a direct participation in decision making."

At first it seemed as if the state of emergency might work: the students and workers were being gassed in the capital and Guayaquil, and 35,000 troops fanned out to the principal arteries to block the Conaie marches. Even as the oil workers union announced the beginning of an "administrative strike" that they promised would grow until production itself was halted, the government's slogan on Jan. 17 was still "the movement has not eluded our control."

The next day, however, tens of thousands of Indians began arriving in the capital. Over the next few days every province was reporting work stoppages, and the marches through Quito grew to be 50,000 strong. In the evenings a gathering of many organizations, called the People's Parliament, reviewed the day's activities and planned the next. The government's tone also began to change; the Indians, they said, could stay in Quito as long as they liked if they "respect order and understand that the president was constitutionally elected."

CONAIE HEADS, DIVERTS REVOLT

It was Conaie's finest moment as the revolution, it seemed, was at hand. As the hour of the government's fall neared, however, it became apparent that the ruling class, along with the U.S., were not the only ones fearful of the mass movement; Conaie was, too.

Up to this point Conaie's stated aim was the dissolution of the judicial, congressional, and executive branches of government. Conspicuously absent from their vision was any mention of the military, which, not so coincidentally, enjoys popular support in Ecuador.

On Jan. 19, after a march of some 5,000 Indians that led first past the presidential palace then to the Ministry of Defense, Conaie called for the intervention of the armed forces "in order to prevent a social upheaval of unforeseen consequences." Antonio Vargas, president of Conaie, along with other Indian leaders, met that day with the head of the armed forces, Carlos Mendoza, to present him with their plan for a "junta of national salvation."

At the same time, the People's Parliament issued a written statement, also calling for a military intervention, and used the very same words: "in order to prevent a social upheaval of unforeseen consequences." What was not openly acknowledged, but what they must have known, is that two hours earlier large groups of students and workers were attacked by the police with tear gas as they attempted to march on the city center from several directions to unite with the Indians already there.

For its part, the military under Mendoza rejected Conaie's plan the next morning. Within 24 hours, however, after the Conaie leadership had demanded several more times that the military "take a position," a split emerged within the soldiers' ranks, and on Friday afternoon hundreds of Indians, led by a colonel, Lucio Gutierrez, and numerous lesser officials, took control of the presidential palace and declared their junta to be the new government.

The junta was originally composed of Gutierrez, Vargas, and a former head of the Supreme Court, Carlos Solorzano. On Friday night Vargas declared to the nation: "I want to report that the Ecuadorian people have triumphed."

U.S. CONNIVANCE IN COLLAPSE

From the U.S. came a predictably brutal announcement: "Any regime that emerges from an unconstitutional process will confront an economic and political isolation that will bring about an even greater misery to the Ecuadorian people." The insane meaning of this message, coming from the supposed "leader of the free world" to one where 80% already live in poverty, was not lost on the Ecuadorian military.

By the wee hours of Saturday morning Gutierrez had been replaced by Mendoza who, after spending several hours on the phone with unnamed officials of the U.S. State Department, dissolved the junta and named Mahuad's Vice President Gustavo Noboa to the presidency.

Vargas of course cried foul: "The military leadership has deceived us...our objective was to form a government of genuine democracy." Without having united with the students and workers who were trying to reach them, and having turned to the military to assuage their fears of the "unforeseen consequence" of the future, there was nothing to do but leave the capital.

The failure was so total that by Monday morning Quito had returned to "business as usual." Not a single concrete victory could be pointed to other than Mahuad's exit; in fact, Noboa's first words on Saturday upon being handed the presidency was to assure the nation that the *dolarization* scheme, which sparked the uprising, would proceed as planned. The U.S., which has expressed its criminal intent to stem any opposition, will see that it be done.

In the short term, it is doubtful that the movement will recover from this defeat; in the long term, it has no choice but to do so. For now, it is necessary to recognize that an important juncture has been reached. Any movement that turns to a military, whether at the service of a ruling class or a populist ruler, rather than embrace the "unforeseen consequences" of a future noncapitalist society will never experience that society.

