

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Remembering Felix Martin



by S. Hamer

Ever since Felix Martin, the Labor Editor of *News & Letters*, died last year, I have been re-reading his "Workshop Talks" columns and other articles. As a Black woman worker in the Mississippi Delta, I never really got to know many white workers. Racism is very hard to get past here. Once in a while you would meet a white worker who was active for the union, but before Felix Martin I never met any who were for a total change, for a revolution, like he was.

Here was a man from Kentucky who had been a farmer, a miner, an autoworker. From all these experiences and from what he read and studied, he believed in freedom for all workers. That was his whole life. He taught me that all great ideas come from the struggles of workers and other oppressed people to be free.

One column that he wrote back in 1976 called "What is human power?" meant a lot to me. Through the eyes of a white autoworker in Los Angeles, he spoke to a Black catfish worker in the deep South. He told how two other workers in his plant were looking at the slogan of *News & Letters*, "Human Power is its own end," and trying to figure out what it meant. Felix Martin told them the words came from Karl Marx and said: "What I believe he meant is that the creative power of human beings striving to be free is the greatest power on earth."

He states that it's not science, industry, machines nor material possessions that are the measure of society, but instead the "power of the human being to create, to be whole, to have both mental and muscle power, to both think and act. In other words, to be total."

When I read this it really spoke to me. It made me think of us as workers at Delta Pride, who had been

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Black World

1921 Tulsa race riot revisited



by Lou Turner

News of the findings and recommendations of Oklahoma's Tulsa 1921 Race Riot Commission is the reason I am reprinting my June 1999 column, "Tulsa—Ethnic cleansing American style." The international interest in and national controversy over what may be the worst race pogrom in U.S. history once again illustrate the Marxist-Humanist philosophy of history that when it comes to the Black dimension there is no separation between past, present and future.

Reactions of white Oklahomans to the Tulsa Commission's recommendation that Black riot survivors receive at least \$33 million in reparations reveal the persistence of racial attitudes that desperately seek to consign Tulsa's "ethnic cleansing" to historical forgetfulness. Tulsa has now inspired state commissions to investigate long forgotten race riots from the same period in Sherman, Tex.; Springfield, Ill.; and Elaine, Ark.

In our era of ethnic cleansings, it is important to remember Tulsa, 1921. This summer, when the Tulsa Race Riot Commission excavates what it believes to be multiple mass graves where many of the estimated 300 Blacks killed by rioting whites may be buried, it will not be only Tulsa, but America, that will have its rendezvous with history.

The Tulsa race riot of 1921 capped America's race wars that began with the 1917 East St. Louis riots and continued through the dreadful "red summer" of 1919. The Elaine, Ark. massacre of Black tenant farmers in 1919, reported to have involved the deaths of over 200 African Americans, and the 1923 total of Rosewood are, with Tulsa, monuments to this nation's ethnic cleansings. They are also monuments to Black armed resistance.

White America seems never to confront its genocidal past, only to fabricate better rationalizations for repressing its memory. Because new race wars have to be fought, the living memory of its atrocities will only weaken its resolve. So the past and the present have to

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Police brutality epidemic spurs community outrage

by Gerard Emmett

As the new century starts to unfold, American society stands at a crossroads. The racist moral bankruptcy of Mayor Giuliani's New York City and the death chambers of would-be President George W. Bush's Texas prison gulag present themselves as one possible "future" that drips with the blood and filth of centuries of oppression.

At the same time new movements are arising in response to the casual and ever-deepening brutality that has nationwide epidemic of police murders, a racist and inhuman death penalty, and the cancerous growth of a prison-industrial complex, in short, a distinctively American rebirth of totalitarianism, "half slave and half free" as Abraham Lincoln once put it.

These new opposition struggles, which have arisen in so many places in the process of coalescing, of learning a new language and developing a new consciousness that can challenge America's current reality as fundamentally as the Abolitionists challenged slavery, or as the Civil Rights Movement challenged racism North and South.

One important aspect of this challenge is addressed by the tremendous new movement that showed itself in the demonstrations against global capitalism in Seattle and recently Washington, D.C. It is a battle fueled in large part by the idealism of a new generation of youth who have been active in the struggle against sweatshops as well as in support of imprisoned Black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal and who have been learning their own lessons about police brutality in the streets.

REASON OF NEW VOICES

There was a real sense of this history-in-the-making at recent meetings at Lehigh University and Moravian College in Pennsylvania. Audiences of new young activists heard talks by Gwen Hogan from Chicago, a Black woman whose husband Kelsey Hogan was killed last year by an off-duty Cook County corrections officer, and Ramona Africa of MOVE, the sole adult survivor of the May 13, 1985 massacre of eleven MOVE children and adults by Philadelphia police.

It was tremendously moving to hear the dialogue between Gwen Hogan and Ramona Africa which embodied the experience of the whole historic period of reaction



Bronx high school students march against police violence in New York City in April.

against the gains of the Civil Rights Movement, exemplified by thugs like Mayor Frank Rizzo of Philadelphia and achieving a national expression as Reaganism. They represented as well part of the cutting edge of struggle against this retrogression and made clear how central the development of consciousness, revolutionary consciousness, is to the logic of today's movements.

It is often just this kind of smaller-scale discussion that is not only fueling the larger and more high profile demonstrations but is one of the most significant aspects in deepening the movement's self-understanding. For example, mass outrage lent a high profile to the killing of Tyisha Miller in Riverside, Cal. and led to a series of "investigations" that parallel the "hearings" held in the Chicago police killings of LaTanya Haggerty and Robert Russ, as well as the acquittal verdict in the New York City police killing of Amadou Diallo.

Awareness is also growing that these and other young Black people have become targets through a practice of "racial profiling." It is so widespread and so blatant that even some police officers have been forced to break rank and denounce it, as currently seen in Highland Park and other Chicago suburbs.

Racism, however, is rooted so deeply in American capitalist society that it is the ideological bedrock underlying the prison-industrial complex itself, with its two million

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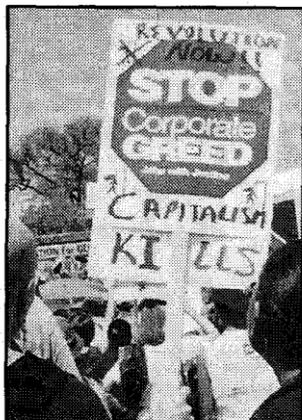
Capitalism challenged in D.C. streets

Washington, D.C.—Over 10,000 people from all over the U.S. and around the world joined a rally here April 16 to protest the evils of capitalism. Mostly young people, they came from organizations as small as a lone participant from a college campus to as large as nationwide environmental groups like the Audubon Society.

Although a few groups represented people of color, most U.S. groups were made up of whites. Many anti-sweatshop groups were present, and some opposed to the prison industry. People from disparate organizations shared information, literature and e-mail addresses at a long ring of tables on the Ellipse.

1,300 ARRESTS

Thousands of demonstrators marched a few blocks to where others, those willing to be arrested, roused the buildings ringing the International Monetary



News & Letters

Fund (IMF) and World Bank. These world financial institutions along with the World Trade Organization were the targets of this protest as they were in Seattle last November. We talked with students from Pennsylvania who had stood on street corners in a ring around the buildings for nearly eight hours that hot

day, trying to keep the IMF from meeting. They were exhilarated by their temporary success.

The next day, after the crowds were gone, those trying to block the meetings were arrested. Thirteen hundred people were arrested in the week of protests that lasted through April 17. Although the IMF meetings were only slightly inconvenienced, that body felt forced to respond to its critics by promising to practice a kinder, gentler capitalism in the future, with official declarations that they agree with us and really just want to help Third World people.

The Washington police were sometimes lenient and other times aggressive. The day of the big demonstration, they let people block the streets for hours, whereas the day before they arrested 600 people for doing nothing more than marching down the street. The police shut down the "convergence" center where meetings were held, claiming that an old soda bottle was a Molotov cocktail, and confiscated the puppets because they were on sticks.

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ON THE INSIDE

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

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



Annette Lu—feminist vice-president of Taiwan

Annette Lu, the newly elected vice-president in Taiwan, is the pioneer of Taiwan's women's liberation movement. She initiated the movement during the 1970s. Lu studied law at National Taiwan University, graduating in first place. She then went to the United States to pursue further study. During her two-year study at University of Illinois, she had an opportunity to learn about the American women's liberation movement.

Her experience in the United States along with her past experience in struggling to develop her self-esteem in the context of the social bondage of being a traditional woman motivated her to speak out. Her first article "The Traditional Sex Roles" appeared in 1971, in which she challenged patriarchal society by criticizing the stereotyped roles of the sexes.

She wrote *New Feminism* in 1974, which theorized her concepts of feminism. In this book, she defined feminism as three-fold. First, it is an idea that emerged from the demands of society along with the tide of history. Second, it is a belief that the prosperity and harmony of society shall be founded on the basis of substantial equality between men and women. Third, it is a power that will abolish the traditional prejudice against women, reconstruct a new and sensible value system, create independence and dignity for women, and foster the realization of the true equality of sexes. It is a comprehensive book with philosophy and strategy on which the activists are based.

In addition, Lu made efforts to raise women's consciousness through speeches, debates and writings. She also ran a coffee shop to provide a space for women and set up Pioneers Press to publish feminist books. Further, she helped victims of rape and domestic violence by setting up Protect You Hotline.

The women's liberation movement in Taiwan was under difficult circumstances in the 1970s. Politically, it faced a martial law regime of authoritarian autocracy; culturally, it faced a patriarchal society full of Confucian and Japanese chauvinism. What Lu had done agitated the dictatorial Nationalist Party (KMT), which not only endangered its regime, but also opposed its women's policy, which had kept women's associations closely tied to the ruling party.

Severe attacks came from both the male chauvinists and the KMT; especially the latter continued harassing her. Worse, the KMT put her in jail by accusing her of making a 20-minute speech on International Human Rights Day in Kaohsiung City. She was court-martialed and sentenced to 12 years imprisonment. The significant contribution she made for Taiwan's women's liberation movement sowed the seeds of feminism in Taiwan.

The movement did not stop during her imprisonment. Awakening, the first women's liberation organization, was founded by her followers in 1982. Until now, Awakening played a very important role in Taiwan's women's liberation movement.

Influenced by western thought, Lu consciously adjusted feminist concepts to become localized right at the beginning. In her *New Feminism*, she emphasizes

Black women do the 'wholly impossible'

"We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible": A Reader in *Black Women's History*, edited by Darlene Clark Hine, Wilma King, Linda Reed (New York: Carlson Publishing, 1995).

This 618-page anthology of 32 essays on African-American women succeeds in revealing "the resistance of Black women to racial and sexual oppression and exploitation" (p. xii). The main editor, Darlene Clark Hine, also edited the groundbreaking two-volume *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*.