Editorial

Police lynchings law of the land

The current exhibit in New York City of horrifying photos of lynchings in America has drawn unexpectedly large numbers of parents bringing their children to learn of the hideous past of this country. Yet the shocking acquittal of the four New York policemen who murdered Amadou Diallo in the Bronx last year has become proof that Black people can still be lynched in the U.S. with impunity.

That this is not an aberration but proof of the current lynch-law mentality that prevails today in New York City was revealed five days after that acquittal, by the police murder of another unarmed Black youth, Malcolm Ferguson, two blocks from Diallo's doorstep. And no more than two weeks later, by the police murder of yet another unarmed young Black man, Patrick Dorismond.

Who were these three unarmed Black men killed by Mayor Giuliani's plainclothes police in 13 months? Amadou Diallo was 22 years old, a street peddler by trade, who was standing in his own doorway when a team of four burly special unit "crime fighters" descended on him and, as he was reaching for his wallet, unleashed 41 bullets at him, 19 of which struck his slight body.

Malcolm Ferguson was 23, lived in the South Bronx and had been one of the outraged crowd that had demonstrated in front of Amadou Diallo's doorway on learning of the acquittal, shouting "murderers" at the police. Five days later, he had allegedly "run" when another plainclothes "crime team" pushed two of his friends against a wall to frisk them, was chased, and shot once in the head as he grappled with his pursuer.

Patrick Dorismond, the son of Haitian immigrants, was 26, worked as a security guard at a bar and was hailing a cab in the street after his shift when an undercover cop, trying to engage him in a sting operation, asked to buy drugs and was rebuffed. Within moments, Dorismond was shot dead.

True to form, Mayor Giuliani demonized each viciously: Amadou Diallo brought on the fusillade of 41 bullets by "acting suspiciously." Malcolm Ferguson invited the bullet in his head by running away from the plainclothes cops when they wanted to frisk him. To prove Patrick Dorismond had a "criminal record" which contained "relevant facts the people have a right to know," Giuliani released it. The public record turned out to consist of two minor disorderly conduct violations. Especially outrageous was Giuliani's release of an arrest report from 1987, despite the fact that Dorismond was then a juvenile and the case file had been sealed by the court.

Dorismond's funeral procession was transformed into a spontaneous march for justice when thousands poured out for the funeral and marched up Flatbush Avenue, many singing impromptu Haitian songs.

RULE OF FEAR

Aggressive street policing in New York began shortly after Giuliani's election in 1993. Thousands have been subjected over the years since then to demeaning stop and frisk tactics for no other reason than the color of their skin. The pattern which the New York special crimes units called "We own the night" and the Black community knows as an "occupying army" has been instituted just as aggressively in other large cities. In both Philadelphia

and Los Angeles it has led to a practice of brutality and corruption in the name of "fighting crime" which has now reached such proportions that investigation could no longer be avoided. (See "Rampart scandal," page 1.)

Chicago just wrote the most recent "case history" of the rampant police killings when Arthur Hutchinson, a 40-year-old homeless man, was shot dead with a bullet in his chest for panhandling near a Chicago transit station. The preliminary investigation by police determined that the officer acted "appropriately."

The threatening "shiny object" in the dead man's hand turned out to be a dinner fork. Last summer a cell phone was mistaken by an officer in the hand of LaTanya Haggerty for which she was shot dead after exiting a car that had been chased for a traffic violation.

FIGHTING INJUSTICE

"Racial profiling" surely is involved in the fact that Black men are jailed at 12 times the

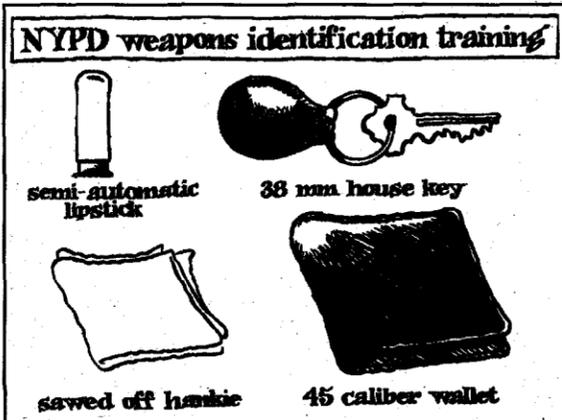
rate of white men, and that no less than one-third of Black men in their 20s are now under the control of what they rightly call the "criminal (IN)justice system." Moreover what demands the deepest probing is the fact that the same week Amadou Diallo's killers were acquitted and set free, the number of people in U.S. prisons and jails surpassed two million.