Beginning with three "General Theoretical Essays" that ground the historical articles in a discussion of the primacy of race in the study of women's history, the historical essays begin with Africa, the Caribbean and Canada, then move to the U.S. from the 1700s to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s.

A few of the entries miss their mark, as did Cynthia Griggs Fleming's on "The Case of Ruby Doris Smith Robinson," which made several unproven claims about Smith Robinson's feelings and inner thoughts. But most of the essays give the reader new facts and a new appreciation of the creativity of Black women's struggle for freedom. Tera W. Hunter's article on "Domination and Resistance: The Politics of Wage Household Labor in New South Atlanta," details the Black Washerwomen's strike in Atlanta, Ga., of 3,000 in 1881 and traces that militancy back to 1866. Mamie E. Locke in "From Three-Fifths to Zero: Implications of the Constitution for African-American Women, 1787-1870" traces the debate on the Constitution among Black abolitionists. At the same time as she reveals the racism of much of the suffrage movement, she also introduces us to Phoebe Couzins, "one of the few white women who identified with the plight of African-American women and spoke on their behalf" (p. 232).

This is not a book that should be confined to the women's studies classroom. The history of militance and thought that it reveals is important for all those fighting for freedom.

—Terry Moon

that woman is a human being. Woman is the subject, who is independent and creative. She is not just a follower, but also a leader; not only the product of history, but also the creator of history. She is not living under the shadow of his-story, but is one of those who creates history, our-story. For Lu, women are Reason as well as Force in the creation of a new society with an equal value system. She herself never stopped working for women's liberation. She strongly encourages women to participate in politics actively. As soon as she was set free from prison, she ran for legislator, then county governor, and ended up becoming the vice-president.

—Shu

Hollywood highlights environmental struggles

Cancer and other serious illnesses are rampant in a community. Women who learn of the link to toxic contamination galvanize the community into action. With the help of people who have worked at the site, a sordid history comes to light of a powerful corporation or government entity exposing the community to pollution in a quest for more money and power, and covering it up with outrageous lies.

This is the outline of many, many cases of toxic struggles. It is also central to the story line of the movie *Erin Brockovich*. It is a powerful movie because it brings to the screen some of the crucial struggles faced by many communities, usually in predominantly poor and/or minority areas.

The unusual part of this story is that Erin Brockovich, the woman who galvanizes the community, is not a resident sparked into action by the death or dreadful suffering of a family member; and that the harmed people actually win in court.

Two scenes may have been fictionalized but dramatically express truths of many of these struggles. As children play in a small yard pool, Brockovich convinces their mother, Donna Jensen, that her family's illnesses are due to the chromium-contaminated water and that Pacific Gas and Electric (PG&E) has been lying to them for decades. Suddenly, a look of horror crosses Jensen's face and she jumps up to order her children out of the water.

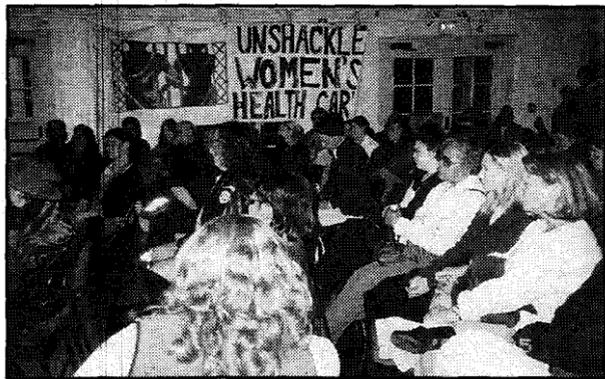
Another scene shows the lawyers for PG&E insinuating that all the residents care about is money. Brockovich lights into them with a passionate speech. The residents are not trying to get rich, she says. As is often done in environmental justice struggles, she reels off the names of several children and adults and the particular ways they have suffered: a crumbling spine, or an 11-year-old daughter going through chemotherapy treatments. Their lives will never be the same. She tells the lawyers to go home and think about what price they would put on their own spines. Then she tells one lawyer who is about to drink some water that it was brought in especially for them from the polluted town, Hinkley, Cal. Unnerved, the lawyer is unable to drink the water.

One wonders if the outcome would have been different had Hinkley not been predominantly white. Or had the case had a typical judge, who would automatically have sided with industry. (The judge in the movie, who played himself, lived nearby and was outraged by the thought that he could have been contaminated.)

Although the movie tries to make a happy ending out of the \$333 million won from the company, it is hard not to think about all that is left undone. Hopefully, the victims will be able to afford medical care. But hundreds of lives have been drastically altered, even cut short. And who pays? The utility customers and shareholders. Evidently, not a single guilty person goes to jail, loses a job or even pays a fine. Meanwhile, the capitalist industrial system—in which toxic exposure of workers, plant neighbors and others is standard operating procedure—marches on.

—Franklin Dmitryev

Women's prison movement



San Francisco—On March 25 California Coalition for Women Prisoners celebrated International Women's Day by featuring women fighting criminal injustice. The audience of about 100 heard from Picola, a young organizer against the California anti-youth Prop. 21. She said that we have not seen a movement like this, led primarily by youth under 17, since the Civil Rights Movement in the '60s. She said, "This movement is my home until I see a revolution come." Despite the fact that Prop. 21 passed, she said youth are ready to start fighting and organizing, for example, a demonstration to oppose guards getting paid \$50,000 while her teachers get \$30,000.

We heard from other friends and family of incarcerated women and former prisoners themselves. They spoke about the importance of recognition that under prison conditions every act of kindness is a struggle. Charise Shumate, who has been leading the fight against medical abuse in prison, sent a statement: "We are forced to watch others suffer in pain begging for help. A lay-in [being excused from work due to sickness] is mission impossible. Lifers are being denied by the Medical Review Board tests that a specialist has recommended. I know behind these walls I will die, but not ashamed. Just wounded and proud of the battle we fought."

Many from the audience said they were inspired by what they heard. Prisoners face directly the increasing brutality of the state. People were interested in prisoners' ideas and perspective on changing this whole society.

—Urszula Wislanka

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

In the face of a growing, militant movement—especially on college campuses—against sweatshop labor, Nike continued to try to make *itself* look good by joining the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sports (CAAWS) in presenting the first "Girls@Play Nike Youth Achievement Award," in late March, to "an outstanding female who has taken an active role in encouraging more girls and women to participate in sport and physical activity." Unfortunately, this action took place at the same time that the Maquila Solidarity Network (MSN) reported a new wave of worker job actions at Indonesian shoe factories—many of which make Nike products—demanding a cleanup of sweatshop abuses and improved wages for thousands of young women workers. While the MSN supported efforts to encourage Canadian women to participate in sports, they also called upon CAAWS to demonstrate *their* concern for the health of Asian girls and young women who toil for less than subsistence wages to make sports shoes for North American athletes, and gigantic profits for Nike.

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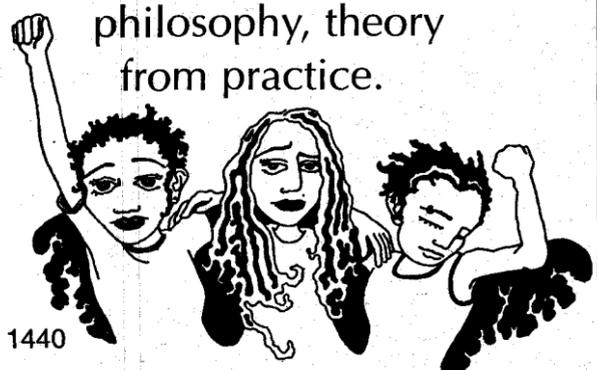
More than 5,000 people rallied in Dhaka, Bangladesh, early this year, waving banners and chanting against Islamic fundamentalism. "We are opposed to Islamic fundamentalists because they don't recognize the rights of women," said Ayesha Khanam, head of the women's rights group, Bangladesh Machila Parishad. Islamic fanatics forced Bangladesh author, Taslima Nasreen, to flee the country for the second time last year, demanding her death after she called for changes in Islamic Shariah law to give Muslim women more rights.

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Janitors fight to close wealth gap

Editor's note: As we go to press, LA janitors accepted a new offer and ended their three-week strike.

Los Angeles — On April 16, janitorial contract firms abruptly ended three days of negotiations as the 8,500 janitors of SEIU Local 1877 entered the third week of their strike. According to a union spokesman, the contractors offered only five cents more than their two-tier wage offer of \$1.30 and 80 cents per hour over three years and health benefits takeaways, which janitors had overwhelmingly rejected two weeks before when they voted to strike.

The janitors, mostly immigrant Latinos and half of them women, are fighting for a livable wage with no takeaways. They are earning less today than they did in 1985 considering inflation. Los Angeles janitors receive lower wages than those in San Francisco, Chicago, New York, and Pittsburgh, even though two of the contract firms are national companies.

The janitors have daily marched, picketed and demonstrated at selected high-rise office buildings as well as in many outlying areas. Hundreds of janitors have daily worn their red "Justice for Janitors" and "On Strike" T-shirts, shouted in Spanish "Up with the Union, down with exploitation." In one of the demonstrations, the janitors marched through Beverly Hills. "We're showing the contrast in wealth. One of our themes is closing the gap between rich and poor," said a union spokeswoman.

As the janitors become visible and their struggle becomes known, more and more workers have come to support them, as all workers' situations deteriorate in

today's capitalist drive for global domination over any human, social or environmental liberation movement.

In one demonstration, 50 construction workers on a high rise stopped working to support the janitors as one man made a drumbeat with his hammer tapping a metal scaffolding. Support also comes from onlookers, students and trade unionists, both blue and white collar. The mayor, city councilmen and other politicians and religious leaders have supported the strike. Striking janitors receive \$100 and a bag of groceries each week from the donated strike fund.

On a twelve-mile march by 3,000 janitors, police on bicycles and motorcycles contained the marchers, who were met in Century City by 40 police on horseback, riot police with tear gas and shotguns, and helicopters. Demonstrators shouted, "Are you afraid of the police?" and answered in a loud chorus, "NO!" In 1991, janitors marching to Century City had been brutalized by the police. Many who were injured there won a class action lawsuit against the police.

There are nightly vigils, some all night encampments, to keep scabs from crossing the picket line. As the strike continues, janitors in more and more outlying areas are demonstrating.

—Basho

Unity of ranks ignored



Chicago janitors march in support of striking suburban janitors.

Chicago — There is no better expression of the way today's economic "boom" hasn't "trickled down" to workers than the situation of the janitors, and the struggle of janitors around the country to obtain better wages, benefits and working conditions. Thousands daily work to maintain downtown firms and offices whose profits are skyrocketing, while their wages remain stagnant.