While none of the presidential contenders show any concern for the depth of the crises confronting this country, Black America especially, Amadou Diallo's murder and the outrage at the acquittal of his murderers has energized the many movements that have been demanding a very different kind of future. Opposition to police abuse has taken many forms.

The movement is not only national but multiethnic and crisscrosses with those working out solidarity with prisoners throughout the land, the effort to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, and the struggle against the death penalty. In Illinois, a growing anti-death penalty movement forced a Republican governor who favors the death penalty to declare a moratorium on executions after 13 wrongly convicted men on Death Row had to be released.

The need to uproot such a dehumanized society as we live in has become clearer with each outrage. One Black prisoner wrote *N&L* to ask if the moratorium "really matters in a country where the death penalty can be carried out arbitrarily, capriciously, and with no real fear of reprisals, right in the community?" He added, "We lost our claim to a civilized existence the first time a fortress was thrown up, a dungeon added and the first prisoner was placed in that dark hole in chains." The discussions about the need for a total uprooting that we have received from prisoners and that you have read in the pages of *News & Letters*, show the development of the most revolutionary force of all—the mind of the oppressed.

As we put it in our *Marxist-Humanist Perspectives for 1999-2000*: "The challenge is to develop just such an active relationship between philosophy and revolution in all the emerging struggles. One of the most vibrant is the movement against police abuse...The intermingling of these movements brings out the need to wage the struggle on the level of changing the whole of society, and shows the todayness of the category of Black Masses as Vanguard of the American revolution."



Youth

Campus activism points toward new development

by Kevin Michaels

Anyone who was exposed to media coverage of last November's massive protest against the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle could see that the participation of students was integral to the success of the event. Indeed, it can be said that a significant part of the groundwork for the protest was laid by the hard work of students organizing on campuses across the country to raise awareness of the predominance of abysmal conditions of labor in the shops which produce much of the clothing bearing U.S. university logos and mascots.

The students who participated in the shutdown of the WTO's proceedings returned to their campuses to find that large numbers of their classmates had been inspired and motivated by the Seattle protest and the heavy-handed reaction of the police. They undertook an intense round of meetings, discussions and video showings in order to both understand the event which had inspired them and to chart a future direction for the movement which now seems aware of itself and its own potential.

The impact of these post-Seattle discussions on U.S. college campuses seems to have been considerable. Concretely, it can be measured by what can only be described as a subsequent wave of sit-ins targeted at the softness of university administrators' professed commitment toward pledges not to grant licenses to college-related apparel manufacturers which contract work to sweatshops.

Occupations of administrative offices took place at schools in Michigan, Pennsylvania, Minnesota and Wisconsin. In each instance, students demanded that the universities disaffiliate from fair labor agreements which

allow apparel companies to police their own contractors, instead of permitting independent monitors to inspect factories and issue certifications bearing some degree of credibility. The recently formed Worker Rights Consortium was favored by the student activists as representing such an impartial body.

In each case, university administrators conceded to the students' demands. At the University of Wisconsin in Madison, however, the occupying students were removed by force and arrested, a move which provoked further protest.

In addition to the anti-sweatshop labor sit-ins, an important action protesting institutionalized racism took place on the University of Michigan's Ann Arbor campus. A student group called the Students of Color Coalition occupied the offices of a university-sanctioned social club called Michigamua on Feb. 6. The club has a longstanding tradition of both public and private rituals demeaning Native American culture and campaigns protesting the open secret of the club's racism have gone on for a number of years. The activists invited students and others to take tours of the occupied offices to expose the club's collection of pseudo-Native American paraphernalia. The occupation ended peacefully on March 13.