In Chicago, management has been pushing to get janitors to work six days a week without paying them time and a half, by having them work seven hours a day. Many have also seen their hours cut to 35 hours a week, making it virtually impossible to support their families.

A major demand of the janitors has been a reduction in that increasing workload that's been forced on them. As one janitor who works at the Chicago Board of Trade said, "They can't open in the morning without the work we do all evening clearing the trading floor of paper and junk. But they're giving us more work instead of hiring people. More money is made here than you can believe, but we count for nothing. We are invisible to these people."

Such sentiments were widespread in Chicago on April 17, when over 3,000 janitors clogged downtown Chicago for a rally at the site of contract talks between SEIU Local 1 and the Building Owners and Managers Association (BOMA). The rally reflected the multiethnic composition of Chicago's janitors, including Mexicans and Russians, Poles and African Americans, Bosnians and Colombians. One word which did not need to be translated at the rally was "Strike!" Most everyone there seemed to want one.

The janitors went out on strike that afternoon because BOMA continued to drag its heels on agreeing to a new contract for 10,000 Chicago janitors. It was the first Chicago janitors strike in nearly 50 years.

At the same time as the rally was held, janitors in suburban Chicago were getting ready to go out on strike as well. The 4,500 suburban janitors suffer from even worse working conditions and wages than those in Chicago: they have a base pay of only \$6.65 an hour and have no medical, insurance, or pension benefits.

Many at the rally said it was imperative for janitors in the city and suburbs to stick together. "We have to support our brothers and sisters working in the suburbs, because as bad as we have it, they are being treated like slaves," one said.

Many were furious that management has offered health insurance to suburban janitors only in the fourth year of the proposed new contract—and even that would cover only the workers, not anyone in their families! Several commented that many of their coworkers will be dead or too sick to work before the fourth year of that contract is reached.

Unfortunately, only a few hours after the rally ended SEIU agreed to a new contract for the Chicago janitors, leaving suburban janitors to continue the strike on their own. The contract for Chicago janitors is an improvement over BOMA's original offer, and calls for pay increases of 45 cents an hour the first year of the contract, 35 cents the second, and 30 cents in the third year.

But management for the suburban janitors is digging in their heels against any serious pay increase or the inclusion of health, insurance, and pension benefits. The struggle of the suburban janitors will no doubt prove to be a difficult one, made more difficult by the failure, once again, of the union bureaucracy to listen to the reason of their rank and file.

—Peter Hudis

Elder care union busting trades lives for cash

Oakland, Cal. — We are having a lot of trouble at Piedmont Gardens, the elder care home where I work, since a new administrator took over. Doug Troyer got rid of the union when he was at Medical. Doug Troyer tardy write ups and superficial things against strong union workers. That stuff is starting to happen here. It took a month to win one worker's position back who got fired after 22 years here. It is little things like that which help bust a union.

We are demonstrating at SEIU Local 250 because the biggest trouble is over the union's dismissal of Sue Kizzie as our union representative. She was dismissed because of an accusation by an administrator of wrongdoing which she didn't commit.

Ever since then management has been retaliating. Despite cutting back positions and our hours, we were told we can't do any overtime in our department. There are 18 residents on each floor, or 36 residents for one person to care for if someone doesn't come in.

Some of our residents are too sick to be in assisted living. They are keeping patients who need skilled care in assisted living because it is a money issue. We lost 13 patients in one month because patients were sent back from skilled care too early.

Sue kept things in order at the facility and these issues came up after she left. Whether it was small or large, Sue came to take care of business. Sue is a strong representative and we want her back.

—Local 250 union activist

From a Chicago janitor

Chicago — We're out here because the janitors in the suburban buildings need our help. The BOMA (Building Owners and Managers Association) only pays those people \$6.65 an hour. That's not enough for a family. BOMA doesn't want them to have insurance, a pension or any other benefits.

We have our own problems with BOMA. I read that someone has to work \$13.65 an hour to live. BOMA only pays us \$11.40 an hour. They learned a trick, too. They don't let us work more than seven hours a day. They don't have to pay as much into the retirement fund if we don't work eight hours, but they make us do eight hours of work in seven hours. I work in a large building and our employer isn't as bad as some. Over there, in that building, seven women work there. Each one of them has to clean two and half to three floors in seven hours.

One of the women is crying all the time because the supervisor tells her to "get out of here" if she can't do the job. He tells them that he'll give them time off. He says, "You don't listen."

We work like horses. Look at my hands. This is not an easy job. Nobody cares for us. It's not shameful what we do. It's just our job.

—Downtown building cleaner

Key gain at Denver Kaiser

Oakland, Cal. — Health care workers represented by the United Food and Commercial Workers' Union returned to work at Kaiser Permanente in Denver, Colo. in mid-March feeling triumphant because they won a key provision for quality care and a contractual obligation not to use subcontractors even during labor shortages.

The quality care provision is modeled after the 1996 victory by the California Nurses Association. That's when CNA won an unprecedented contract giving nurses the first time ever say in determining the quality of their own work.

The quality-of-work committee negotiated by the Denver Kaiser workers—registered nurses, nurses aides, lab techs, pharmacists and physicians assistants—will consist of three union representatives and three management representatives to resolve disputes that arise over staffing levels. If the matter is unresolved at that level, there is to be binding arbitration. The union touts the arbitrator's power to grant unlimited monetary damages to a grievant, as if that is the bottom line for a worker.

Kaiser management was planning to close its flagship facility in Oakland and contract the work out to competing hospitals when it signed the quality work provision. Many of us wondered what good it was if we won't even have a hospital to give patient care in the first place? But on April 13 Kaiser management announced that they are now going to keep Kaiser Oakland open, in addition to expansion at Richmond which they also had planned to close.

This decision comes after years of persistent protests led by nurses who were joined by many service workers and community activists, and eventually doctors. CNA had a lawsuit in federal court charging Kaiser with medical redlining. There is speculation in the press on whether Kaiser Oakland's remaining open is part of the settlement of that lawsuit, but both sides say they can't discuss it. This issue belongs to workers and people in the community who want it out in the open.

While the Oakland reopening and the Denver contract are clear indications of victories through worker and community activism, keeping important issues secret is a serious flaw. The original 1997 CNA landmark contract with quality care provisions is still threatened by Kaiser's insistence on keeping quality information from public exposure. Secrecy could provide an escape hatch for management to violate the spirit of these agreements.

—Service worker, Kaiser Oakland

Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

dominated by the bosses, forced to run at the speed of the machinery, to give up our mental and muscle power, but who also had made that first step through unionization to reclaim that human power. Felix Martin wrote: "To change this system, working people have to be the ones to do away with it, with their minds and muscles, and replace it with a system where 'Human Power is its own end.'"

We workers at Delta Pride had to decide in our mind that the abuse this company was dishing out was something we would not take any longer. But as a worker I didn't know then how much deeper it went.

In the catfish plants we don't have many white workers. But the ones we have, the bosses turn them against the Black workers. They give them the clean jobs and the advances. They bring these workers in and we train them, and two months later they become our supervisors. This is a big stumbling block to making a change in Mississippi.

As I read Felix Martin's columns, I see the picture of his life as he painted it—the way he tells you about the farmers, the way he describes the assembly lines with automation, the daily struggles of union members trying to make a change in their own shop. His story shows how we can take charge of our destiny.

I could see where he connected with Charles Denby, who was a Black autoworker and editor of *News & Letters* for many years. When Felix Martin wrote about Denby's autobiography, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, he remembered his own hard life in poverty, and then said: "How much rougher it is when your skin is Black."

I was in Felix Martin when I want in my life, trying to develop myself through a body of ideas. I visited with Felix Martin in his California home. Even though he was ill, I understood how he had developed himself through the ideas of Marxist-Humanism. He showed me his beautiful garden that he valued almost as much as he did the idea of freedom. I remember how he was so joyful that I was there. He began telling me stories of his days in the shop, rebelling against the bosses.

We talked about racism and what it does to stop workers from changing their lives. In one of his columns Felix Martin asked, "What is racism?" And he answered: "Racism is the power of the privileged to keep the workers in place at the bottom, or the foundation. Racism is when a white worker blames the Black worker for his misery, and this keeps going around from white to Black to Yellow and then back to white—on and on."

We as catfish workers experience racism every day on our jobs. We experience racism in the community, in the school system, in every part of our lives. And I see that if we as Black workers and white workers don't come together it will destroy us as a people.

In 1983, Felix Martin and Charles Denby had a conversation in *N&L* about "Marx, Labor and Marxist-Humanism." It turned a light on in my head, because here you had two workers, one white, one Black. Felix Martin had struggled all his life to get other white workers to understand that being a Black worker means you are abused to the fullest, yet that is why freedom for Black workers is crucial for everything. Charles Denby said that Marx was right when he said that white labor could never emancipate itself where Black labor was branded.

The relationship between Felix Martin and Charles Denby—that's the kind of relationship we need between Black and white workers all over this country. In order for us to get to total freedom, it's going to take all workers and all suffering people to connect.

PART II ATTITUDES TO OBJECTIVITY

Editor's note

This month and next we continue Raya Dunayevskaya's 1961 lecture notes on Hegel's *Smaller Logic*. The first part, "Introduction and Preliminary Notion," appeared last month. Publishing the series is part of our continuing effort to stimulate theoretical discussion on the "dialectic proper."

Dated 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*, trans. by William Wallace (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), which differs in some respects from later editions of Wallace's translation. Parenthetical references are to the paragraph numbers found in all editions and translations of Hegel's text. All footnotes are by the editors. The original can be found in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 2834-2842.



By
Raya
Dunayevskaya

Founder of
Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.

Chapter Three: First Attitude of Thought Towards the Objective World

Everything in pre-Kantian thought from faith and abstract understanding through scholasticism, dogmatism and metaphysics is dealt with in the brief chapter of twelve pages. It is remarkable how easy it sounds when you consider the range of subjects taken up. This is something, moreover, that he [Hegel] has not done in the larger *Logic*. All the attitudes to objectivity are something that appear only in the *Smaller Logic*.

Chapter Four: Second Attitude of Thought Towards the Objective World

This deals both with the empirical school and the critical philosophy.¹ He notes that we could not have come from metaphysics to real philosophy, or from the Dark Ages to the epoch of capitalism, without empirical studies and the shaking off of the bondage of mere faith. At the same time, the method of empiricists' analysis is devastatingly criticized. Somewhere later he is to say that it is equivalent to think that you can cut off an arm from a body and still think you are dealing with a living subject, when you analyze that disjointed arm.²

Here he states: "Empiricism labors under a delusion, if it supposes that, while analyzing the objects, it leaves them as they were; it really transforms the concrete into an abstract... The error lies in forgetting that this is only one-half of the process, and that the main point is the reunion of what has been divided" (§38). And finally in that same paragraph, he states:

So long then as this sensible sphere is and continues to be for Empiricism a mere datum, we have a doctrine of bondage; for we become free, when we are confronted by no absolutely alien world, but by a fact which is our second self.

With the critical school, it is obvious that we have reached a revolution in thought and yet that it stopped being critical because of its divorce of thought from experi-

ence:

This view has at least the merit of giving a correct expression to the nature of all consciousness. The tendency of all man's endeavors is to understand the world, to appropriate and subdue it to himself; and to this end the positive reality of the world must be as it were crushed and squashed, in other words, idealized (§42).

He further accuses Kant of having degraded Reason "to a finite and conditioned thing, to identify it with a mere stepping beyond the finite and conditioned range of understanding. The real infinite, far from being a mere transcendence of the finite, always involves the absorption of the finite in its own fuller nature... Absolute idealism, however, though it is far in advance of the vulgarly-realistic mind; is by no means merely restricted to philosophy" (§45).

He, therefore, considers Kant's system to be "dualistic" so that "the fundamental defect makes itself visible in the inconsistency of unifying at one moment what a moment before had been explained to be independent and incapable of unification" (§60). And yet his greatest criticism of Kant is that his philosophy fails to unify, that is to say, that its form of unification was completely external and not out of the inherent unity: "Now it is not because they are subjective, that the categories are finite: they are finite by their very nature..." Note how in the end Hegel both separates and unites Kant and Fichte:

After all it was only formally that the Kantian system established the principle that thought acted spontaneously in forming its constitution. Into details of the manner and the extent of this self-determination of thought, Kant never went. It was Fichte who first noticed the omission; and who, after he had called attention to the want of a deduction for the categories, endeavored really to supply something of the kind. With Fichte, the "Ego" is the starting-point in the philosophical development... Meanwhile, the nature of the impulse remains a stranger beyond our pale... What Kant calls the thing-by-itself, Fichte calls the impulse from without (§60).

Chapter Five: Third Attitude of Thought Towards the Objective World

To me, this chapter on what Hegel calls "Immediate or Intuitive Knowledge" and which is nearly entirely devoted to Jacobi, is the most important and essentially totally new as distinguished from the manner in which Hegel deals with the other schools of thought in his larger *Logic*. The newness comes not from the fact that he does not criticize Jacobi (and Fichte and Schelling) as devastatingly in the larger *Logic*, but in the sense that he has made a category out of it by devoting a chapter and by making that chapter occur when, to the ordinary mind, it would have appeared that from Kant he should have gone to his own dialectical philosophy. Hegel is telling us that one doesn't necessarily go directly to a higher stage, but may suddenly face a throwback to a former stage of philosophy, which thereby is utterly "reactionary." (That's his word, reactionary.)³

The first critique of Jacobi's philosophy is the analysis that even faith must be proved; otherwise there would be no way to distinguish in anyone's say-so whether it is something as grandiose as Christianity, or as backward as the worshiping of an ox. No words can substitute for Hegel's:

The term Faith brings with it the special advantage of reminding us of the faith of the Christian religion; it seems to include Christian faith, or perhaps even to coincide with it; and thus the Philosophy of Faith has a thoroughly pious and Christian look, on the strength of which it takes the liberty of uttering its arbitrary dicta with greater pretensions to authority. But we must not let ourselves be deceived by the semblance surreptitiously secured by means of a merely verbal similarity. The two things are radically distinct. Firstly, Christian faith comprises in it a certain authority of the church: but the faith of Jacobi's philosophy has no other authority than that of the philosopher who revealed it. And, secondly, Christian faith is objective, with a great deal of substance in the shape of a system of knowledge and doctrine: while the contents of the philosophic faith are so utterly indefinite, that, while its arms are open to receive the faith of the Christian, it equally includes a belief in the divinity of the Dalai Lama, the ox, or the monkey, thus, so far as it goes, narrowing Deity down to its simplest terms, to a Supreme Being. Faith itself, taken in the sense postulated by this system, is nothing but the sapless abstraction of immediate knowledge (§63).

You may recall (those of you who were with us when we split from Johnson⁴) that we used this attitude as the thorough embodiment of Johnsonism [as seen in] the series of

3. See §76 of the *Smaller Logic*.

4. C.L.R. James

letters he issued on the fact that we must "break with the old" and stick only to the "new" without ever specifying what is old and what is new, either in a class context or even in an immediate historic frame.⁵ This is what Hegel calls "exclusion of mediation" and he rises to his highest height in his critique of Jacobi when he states: "Its distinctive doctrine is that immediate knowledge alone, to the total exclusion of mediation, can possess a content which is true" (§65). He further expands this thought (§71):

The one-sidedness of the intuitional school has certain characteristics attending upon it, which we shall proceed to point out in their main features, now that we have discussed the fundamental principle. The first of those corollaries is as follows. Since the criterion of truth is found, not in the character of the content, but in the fact of consciousness, all alleged truth has no other basis than subjective knowledge and the assertion that we discover a certain fact in our consciousness. What we discover in our own consciousness is thus exaggerated into a fact of the consciousness of all, and even passed off for the very nature of the mind.

A few paragraphs later (§76) is where Hegel uses the term "reactionary"—"reactionary nature of the school of Jacobi. His doctrine is a return to the modern starting point of the metaphysics in the Cartesian Philosophy." You must remember that Hegel praises Descartes as the start-

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



ing point of philosophy, and even shows a justification for any metaphysical points in it just because it had broken new ground.⁶ But what he cannot forgive is that in his own period, after we had already reached Kantian philosophy, one should turn backward:

The modern doctrine on the one hand makes no change in the Cartesian method of the usual scientific knowledge, and conducts on the same plan⁷ the experimental and finite sciences that have sprung from it. But, on the other hand, when it comes to the science which has infinity for its scope, it throws aside the method, and thus, as it knows no other, it rejects all methods. It abandons itself to the control of a wild, capricious and fantastic dogmatism, to a moral priggishness and pride of feeling, or to an excessive opining and reasoning which is loudest against philosophy and philosophic themes. Philosophy of course tolerates no mere assertions, or conceits, or arbitrary fluctuations of inference to and fro (§77).

Chapter Six: The Proximate Notion of Logic with its Subdivision

This is the last chapter before we get into the three major divisions of the *Logic* itself. In a word, it took Hegel six chapters, or 132 pages, to introduce the *Logic* which will occupy, in this abbreviated form, a little less than 200 pages. On the other hand, this *Smaller Logic* will be such easy sailing, especially for anyone who has grappled with the larger *Logic*, that you will almost think that you are reading a novel and, indeed, I will spend very little time on the summation because I believe you are getting ready to read it for yourself now.

To get back to the Proximate Notion, Hegel at once informs you that the three stages of logical doctrine—(1) Abstract or Mere Understanding; (2) Dialectical or Negative Reason; (3) Speculative or Positive Reason—

(Continued on page 5)

CORRECTION: We regret an error in a quotation from Hegel that appeared last issue, column 3, paragraph 3: "the tendency to reading and meditation", should read—"the tendency to reasoning and meditation." We thank one of our subscribers for catching this typo.

5. This refers to a series of letters written by James to his associates in early 1955, which helped lead to the breakup of the Johnson-Forest Tendency.

6. See §77 of the *Smaller Logic*: "The Cartesian philosophy, from these unproved postulates, which it assumes to be unprovable, proceeds to wider and wider details of knowledge, and thus gave rise to the sciences of modern times."

7. In the newer translation of the *Encyclopedia Logic* by Geraets et al, "plan" is rendered as "method."

After the Wash., D.C. anti-IMF/World Bank protests—participate in the final classes of our series...

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Philosophic Dialogue

On the movement against global capital

Editor's note: We print below excerpts from a discussion by a prisoner, Todd Morrison, on the effects the Seattle protests against the World Trade Organization (WTO) "may have on the larger movement toward a revolution in permanence." We invite additional responses from our readers as part of this important dialogue.

The Marxist-Humanist Perspectives for 1999-2000 point out: "Today, ours is a struggle for the mind of humanity." This abstraction was given life by the movement against global capital which emerged during and after the WTO protest in Seattle. We there saw an unheard of coalescence of trade unionists, environmentalists, feminists, animal, civil and human rights activists, Third World activists, and anarchists—virtually every segment within the struggle for social justice and human liberation—join together and raise their voices in unison. Without question, it was a clear message of just how the masses feel about a globalized capitalist economy.

More importantly, I believe, is the message that it sent to those engaged in the struggle for human liberation: that solidarity between traditionally antagonistic social movements is not only possible, but essential for victory. Its validity will only be seen in the future, in direct actions on the part of the masses as Subject of their own liberation.

For the moment, my concerns lie with the theoretical questions that, in the end, will give definition to and guide the struggle into the future. In this regard the confrontation in Seattle gave me some cause for concern. It exposed what I believe to be a weakness—or rather, a lack of precision—in our philosophical questioning, and a potentially crippling flaw in our strategy.

THE NEED FOR THEORY

Since the forging of Marxist-Humanism in the bloody struggle of the Coal Miners' General Strike in 1949, the guiding question in our struggle against the unrelenting self-expansion of capital has been: "What kind of labor should humankind do?" This question was constructed as a direct result of the workers' struggle against the further division and automation of labor. It is palpably physical in nature and speaks to the false dichotomy (created by the despotic nature of capital) between humanity's physical and intellectual prowess.

For literally thousands of those present in Seattle, however, the traditional question (and the focus it provides) of what kind of work we should do has no concrete meaning. For them, the literal life and death struggles that forged this question on the floors of factories, in our steel mills, and in the bowels of the earth, are not "reality." Within the fully industrialized nations of the capitalist world, the bitter taste of capitalist production has been artificially sweetened with the establishment of "regulatory" commissions, "arbitration" and "labor relations" boards. This is evidenced by the existence of what Marx described as the predominance of a "service" industry within advanced capitalist societies. As a result, the old question of "what kind of labor should humankind do" has become—if not antiquated—too "narrow" to speak to the minds of the young people manning the barricades of our struggle today.

It is an acknowledged truism that capitalist production is inherently exploitative and self-expanding. Most would agree that the labor performed under such a mode is tyrannical and counterintuitive to our true nature as creative beings. And I think all would agree that humanity should engage in a mode of production that not only satisfies human needs and desires, but facilitates the symbiotic relationship between human

intellect and labor in its natural pursuit of liberation.