These important campus actions are evidence of what may be a new post-Seattle stage of radicalization for student youth. The upcoming week-long protest against the debt servitude imposed by the International Monetary Fund on developing countries at the organization's upcoming meeting in Washington, D.C. is likely to provide an opportunity for further radical youth activity.

This considerable amount of creative and energetic activ-

ity directed against the anti-human society that confronts us is an important development. It represents the potential for the development of a real movement against both the dominance of capital and the prevalence of racism.

But this movement will also have to confront barriers to its development, such as an overemphasis on the potential for activity alone to overcome the limitations of society, or the strong pull towards a pragmatic adaptation to the horizons of society as it exists. If the growing numbers of young people involved in this remarkable activity recognize these barriers and are open to thinking of ways to transcend them, then we will be witness to a new and exciting development. Everyone who was fired by the events in Seattle should seek to make this development their goal.

Homies Unidos under attack

Los Angeles—Eighty people crowded into a little church basement in midtown Los Angeles, the night of March 16, in a show of support for the gang intervention project Homies Unidos and one of its leaders, Alex Sanchez. Sanchez is currently in custody at Terminal Island Prison, facing deportation back to El Salvador where he would meet an almost certain death at the hands of right-wing paramilitaries.

Sanchez is a former gang member who grew tired of seeing his friends die young. He became the first recruiting member in L.A. for Homies Unidos, an organization founded in El Salvador by Magdaleno Rose Avila and brought to Los Angeles in 1997. "It's about time we value our lives," was his message. "Even if you made wrong decisions in your life, you can make a change for the better. Don't become an institutional slave getting paid 13 cents an hour in prison. It's time to stand up for our rights. You have the power to change the future."

Sanchez earned the love and respect of gang members, ex-gang members, and at-risk youth in the Latino community. Homies Unidos expanded to offer counseling, GED and job search programs, sex education classes, Thursday night Arts Expand theatre and poetry workshops, and all-round support for the youth.

"Homies Unidos is the place to be when you want to let go of your machismo and feel free," wrote Gerardo Lopez ("Clever") in an Arts Expand workshop. "Free from the gang violence, the police, the negative street, and when you feel hungry and want to eat. A place where you don't have to look over your back in fear of getting beat."

The very success of Homies Unidos was threatening to another gang: the Rampart CRASH unit of the LAPD (see page 1). The cops regularly harassed the youth attending Arts Expand. They arrested a 14-year-old, Jose Rodriguez, on a murder charge, holding him in custody from August 1999 through March 2000, although he had several witnesses to attest that he was at the Arts Expand program at the time of the murder.

Alex Sanchez was in the forefront of those protesting the harassment and arrests, and Rampart cops took advantage of his undocumented status to turn him in to immigration authorities, an act in violation of LAPD policy.

The solidarity meeting united Homies mothers who baked tamales for the crowd and Latino/Latina teenagers selling Homies calendars and "Free Alex Sanchez" buttons with Central American activists and anti-police brutality radicals. The church pastor spoke of the homies as "prophets in our midst, with an important message for us"; Magdaleno Rose Avila denounced the media demonization of "gang members" and called for the inclusion of youth harassed by the police on a civilian oversight committee; and Oscar Sanchez read a letter from his imprisoned brother.

For more information, visit the web site, www.homiesunidos.org. —M.L.

Prop 21's racist manipulation

San Francisco—On March 8, in the wake of the disastrous electoral approval of Proposition 21 (youth gang initiative), a truly multinational group of around 500 youth, and some older allies, gathered at Powell and Market. After a rally which included reference to the fact that the day was International Women's Day and that young women have been in the forefront of the battle against 21, we took to the streets and marched up Powell, stopping traffic, and chanting vigorously the whole time. The spirit was angry, militant and very organized.

There were many monitors, a majority of whom were young women, who worked positively to ensure that the group's plan was followed, that people who seemed disruptive were cooled out, and that the spirit remained high. Although most of the marchers didn't know the destination, when we arrived at the San Francisco Hilton, which had donated funds to Prop. 21, most people got with the plan and entered the hotel en masse, occupying the entire lobby area for about an hour. The speakers, chanting and teaching, not to mention media cameras, totally disrupted the Hilton's privileged space.

When the police gave their warning that all who remained would be arrested, about 100 protesters stayed. Most of the youth had planned this ahead of time and so their parents already knew what was happening. Under 18 folks were taken to Mission Police Station and demonstrators joined them in front of the station to show support.

Overall I was really moved by the combination of spirit and youth self-organization of this protest which I hope is generating a counter-statement to the ballot box's racist manipulations against youth in this state. —Diana

Albin Kurti, political prisoner

Albin Kurti, a prominent leader of the nonviolent resistance of Kosovar students to the anti-Albanian education restrictions imposed by the Serbian state in the 1990s, was sentenced to 15 years in prison on March 13. Kurti was seized in Pristina in April 1999 by Serb police, shortly after the commencement of the NATO bombing campaign.

The 25-year-old Kurti was charged with inciting secessionist demonstrations and participation in terrorist activities in a trial which took place in the Serbian city of Nis. These charges resulted from both his student activism and his subsequent work as secretary to Adem Demaci, a political leader of the Kosova Liberation Army. He was not permitted to defend himself and refused to recognize his state appointed lawyer.

Kurti told the court, "I do not recognize this court, I can be tried only by a court of my people. I do not recognize

this court just as I do not recognize Serbia or Yugoslavia. This court is in the service of the fascist regime of Slobodan Milosevic."



Albin Kurti, left, on trial in a Serbian court.

New Afrikan prisoner on race and class

(Continued from page 9)

Black man or womyn is going to have even greater hell thrown at them. Their lot will be much worse. Sure, Blacks have always fought, advocated and supported many of the things grassroots whites have been involved in, but this does not mean that Blacks did this without a keen understanding that by their participation and struggle they too gain something, even though it will not be on the same playing field as the white worker they are struggling with.

Further, the white worker "used" the Black worker to help him advance his cause. This has always been the case and it is the case still. But the white worker wasn't concerned about real or actual justice as a whole. Sure, you had your exceptions, but as a rule, this was not and is not the case. If there are to be fair relations in terms of one's labor potential and earnings then we must also realize that from the fruits of one's labor comes a way of life. This means the ability to move forward and rise out of the slums or poverty; but this did not happen for the Black man and womyn even though they have fought in every labor campaign.

What is also true, and why Kwame Ture was skeptical of whites, is that when the job is hurting whites to a degree that they are unable to tolerate their condition, history shows that they immediately turn on the Black man, the Native American man, the man of color. The white laborers forget about the Black man and womyn who struggled with them on the picket line. They only see Blacks taking jobs from them.

Must we forget that Affirmative Action, the Equal Opportunity Employment Act, and other similar government legislation were enacted to insure that Black people are, at best, given an opportunity in the labor

market? And do we not see TODAY that the white worker in Amerikkka is fighting to have Affirmative Action stopped? There has never been any real unity between Blacks and whites in terms of actual labor, i.e., jobs, wages, conditions, etc. And it is one's labor that determines where a person will live, how they will live, and whether or not they can afford good housing, health care and other life essentials. This has not happened.

The development of SNCC and what it advocated cannot be underestimated or dismissed as inadequate merely because some of the ideas were, perhaps, off the mark. When understanding the sign of the times and the urgent need to have Black people rise up from a state of powerlessness to that of power, we must understand that things were said to motivate and stimulate the mind in order to get them to move forward. I do not condemn Stokely Carmichael/Kwame Ture for what he did. I condemn the actions of Amerikkka for what it did and is doing. —Ali Khalid Abdullah

41 bullets

In an America mesmerized by fantasies of soaring stock and of heroic police saving lives, bursting villains,

41 bullets punctuated the heartlessness of days questing for profits,

41 bullets punctured the flesh of Amadou Diallo, scattered his soul on the steps of his Bronx home, red-splashed the respect shown to immigrants, blacks, workers, life

so the eyeballs of America had to see,

just as cops' other bullets have torn flesh and scattered souls for decades,

displaying a "just-us" soon forgotten

by the media of the bottom line

but never forgotten by the cops and their guns.