The time has come for us to construct new questions that may pave the way to this new kind of labor. I believe the events in Seattle will bare witness to the fact that the place to start is Marx's concept of commodity fetishism. We must, both individually and collectively, begin to ask ourselves more precise questions about the "things" around us if we are to ever "de-objectify" the



"commodity" and our relationship to it.

Take for example the deceptively simple question, "what is a commodity?" It will elicit a myriad of responses, all of which, in the end, come down to facilitating: "A commodity is a 'thing,' a 'product' to facilitate exchange in the satisfaction of human needs."

Is that it? Is that all a commodity represents is a "thing"? If so, what does that say of the human labor that produced it? Is that nothing more than a "thing" too—a commodity? All of this begs the question of just what is our relationship not only to the "product," but to the process of production itself.

Through such expanded questioning, the enemy, long obfuscated by the infinite division of labor and compartmentalization and fragmentation of knowledge, will be seen in its totality. Only when it is understood that the commodity represents much more than the sum of its parts, that it is rich in human value, will people begin to see that the process of production is not only about "things," but is, in fact, about the manifestation of our core nature (a melding of intellectual and physical powers), and that the exchange in such "things" represents, not only market relations, but more importantly, human relations. We learn that the human labor which produces the commodity is not, in fact, a "thing" to be bought and sold on the open market. Rather, it is the expression of our true selves—as creative beings.

It is through such understandings that those not within the "traditional" fold of "anti-capitalist" movements will come to realize that the root cause of "their" concerns (the root cause of all social maladies) is not the despotic, greedy corporation, or the uncaring, secretive government, but the capitalistic mode of production and the social superstructure which it engenders.

Through the broadening of our questions do we effectively erase the false dichotomy (created and maintained through the despotic plan of capital) between the progressive, "issue-specific" movements of today, and venture into a new epic of "freely associated labor" (labor recognized as the expression of the human individual's creative nature) on a journey toward total liberation.

IMPORTANCE OF DIALECTICS

Of course, the question that immediately arises at this point is not "how do we get people to ask such questions?" but rather "how do we prevent the development of simplistic, ill-considered answers?" And, it is there that you find the real "struggle for the mind"—not to mention the insidious nature of commodity fetishism.

Within the capitalistic social superstructure (or the property relations of capitalism), "A" cannot be both "A" and "B" at the same time. The logic of Aristotle rules supreme. The rules of Aristotelian logic—the laws of "identity," "non-contradiction," and "excluded middle"—are the perfect fertilizer for the spread of commodity fetishism. They obfuscate the true nature between things, which results in a superficial analysis of given matters. Such logic weakens the dialectic and tends toward sophistry.

The answer lies with the abandonment of the Aristotelian construct. In its wake should be a logical construct that allows us to conceive of a reality in which identity is transitory, contradiction is manifest in all things, and, as such, all things are always in the process of becoming. In short, we need a Hegelian logic to see that the "commodity" is at one and the same time a "thing" and a "social relation"; that human labor, while it does produce the "thing," is in reality an expression of our true creative nature.

So, how do we get from here to there, when we are totally immersed in a logical construct that does not allow for even the perception of such a "reality"? Or to use Hegel's own words: How do we take the leap from "Absolute Negativity" to a "New Beginning" (a social construct built upon a Hegelian logic)? Such a question

allows us to see that we are at the threshold of a new historic epic, and that our "struggle for the mind of humanity"—for our "New Beginning"—is no less great a struggle than that of Copernicus and Einstein, nor are the consequences any less significant.

The answer to this question, while profoundly difficult to answer, is actually rather easy to articulate. As a fallen comrade in the struggle for social justice once said, "By any means necessary." That is, the sophism of our social superstructure is exposed through intellectual and physical confrontation with it—which brings us to the strategic flaw the Seattle confrontation exposed.

THE LIMITS OF PACIFISM

Within developed capitalist nations—the U.S. in particular—within the struggle for human liberation, a pacifist ideology has gained strategic hegemony—pacifism. I should take a moment here to clarify the term "pacifism." By it I do not mean nonviolent direct social action. The latter is a tactic applied within a larger strategic plan. Pacifism is more than this, however. It is an ideologically held principle that precludes any infliction of violence, even in the furtherance of the cause of self-defense, yet at the same time it allows for the unfettered absorption of violence by its adherents.

As such, pacifism has become a self-coopting form of social protest. It is the pedagogy of a "democratic" oppressor. The stark contrast between the alchemical "revolutionary" force of pacifism and that of "by any means necessary" is easily seen in the Seattle confrontation. Does anybody really believe that the Seattle demonstrations would have received the attention they did, let alone play a part in shutting the WTO negotiations, had it not been for the comparatively small number of protesters who defied the "orders" of the self-policing "marshals" of the mainstream protesters and ventured outside of the march's planned path into the "no protest zones"?

The reality is that had it not been for the courageous and radical action of these defiant protesters, the confrontation in Seattle—no matter how large—would have gone down in history as nothing more than a peaceful march that went according to "plan," rather than the rallying cry for a revolutionary confrontation with the property relations under a capitalist society. Nor would the jackbooted foot of capitalist exploitation and subjugation—the police—have exposed their contemptuous eyes and bloodstained fangs.

And this is the historic reality the pacifist fails to recognize. It is why the strategic hegemony of pacifism has become so dangerous to the struggle for human liberation. This is also why, in their claim to social prefiguration, pacifism will never be able to usher in a New Beginning and will thus remain forever classist and racist in its relations. In the final analysis it stifles, rather than promotes, true dissent. It is a form of "revolution" Gramsci would define as "passive," seeking only to reform through protest, rather than change through resistance.

No one hopes more than I that the confrontation in Seattle was the dawning of a new day in our struggle for a revolution in permanence. It was without question a shining example of what could be. I am convinced, however, that if we do not broaden our questions—if we do not make them more than "appealing," or more "inclusive"—and establish a "language of revolution" that speaks to all, and if we do not have as our primary strategy a "taking it to the enemy" attitude, the struggle for liberation will be doomed to wallow in reformism.

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

(Continued from page 4)

apply in fact to every logical reality, every notion and truth whatever.

There are places where Hegel is quite humorous about the dialectic as it is degraded for winning debater's points: "Often too, Dialectic is nothing more than a subjective seesaw of arguments *pro* and *con*, where the absence of sterling thought is disguised by the subtlety which gives birth to such arguments" (§81). And yet it is precisely in this paragraph where he gives the simplest and profoundest definition of what dialectic is, thus: "Wherever there is movement, wherever there is life, wherever anything is carried into effect in the actual world, there Dialectic is at work."

Over and over again, Hegel lays stress on the necessity to prove what one claims, and the essence of proof is that something has developed of necessity in such and such a manner, that it has been through both a historic and a self-relationship which has moved it from what it was "in itself" (implicitly), through a "for itself-ness" (a process of mediation or development) to what it finally is "in and for itself" (explicitly). Or put it yet another way, from potentiality to actuality, or the realization of all that is inherent in it.

Finally, here is the simple way: Logic is sub-divided into three parts: I. The Doctrine of Being; II. The Doctrine of Essence; III. The Doctrine of Notion and Idea. That is, into the Theory of Thought: I. In its immediacy (the notion implicit and, as it were, in germ); II. In its reflection and mediation (the being-for-self and show of the notion); III. In its return into itself, and its being all to itself (the notion in and for itself... "For in philosophy, to prove means to show how the subject by and from itself makes itself what it is") (§83).

To be continued next issue...



Rosa Luxemburg,
Women's Liberation,
and Marx's
Philosophy of
Revolution

by Raya Dunayevskaya

In saving the Hegelian dialectic from what Marx called Hegel's "dehumanization" of the Idea, as if its self-determination were mere thought rather than human beings thinking and acting, Marx dug deep into revolution, permanent revolution (p. xxiii).

Marx could transcend the Hegelian dialectic not by denying that it was "the source of all dialectic"; rather, it was precisely because he began with that source that he could make the leap to the live Subject who is the one who transforms reality. *Capital* is the work in which—as Marx works out the economic laws of capitalism, not apart from the actual history of class struggles—historic narrative becomes historic reason (p. 143).

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CAN CAPITAL BE CONTROLLED?

The most challenging question facing our world is the one raised by Peter Hudis' essay in the April issue when it asked whether capital can be controlled. It was a concentrated review of the crises facing people everywhere which result from the internal contradictions generated by capitalism's very nature. The nature of capital is to increasingly reproduce itself. It can only feed on the unpaid labor created by living, exploited, alienated and dehumanized workers. If it acted in any other way it would not be capital. It can't be reformed or controlled. It has to be totally uprooted.

**Radical
Michigan**

* * *

Raya Dunayevskaya's article on Hegel's "Smaller Logic" in the April *N&L* had a good companion piece in the essay which asked "Can capital be controlled?" Dunayevskaya writes of how reality is Hegel's point of departure for thought, and of how theory pushes empirical science forward. She reveals how thought becomes a power in the real world. Peter Hudis' essay is about theoretical questions that arise from the practical struggles and how those theoretical questions are crucial if we're going to move forward.

**Franklin
Tennessee**

* * *

The April essay critiques those who don't get to the root of what capitalism is for thinking that the way to uproot the contradictions today is to change exchange relations. It describes some of the anarchists I know. They only fight the appearances of capitalism without getting to the essence, the process of production. The current campus movement against using sweatshop labor for making school apparel concentrates on the conditions of labor, and is a great start, but we have to go beyond seeing labor only as exploited victims. The truth is that those workers have the potential to be capitalism's downfall.

**Anti-sweatshop activist
South USA**

* * *

The essay on "Can capital be controlled?" helped illuminate for me Mitch Weerth's Lead article on the new movements in South America. Weerth took up the IMF's impact on Argentina and its labor "reform." The IMF and World Bank leaders who have been on TV lately say they're surprised at the protests against them because what they are all about is ending poverty! They are the same ones that force countries to drop subsidies and let the prices of necessities skyrocket. So, together, the Lead and the essay take up appearance and essence. I say them as preparing us for *N&L's* classes in Marx's *Capital*.

**Student of Marx
Memphis**

* * *

Watching the confrontations between the police and demonstrators in both Seattle and Washington, D.C. against the WTO, IMF and other international financial groups promoting the expansion of global capitalism reminded me of Hitler's Storm Troopers that attacked and destroyed organized labor prior to Hitler's seizure of power. I don't mean the situation in Germany in the 1930s and the U.S. in 2000 are the same. But what is the same is that the power of capital is being challenged. We have to be prepared to see an escalation both in the confrontations and in the further development of what could become a real police state.

**World War II Veteran
Detroit**

* * *

The protest in D.C. was amazing. We were in the streets with traffic all around us, chanting "Whose streets? Our streets!" It was too large for the cops to contain it. I'm not sure but I'd say we won because we owned the streets for a while. It seemed a great start for a budding movement.

**Kind lady
Bloomington**

* * *

The article on "Can capital be controlled?" in the April issue was a very compelling piece in relation to the WTO demonstrations and globalization. You should develop a dialogue around it with those at the Information Center for Political Prisoners of War, who are very good in their views of labor.

**Political Prisoner
Michigan**



**I
AM
NOT
A
TRACTOR**

When I saw in the newspaper the picture I am sending you of a young Florida farm worker leader, Lucas Benitez, I could not help but think that if Felix Martin were still alive, he would be writing a column about it this month for *News & Letters*. Benitez and other members of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers just finished a 200-mile march across Florida to draw attention to the conditions of the tomato pickers in southwest Florida. They begin work before dawn and collect 40 cents for each bucket they fill. It's the same pay they earned 20 years ago. The only reason the workers earn more money today is because advances in farming have increased the number of tomatoes on each plant, which increases the number of baskets a worker can pick in a day. Benitez, who comes from Mexico, doesn't consider himself the movement's "leader" but just the worker who became its public face at this moment. Others have stepped forward at earlier moments, including Haitian activists at one stage, and Guatemalans at another. Felix Martin would have considered their story his own.

**Pauline
California**

TODAY'S LABOR STRUGGLES

I am writing on behalf of all the Steelworkers on strike in Hamilton, Alabama. We would like to take this opportunity to recognize you and offer our sincere thanks for your support in our fight with Speedrack Products Group Ltd. It has been a hard fight but we know with people like you on our side, we can win this war. Thanks for all your contributions and moral support.

**Lawson Raper,
Unit Chairman,
Hackleburg, Alabama**

* * *

Two hundred young women in Irapuato, Mexico, have been on strike since July of last year, trying to win a union contract, a higher wage and better working conditions. They work at a factory called "Congeldora del Rio" (CRISA), which is owned by a U.S. corporation called Global Trading, whose president lives in splendid comfort in Greenville, South Carolina, while his workers live in extreme poverty south of the border. Last June FAT, the largest democratic industrial-sector union in Mexico, filed a petition to represent the CRISA workers. The company responded by firing 200 of them. In July the fired workers went on strike which took a lot of courage.

Tax-deductible donations to support their strike fund can be made payable to Mexico Solidarity Network (1247 E St., Washington, D.C. 20003) and letters or calls can be sent to Global Trading, demanding they rehire the fired workers and sign a contract that improves their working conditions. Letters should be sent to 14 Creekside Rd., Greenville, SC 29615. The calls can be directed to the owner, Arthur Price at 864-288-7332.

**Tom Hansen
Mexico Solidarity Network**

* * *

The images of Chinese stowaways, discovered entombed under layers of trans-Pacific cargo containers meant for commodities rather than human cargo, are a reminder of the early stages of capital accumulation when millions of Africans were forcibly put on slave ships and transported to the "New World" to be used as labor-power in the emerging Americas. It is a testament to how far capitalism has come in the latest stage of its accumulation today. While the Africans were bought and sold by slave-holders and the Chinese paid to be smuggled here, the

Readers' Views

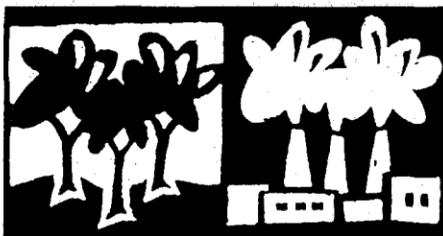
similarity they share is that the cargo, in both cases, contains what Marx called the commodity of commodities, human labor-power.

**Chinese-American
San Francisco**

* * *

I'd like to try to answer the miners' question "What kind of labor should humanity do?" which was discussed in an essay in the Jan.-Feb. issue. Freely associated labor that produces use-values and leads to the unconditional freedom of humanity is the kind of labor suited to humanity. By freeing labor from the confines of exchange value, working men and women regain their humanity, individuality, the ability to exercise absolute control over production and the political orientation of society. That can only come about through the revolutionary transformation of society led by the working class. I am talking about a new society in which labor power and the instruments of labor are not commodities, where living labor dominates dead labor as the determinant.

**Fred Bustillo
Colorado**



ENVIRONMENTALISM

You can't pave your way out of congestion. All you do is spend enormous amounts of taxpayer resources to destroy cropland, disrupt communities, animal habitats, forests, etc. to bring traffic congestion, air pollution, noise, stress, road rage, strip malls and fast food dumps. An economy strung out on the consumption of oil is not self-sustaining but environmentally suicidal. Serious debate and planning for a genuinely viable future are assiduously avoided. I heard that a monstrous chunk of ice, twice the size of Rhode Island, has broken off of Antarctica. The permafrost is thawing. Species of plants and animals are becoming extinct daily. The lungs of our planet, the Amazon rain forests, are being massively bulldozed in a frenzy of profit-taking. Earth is dying and our coffin is the single passenger car.

**Anthony Rayson
Illinois**

* * *

I liked Franklin Dmitryev's analysis of the Romanian cyanide spill (April *N&L*). The current right-of-center government has a single digit popularity, is given no chance of being returned to power. Most Romanians were disgusted by the government's handling of the affair, although they were not too surprised.

**Subscriber
Maryland**

ECUADOR

I don't think the military in Ecuador should be treated as a unitary force. There is a real division in the military with a significant number fed up with the corruption within both the military and the government. I am not equating this with the army Soviets of the Russian revolution, but Ecuador does have a tradition of military liberators beginning with Bolivar.

For the moment it appears that much of the steam has been taken out of the protest movement here. The government is going ahead full force with its economic program and with the cooperation of the media is trying to make it seem as if there is at last light at the end of the tunnel for Ecuador. This is pure illusion of course. Prices continue to rise and people continue to be deeply offended. Dollarization alone is bound to cause massive chaos. There is certain to be some new form of popular uprising. While there is a high level of unity among the rank and file of the indigenous community, there is much division, rivalry and philosophic, political and strategic disarray among the leadership.

**Correspondent
Ecuador**

FIGHTING POLICE BRUTALITY

All Detroiters watched the second trial of the ex-policeman, Larry Nevers, who was convicted four years ago of second degree murder in the death of Malice Green, a Black motorist whose skull Nevers had bludgeoned with a heavy metal flashlight. The first trial had an all-Black jury drawn from Detroit, whereas the new trial had a jury of both Blacks and whites from all of Wayne County, where Detroit is located. Nevers was found guilty of involuntary manslaughter this time around, but many feel that he will serve no more time in jail and will get a suspended sentence based on his four years in prison.

**Observer
Detroit**

* * *

I want to thank Gene Ford for his "Rampart scandal exposes L.A. police crimes" that appeared on page one of the April issue. It was crucial in our distributions of *N&L* at all the ongoing anti-police brutality rallies, meetings, and marches here. I spoke at a Columbia University Law School workshop on "The Criminal (In)justice System" pointing out that it is crucial to go beyond the limited discussion of the jury system's inequities, discrimination, etc. We have to understand the totality of the repressive, racist state to get to the "grave digging" of capitalist society.

**Sheila
New York**

* * *

At a meeting I attended on racial profiling, the ACLU spokesperson reported on a proposed law to make police check off boxes when they stop someone that would show the person's race, sex, and why they were stopped. That's like asking the fox to guard the henhouse. The one thing that became clear at this meeting was how completely the Memphis police are despised by those they supposedly "serve and protect."

**Community Activist
Memphis**

WHO READS N&L?

News & Letters constitutes a highly significant and valuable source for us. It is used extensively by faculty, researchers, students and the general public not just of Odessa State University, but of the whole region of South Ukraine. Your publication forms an important part of the library of our Center for International Studies. It is even more useful for the activities of the American Studies Center, which was recently founded here. *N&L* provides us with materials representing an independent, free-minded view on the issues of contemporary life in the United States as well as world affairs.

**Reader
Ukraine**

FIGHTING FOR SURVIVAL OR A NEW HUMAN SOCIETY?

It is a strange week when you see how the anniversaries of the Waco deaths, the Oklahoma City bombings, and the Columbine High School killings affected the way Janet Reno handled the Elian Gonzalez fight. Did she not want to move on that because of fear of sparking another disaster in the time frame of these anniversaries? When our youth are so belittled by the way society is going, whether through racism or the way another part of our freedom is taken away every day, it is hard to have any faith in the future. We see politicians chipping away at all the things workers have fought for and wars being fought, not on any moral agenda, but to separate us from one another. It is hard today to hope for anything more than basic survival, but nobody has the right to take another's dreams or thoughts away. The new human society can, in fact, be more than just a thought. We can make it a reality once we win the struggle to control the monsters capitalism is creating.

**Working woman
Louisiana**

VOICES FROM INSIDE



The present "Industrial Machine" (or should I say "meat grinder"?) is the only winner in a war in which they make the rules as they go along. It is designed only to benefit the wealthy and corrupt, as your paper has brought to light many times. The prison autocrats have created a major industry out of the underprivileged, complete with forced labor and forced education. Almost all prisons today require inmates to participate in their educational programs, in order to make parole. It amounts to high level brainwashing, geared to teach everyone to think, act and react the same way so they can become another cog in "the man's" machine.

I am a Native American Indian, educated in the ways of my ancestors, but I see that to be a part of the "Thought Revolution" I must be educated in the ways of the outside world. I don't know whether I will live to see the time when, instead of Black or Native American against white it will be 'us' against the "man" but when that time comes we will rejoice if we can know we were a force in prompting the change.

Imprisoned Native American
California

My concern is the total police state I see us moving toward where the order of the day is to lock everybody up so a few can be more prosperous. I am concerned how people can be left homeless in places like New York and LA that take in billions of dollars annually, and how this country can have laws to protect eagles, bears and trees but do nothing for human beings. I am concerned about how people can be worked most of their lives, and then kicked out when they are elderly with no health insurance, steady income or housing.

Prisoner
California

As New Afrikans, we have been asked many questions concerning the ills of society, and the question that stays within my

mind is "Why not let someone else sacrifice for a change?" But it's not about taking turns. The brothas and sistas who gave their time and lives to ensure tomorrow for us did so unselfishly and I owe it to the future of my fellow Afrikans to do the same. Although I have been wrongfully charged with attempted murder of a non-Black, and convicted despite the evidence that it was a clear case of self-defense, I will continue to struggle to see that our youth are armed with the required tools to become productive in a society that is purposely designed for it to be otherwise.

Tashiri Askari
California

THE COMING ELECTIONS

It's good to see you planning and teaching about alternatives to capitalism. Here in Detroit we are organizing to take back the city. We have no voice at the polls because our elections have been bought or stolen. We have lost our local economy to casinos, which we did not want. We got a new stadium even though there was nothing wrong with the last one. Besides, our baseball team was the last in the League. Go figure.