—Sam Friedman

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

Human Power is its own end — Marx

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Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The March 26 Russian presidential election held no surprises, with Vladimir Putin winning. There were no other serious contenders ever since Putin's appointment to acting-president by Boris Yeltsin on Dec. 31. While Putin speaks in generalities about economic and social issues, promising to reveal specifics by his inauguration in May, he already established that his view of Russia's future is rooted in a centralized, militarized state.

Putin's own roots in the KGB, where he operated for at least 15 years, are still unsevered. In 1998, Yeltsin appointed Putin head of the FSB, the re-named successor to the KGB. Far from apologizing for this universally-hated institution, which exists to sow intimidation and crush dissent, Putin has trumpeted his past at every opportunity. He has named a number of former KGB officials to influential positions in his government, and promised to incorporate more as he consolidates his election. As acting president, Putin initiated a crackdown on the independent press aimed at muzzling reports from the Chechen war about military losses and brutality against civilians.

In part, what recommended Putin to his backers was his ruthless conduct, beginning last fall, of the war in Chechnya. In turn, Putin utilized the war in an ethnic-chauvinist appeal, equating criminals in Russia's cities to an "entire republic", Chechnya, thereby providing the ideological justification for the continuing extermination campaign against all Chechens.

Stating that Russia once was "a great powerful

Mozambique floods

Televisions flashed images of a handful of helicopter crews trying to rescue thousands of men, women and children stranded in trees and on rooftops by massive February floods in southern Africa. In this digitized-globalized 21st century world, the lack of a rapid international response is criminal. Was it self-interest and basically a question of "will" as the main Mozambican newspaper editorialized: "When the west wants to intervene militarily anywhere in the world, they get there in record time?"

Capitalism, globally and locally, is organically not "organized" to react to, ameliorate, or even prevent disasters and their consequences to human beings. The international Red Cross/Red Crescent, along with other NGOs, and the UN, all have lobbied, unsuccessfully, for the capitalistically-wealthy to set up funding and structures for response to so-called "natural" disasters. During the Mozambique floods, it was clear that government helicopters are controlled by the military. Nonmilitary helicopters must be leased. There is no such thing as "free" assistance in a disaster—be it helicopters, food, medicine or shelter.

Capitalism, globally and locally, is also responsible for the "un-naturalness" of recurring natural phenomena. In southern Africa, environmentalists have fought against the destruction of wetlands. The paving over of one of the largest catchment areas contributed storm run-off that eventually spilled over into the floods in Mozambique. Climatologists have measured the impact of global warming in a marked increase of Indian Ocean temperature in waters that produce the cyclonic rains in southern Africa, and are now causing drought in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. Ironically, Africa produces less than five percent of the world's yearly amount of greenhouse gasses.

In Mozambique, it is known how many thousands of acres of crops and topsoil (250,000) and livestock (40,000) were lost, and that over 500,000 people have lost their homes and livelihoods. It is not yet known how many thousands lost their lives.

Ex-KGB Putin now rules Russia

strong state and this is not possible if we do not have strong armed forces," Putin began solidifying his support with the military and state security agencies. He pledged in January to raise spending for new weapons by 50% and to establish a technologically-trained "professional" sector in the armed forces. The day after his election, Putin lavished praise on interior ministry troops for the scorched-earth campaign in Chechnya.

Determined to eradicate the anti-war opposition, draft evasion, and outright desertions that broke out during the widely-despised 1994-96 Chechen war, Putin has also embarked on a campaign to militarize the mind, especially of youth. As acting president, Putin introduced a number of decrees to reinstitute military training in all secondary schools. Students 15 and older will undergo combat exercises and study military history, and youth aged 14-16 who are orphaned or fatherless can be drafted to serve as military trainees.

On his economic direction, Putin has been abstract in repeating his support for free-market capitalism governed by the "rule of law" so that there is equal opportunity and access for all, with the "state itself being the guarantor." Putin has based part of his appeal to a sector which aspires to a place in the entrepreneurial classes but has thus far been squeezed out. This does not conflict with the fact that the financial oligarchs

and Yeltsin and his cronies backed Putin's rise to power.