Interested reader
Detroit

No matter what citizens may claim about their political ideology, and contrary to the conventional wisdom, election results from the Clinton era suggest that voters have neither sought nor rewarded ideological moderation by their members of Congress. Contrary to the argument that the only Democrats who can win in swing districts are moderates (the so-called New Democrats), our findings show that both liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans can win in such districts. We note our findings not only to reassess the past, but to point to the future as we enter the important election year of 2000. Beware of pundits and politicians bearing messages of moderation.

Professor
Indiana

Here is something anyone in the U.S. considering casting a vote in November should consider. The state of Texas, under the leadership of Governor George W. Bush, is ranked 50th in spending for teachers' salaries, 49th in spending on the

environment, 48th in per capita funding for public health, 47th in delivery of social services, 42nd in child support collections, and 41st in per capita spending on public education. But it comes in first in percentage of poor working parents without insurance, in air and water pollution, and of course in executions. Those average one every two weeks for the five years of Bush's rule. Just think of what he could do for the country if he were president.

L. G.
Vancouver, Canada

MARX AND ORGANIZATION

Someone sold me a copy of *N&L* a couple of years ago, but I had only a superficial exposure to the ideas of Marxism then. These days I'm searching for a Marxist group to join. I'm not sure I want to stay in college. What I really want to do is help organize workers but I don't know enough yet. I've read a few histories of the Russian revolution, some general stuff about the German revolution, and Marx's books on France. Otherwise, I've studied U.S. history and general European history. I believe Marx's historical method is the best one I have ever come across to explain the movement of history and the dynamics of social phenomena. Please send me some information about your organization.

Student
Chicago

In a "Reader's View" several issues ago, a critique was made about an editorial you wrote on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The critique was about your statement that this nation has been brought "inexorably to the brink of civil war" which this reader felt "bordered on fantasy." I agree it was a bold statement but hardly fantasy. Didn't Marx himself characterize the ongoing class struggle of our modern machine age as a virtual civil war, sometimes open, sometimes hidden? Who can predict how and when an open full-scale civil war will erupt? Revolutions are notorious for catching revolutionaries by surprise, including Marx, as witness his attitude to the Paris Commune. It may be true that "we are very far from the level of mobilization and clarity of ideas that will be needed to free Mumia, much less challenge capital in a civil war" but the greater truth is that the masses and only

the masses will make the revolution. This naturally begs the question of what is the role for a small revolutionary organization like N&LC in a movement to transform society. That question is more urgent today than ever before.

Supporter
Illinois

I certainly agree with you that the critical issue confronting us is the relationship between philosophy and organization. The social democratic parties of Western Europe are a case in point. They now simply take their turn with the right-wing parties in dismantling what remains of their pride and joy: the modern welfare state. On the other hand, other elements of the Left turn the matter upside down by asserting that organizational forms determine philosophical outlook. The relation between philosophy and organization is what we need to discuss.

Green Social Alliance activist
Ohio

GLORIA STEINEM ON CAPITALISM

At her lecture at the University of Iowa on "A Future in which Everyone Matters," Gloria Steinem offered a lot of feel-good quotes to make you want to go protest something, but touched on nothing of substance. When a young woman asked her in the discussion why she modeled for Coach ads (for expensive leather purses) she gave four reasons: 1) The money is good; 2) She chose Coach over an ad for American Express because the former gives money to women's groups. (Of course, American Express advertises in the Gay and Lesbian magazine "Out" which hardly means they are overly concerned about Gay Liberation, they just want our money); 3) She does understand the "leather issue"; 4) By buying a Coach bag (\$250-\$500), since it lasts a lifetime, you are "socking it to capitalism."

Huh? The last thing you are doing is "socking it to capitalism." You are reaffirming the idea that only the rich should be allowed to have well-made bags and that you are willing to pay \$500 for something that was probably made by a wage slave!

Jennifer Linden
Iowa

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- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future** (1996 edition)\$15.95
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Days of outrage and action for environmental justice

Memphis, Tenn.—The first weekend in April saw the National Days of Outrage and Action For Environmental Justice as activists and scholars from around the country came to support efforts here to clean up the Defense Depot—a Superfund site that sits in the middle of a Black community—and protest the pollution and planned expansion of the Memphis International Airport.

Saturday's "Toxic Tour" began at Hamilton High School, built directly over Cane Creek, into which some of the Depot's polluted runoff flows. The tour took us by the tent set up over leaking mustard gas bombs buried at the Depot since World War II. We stopped at many of the drainage ditches flowing from the Depot and saw how they went through people's back yards, under the school, through people's gardens and playgrounds. We saw one very poor neighborhood that the EPA had confirmed as contaminated, yet people still live there on known toxic ground.

Everyone introduced themselves at lunch after the tour and said why they had come. Members of Youth Terminating Pollution spoke, each one telling her or his own story, several reading poems they had written about living in an endangered community.

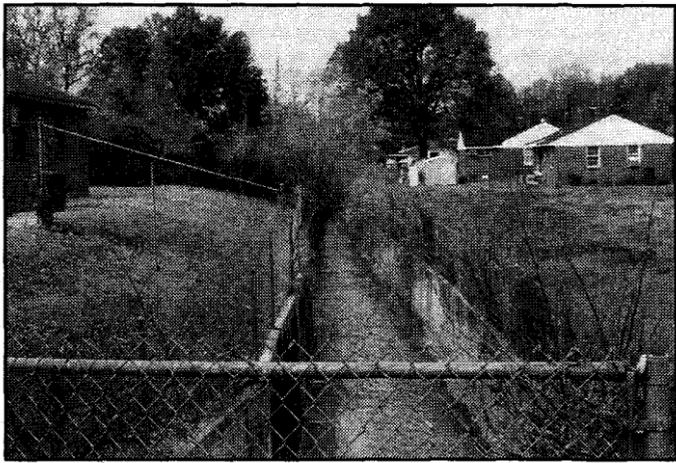
Sunday was spent at a worship service where a new group of people learned of the pollution in Memphis. Monday morning was a press conference where the participants—almost all African-Americans from groups across the country—told of their struggles against the pollution of their workplaces and neighborhoods. This was held at a church right across the

street from the Depot and, when it was over, we went out into the rain to form a protest march.

We went back to Hamilton High School after lunch, and a group of students gathered to hear about the struggle for environmental justice. After the talks the students spontaneously joined the activists and marched through the community. From there we drove to the Federal Building for a "Vigil for Environmental Justice."

Throughout the weekend we carried a coffin to represent the many who had died because of the pollution from the Depot, the airport and other federal facilities around the nation. Often we would put our hands on it; it was in the churches; we followed it through the community; and at the Federal Building we surrounded it for our vigil. It helped us remember who and what we are fighting for.

—Terry Moon



The Memphis "Toxic Tour" stopped at polluted drainage ditches that flow through yards, gardens and playgrounds.

Memphis, Tenn.—The Crump area has always been an African-American neighborhood. No one else would buy these small lots on river bottom swampland. We are surrounded by chemical companies: Buckeye, Southern Cotton Oil, Penn Union, Velsicol. This community has always borne a disproportionate amount of environmental pollution, and yet none of these companies hire more than 1% of their people from the community.

Our group is called Concerned Citizens of Crump Neighborhood Association. We are concerned now because Velsicol is going through a process to get

another ten-year permit to operate their toxic waste incinerator. Last December Velsicol had a meeting about the permit only because it is the law. We couldn't get them to say the word "dioxin." Somebody asked, do the releases cause cancer? The plant manager said, some say they do and some say they don't. I said, who says dioxin doesn't cause cancer? She couldn't tell me.

A few years ago Velsicol had a simulated chlorine release. They said they would test as if the wind went south and east. We said we live northeast; why not test this way? We released helium balloons close to the incinerator. In less than a minute the balloons were in our neighborhood.

Two years ago Velsicol had a toxic waste cleanup on a Superfund site the size of a football field. They had dumped chemical byproducts in a hole for years. The runoff water was running straight onto the street and down the gullies. In a meeting the plant manager said Velsicol was not making chlordane at the time the dump was being used, but a geologist brought in by the government confirmed that heptachlor and chlordane were found in that dump.

There is no environmental agenda in Memphis. If they want business here, they don't care what it costs us. Environmental racism is alive and well in this city. I have educated myself on environmental issues. I definitely have grown because of this. When you read a book like *Dumping in Dixie*, you just can't sit there and be quiet. I want people to know we have a right to a clean earth.

—Balinda Moore

Black/Red View

by John Alan

I want to engage in the philosophic dialogue on why it is imperative to revisit Stokely Carmichael's Black Power Movement and the issue of race and class started by brother Ali Khalid Abdullah in the April issue of *News & Letters*. He was responding to Raya Dunayevskaya's column in the January-February issue, "Revisiting 'Black Power,' Race and Class," where she wrote: "To maintain...that there is something called a 'white psyche'...is but the reverse side of the same coin which standard bourgeois white textbooks maintain..."

First it should be noted that class divisions and the exploitation of Black labor, the objective reasons for racism in this country, were not the reasons why Carmichael called for "Black Power" in 1966 as he marched through the South with Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. in protest of the shooting of James Meredith by a white racist. Carmichael firmly believed that racism was caused by a "white psyche" ridden with guilt and fear because of historic slave revolts.

AN UNCHANGEABLE 'WHITE PSYCHE'?

Does such a social phenomenon as an innate, universal, unchangeable "white psyche" exist in any absolute way? It certainly did not during the long decades when Black and white Abolitionists were united in a common struggle to end slavery. Nor was the "white psyche" an unchangeable dimension in all the other great turning points in American history when African-American masses in motion proved to be the vanguard to radically change class and race in this country—in the struggles for the eight-hour day and the organization of industrial unions, and in the 1960s when the Black struggle for freedom initiated the youth anti-war movement and a new epoch of women's struggles for equality.

These historic moments when Blacks and whites did unite in freedom struggles didn't absolutely end the practice of racism. However, the unity of Blacks and whites in a common struggle for freedom did manifest that a concept of a "white psyche" was essentially a concept not related to the dialectics of the Notion of freedom. No concept can exist without engaging in a battle of ideas; otherwise it becomes a deterrent in the struggle to transform reality.

The prevalence of racism in American society more than 30 years after the end of the Civil Rights Movement shows the necessity of civil rights, but also the limits of such rights in a capitalist society. Civil rights alone do not mean the end of poverty nor police brutality and the legalized murder of African Americans. Nor did the civil rights revolution prevent the incarceration of thousands upon thousands of African Americans across this nation today.