Capitalistically speaking, the Russian economy showed some "improvement" over the last year, due to the drastic devaluation of the currency in 1998 and the recent jump in oil prices. Inflation last year was held down to "only" 37%. Still, Russia owes a foreign debt of some \$166 billion, which includes leftover obligations of the Soviet Union. And the state owes teachers, doctors and other federal employees \$170 million in back pay—by some estimates, nearly what it cost in 1999 to wage war in Chechnya.

While promising pensioners and government employees a 20% increase (promises also once made by Yeltsin but never kept), Putin has said little to the vast majority of Russia's workers, the underemployed and jobless, other than he has no intention of establishing any further state welfare programs. As social divisions in Russia grow starker, the current ruling class may expect Putin to enforce "law and order" through a combination of ideology and force.

Aftermath of Taiwan vote

Voters on Taiwan rejected the ruling Nationalist Party (KMT) on March 18 by electing as president Chen Shui-bian. Chen and vice-president-elect Annette Lu were democracy activists beginning 20 years ago challenging martial law. They have the credentials of their opposition, having suffered imprisonment and even physical retaliation by the secret police.

In February on the eve of the election, Beijing had threatened drastic measures—military force—if Taiwan declared independence, or even indefinitely delayed steps toward unity. Its military posturing was less dramatic than during the 1996 elections, when it test-fired missiles in nearby waters. Chen's Democratic Progressive Party is the party associated with independence for Taiwan, but that was not its campaign issue. A vote for Chen was the only way to oppose the corrupt KMT, although such was its continuing clout as a political machine that Chen's victory over a divided KMT was with just under 40% of the vote.

The KMT had welcomed the people of Taiwan back from a half century of Japanese colonial rule with a bloody massacre on Feb. 28, 1947. Two years later three million soldiers, bureaucrats and hangers-on fled ahead of Mao Zedong's advancing army to Taiwan for refuge. The KMT's claim to be the legitimate government of all China with plans to reconquer the mainland became more fantastic with every passing year, but it was the pretext for controlling Taiwan with an iron hand under martial law and for continued U.S. bankrolling of the economy and military. Even today, three decades after Nixon's China diplomacy, the U.S. remains Taiwan's high-tech arms supplier.

There is no doubt that reunification remains a pillar of government policy in Beijing, now as under Mao. In 1949 they could not not have followed the KMT to Taiwan, especially after the U.S. guaranteed its security. What undercuts the warmongering from Beijing today, and caused Beijing to offer more conciliatory words immediately after Chen's election, is not so much whether China has the ability to intervene, but rather its dependence on an inflow of foreign capital to fuel economic growth still projected at 8% a year. Taiwan capitalists taking advantage of lower-paid workers on the mainland are central to that growth.

Chen has already stated that Taiwan is not interested in autonomy on the model of Hong Kong's return from colonial rule. But in the wake of his election, the legislature removed the ban on direct trade with the mainland and transport and postal connections left over from the half-century-old state of war.

—Bob McGuire



Armed Russian soldiers confront Chechen voters.

Bosnia war crimes trial

One of the butchers of Srebrenica has been put on trial for genocide by the United Nations war crimes tribunal in the Hague. Gen. Radislav Krstic led soldiers who carried out the July 1995 premeditated and highly organized massacre and deportation of up to 30,000 Bosnian Muslims. More than 7,500 men and boys who were killed in mass executions have never been found.

Krstic reported to Gen. Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic, who have also been charged with genocide but remain uncaptured. The tribunal has yet to win a conviction for genocide during its seven year existence.

Three Bosnian Serb commanders likewise are being tried for organizing and running rape camps where Bosnian Muslim women were systematically assaulted and brutalized, after Serb soldiers took over the town of Foca in 1992. The trial marks the first time that rape has been prosecuted as a crime of war. This never would have happened without the outcry, protests and testimony by women in Bosnia and elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia, and solidarity from women internationally.

NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES

Who We Are And What We Stand For

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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