The U.S. could see the birth of a new Black mass movement to gain freedom in its fullest human dimension. It could start at any time in any large Black urban community. It would begin in the same places where the urban revolts began in the middle 1960s

Dialogue on 'Black Power'

when the Civil Rights Movement ended its main activities and cohesion, and began to fade into history, leaving behind an unfinished revolution. If this new beginning happens, its success will depend on whether it can become a catalyst for the development and the articulation of a philosophical vision of a new society which can unify all the forces of revolution in this country.

I would like to say to Ali Khalid Abdullah that a new humanist, non-racist society of freely associated labor will never be created if its philosophical foundation contains Stokely Carmichael's concept of a "white psyche." This concept is just another alienating form of racism. It derives, in essence, from the racist doctrine of white supremacy and its claim that Blacks are mentally inferior to the white race. It is merely a negative of that attitude. Any doctrine based on racism or limited to the first negation of racism is a divisive ideology not capable of transcending racism itself.

Abdullah claims that Carmichael was using the concept of a "white psyche" to develop a new Black consciousness to replace the "...old consciousness of tolerance and acceptance of white supremacy. What Ture (Stokely Carmichael) was doing was trying to develop a statement, a doctrine that would enhance Black Pride and reverse the inferior non-aggressive attitude that Blacks have long held internally toward any white authority, by using reverse psychology on the minds of the Black masses."

CONSCIOUSNESS OF LEADER, OF MASSES

Abdullah clearly implies that Carmichael thought, when he appeared on the scene during a turbulent moment of Black history-in-the-making, that he was dealing with a docile Uncle Tom type of people. This was not true. African-American history is a history of ceaseless revolts, movements and massive demonstrations against racism and exploitation, constantly placing American civilization on trial from the day it was born. Carmichael did not arrive during a quiescent period. Black masses had made their challenge to racism actively clear for ten years. It is both dangerous and retrogressive when a leader thinks that he can arbitrarily replace the self-consciousness of masses in motion, a self-consciousness based on their experience and activity, with his own self-consciousness.

Carmichael did catch the spirit of the masses when he raised the slogan, "Black Power." But even then "Black Power" proved to be an abstraction, since his concept and the masses' concept of "Black Power" were radically different. Carmichael saw "Black Power" as African Americans being organized, like other ethnic groups, to elect their own race to political positions. The Black masses in their great urban revolts of the middle 1960s were saying that politics was not enough and that we need to end a society that has poverty, police brutality and racism. Today those revolts are forgotten, but they remain the ground for a new beginning, for a new movement with the purpose of creating a new, human society.

Black World

(Continued from page 1)

be segregated as severely today as Jim Crow socially segregated Blacks from whites before the Civil Rights Movement. This "segregation of memory," as Scott Ellsworth calls it in his book on the Tulsa race riot, *Death in the Promised Land*, persists long after the most obnoxious racial barriers have come down.

American history lives on in two memories—one white, one Black—separate and unequal. This is not a schizoid American mind; it is rather a **manichean** American mind, to use Frantz Fanon's apt term.

Black Tulsa was utterly destroyed by a racist mob of thousands of whites from every class strata of Tulsa society. Yet the white mythology is that "poor whites" were responsible or that Blacks armed for self-defense caused the riot. Black memory recalls a very different history. It is one of Black Tulsa's business district along Greenwood Avenue being the object of white envy before the riot and the object of an attempted land grab by the white elite in the aftermath of the riot. It is a memory of Black Tulsa being aerially bombed in World War I fashion and a memory of eyewitness reports of dead bodies "stacked like cordwood" against a fence or laden in wagons being driven out of town.

Now, some 78 years later, America is forced to return to the scene of the crime. The question is whether "all the usual suspects," politicians and civic leaders, historians and Chamber of Commerce boosters, Tulsa's white citizenry and its newspapers, will once again try to bury the past with threadbare rationales for America's ethnic cleansings.

A popular rationale, Ellsworth critically recounts in his book, is that white Tulsa, embarrassed by what happened in 1921, immediately and voluntarily provided aid to Black Tulsans and rebuilt their community. In fact, except for the work of the Red Cross, white Tulsa's leaders tried to prevent the rebuilding of the prosperous community of Black Tulsa because their plan for the devastated land was to turn it over to powerful railroad interests. Moreover, Ellsworth writes, "while officials of the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce were telling the nation's press that reparation and restitution would be made, they charted a directly opposite course, even to the point of refusing offers of aid for people whom they hardly represented."

Of course, confronting Tulsa's and America's racist past is not reducible to excavating mass graves, as important as that is, but means facing the past embedded in the present conditions and consciousness of African-American communities. The eminent Black historian John Hope Franklin grew up in Tulsa, and his father was one of the lawyers who successfully defended Black Tulsa against the white elite's **economic cleansing** of the Black community. Franklin told Ellsworth that "There are two ways whites destroy a black community. One is by building a freeway through it, the other is by changing the zoning laws." By 1978, a freeway had cut through Greenwood Avenue, doing what the 1921 ethnic cleansing and the attempted economic cleansing by the white elite couldn't.

Lost was more than property and a community. We stand to lose the memory of Black resistance, which even included the Black radical African Blood Brotherhood, and the memory of Black self-determination, which rebuilt from the ashes a community that had endured one of America's most genocidal ethnic cleansings. By the end of the 1970s, Black Tulsa had undergone the economic dislocations that almost every Black urban community had. That, too, is the legacy of America's ethnic cleansings. The challenge—the most difficult one African-American communities have ever faced—is: will we find the revolutionary means to fight it?

Editorial May Day comes alive in anti-globalization movement

As the heads of international finance munched on chilled shrimp, chicken Casablanca and raspberry mousse, police doused young protesters with pepper spray in the streets of the nation's capital. These scenes unfolded in late April, on the eve of May Day 2000, as demonstrators protested policies of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) which were meeting jointly in Washington, D.C. Five months earlier the same protest movement successfully disrupted World Trade Organization deliberations in Seattle. These two mass actions announced a new internationalism of labor, environmentalism, and human rights in the heart of the new globalized economy that capitalism has pinned all its 21st century hopes for the future on.

The protesters were calling attention to a growing separation between rich and poor born of a shaky economic expansion. IMF and World Bank-backed projects have pillaged the environment and exploited workers to the extreme, but they have also helped evince a new global movement, one with two faces.

One face is the spontaneous strikes, most often by teenage women, in the export factories of Southeast Asia, China, Mexico and other areas of the Third World. The other face is the sit-ins and protests at over three dozen U.S. colleges this year, demanding an end to sweatshop conditions where university products are manufactured.

SOLIDARITY AND REACTION

Coming as they do on the eve of the first May Day of the century, comparisons with the first ever May Day are compelling. A campaign of simultaneous strikes were to take place across the country on May 1, 1890, until the eight-hour day for workers was achieved.

The first May Day arose in a time of reaction and financial crisis following what Karl Marx at the time and W.E.B. DuBois 70 years later called the great emancipatory movement to free Black labor. It was led by the Abolitionists and it brought on the Civil War of 1861-1865. The end of slavery was followed by a decade of constitutional reforms for Blacks and organizing opportunities for labor.

Reacting to these advances, to keep Black labor shackled to the land through farm tenancy, to harness northern labor rising against the railroad barons, and to suppress Indian resistance to land seizures, U.S. rulers ended Reconstruction in 1877.

Police frame-up in Memphis

Memphis, Tenn. — I worked for the Shelby County Sheriff's Department since 1981. In 1988 some prisoners got beaten by the tactical squad in Shelby County Jail. Several officers went to the NAACP and corroborated the inmates' story. I testified in federal court that the officers violated jail policy by beating the inmates and that I thought it was racially motivated. That got a lot of publicity. The chief deputy then is the sheriff now, A.C. Gilless.

They started a witchhunt against my job but I was a good employee and they could not find a way to fire me. On Jan. 31, 1997, they arrested me and said I was selling drugs in North Memphis to people I've never seen. It was a lie. I never used or sold drugs.

When it was brought to court on April 3, 1997, the judge dismissed all charges in a preliminary hearing and expunged them from my record. I thought I would be reinstated to my job, but it didn't happen. After I filed a lawsuit *pro se*, I got rearrested for the same charges. I couldn't get a day in court. They stalled from August 1997 to December 1999.

A confidential informant admitted that these other guys and I had been framed. He had been arrested by the Sheriff's Department. He was so angry that he called me saying he wanted to talk to TV news reporters on how the Sheriff's Department was using him to frame us. He confessed to the whole thing and I taped it.

I gave the tape to my lawyer. He gave it to the district attorney. Instead of dismissing the charges against me, they let the informant out of jail to keep him from testifying. At my trial he denied he ever talked to me. After that, my tape recording was able to be played. But when it came time for the jury to listen to the tape and other evidence concerning my innocence, the judge instructed the jury to leave the courtroom. He did not offer any explanation.

More guys, all Black, were charged. I got others on tape saying they had never seen me. One was 17. The department tried to force him to testify against me and some other guys and then the next thing you know he comes up dead.

Prior to the trial I told the judge I needed time to retain a lawyer to replace the one the judge had appointed, because he had worked for the Sheriff's Department, the very department that framed me. The judge told me this man was going to represent me whether I liked it or not.

They said they had me on a tape making a drug transaction. I said that was a lie because I had done nothing. Then they turned around and tried to make me suppress the tape. He asked me, "Why won't you suppress the tape?" I said, "They have framed me. I want it to come out in court."

I was convicted on one of three counts. Now I'm up for sentencing in May. In order for me to get justice in Memphis, I'd have to have so much money. I'm working my behind off and I'm still fighting.

—Earley Story

The precursor to the American Federation of Labor (AFL) took over the struggle, and in 1886, 80,000 went on strike for the eight-hour day. Historic labor battles in Homestead, Pa., Coeur D'Alene, Id., and the great Pullman strike ensued in the 1890s. Meanwhile the one and a quarter million Southern Black populists challenged the boss-and-black relationship that represented a millstone around the neck of organized labor everywhere.

May Day, then as now, is a signal for labor's emancipation. The movement for the eight-hour day at the heart of May Day represented a cause greater than the Magna Carta or the Declaration of the Rights of Man because, according to Marx, it was concrete in focusing on when a worker's day begins and when it ends.

TODAY'S INTERNATIONALISM

Solidarity with Third World labor and indigenous struggles marks today's movements, from exposing the plights of workers in Nike Corporation's resisted global production network to supporting the resistance of U'wa Indians in Colombia against oil exploration on their lands.

Today's movement unfolds in a global economy whose expansion ever since the restructuring of the 1970s has been fueled by speculation and capital mobility rather than sustained industrial development. Despite the ruling class' triumphal rhetoric about the power of the capitalist global market, today's anti-globalization struggles can take credit for thoroughly undermining the assumption that global capitalism is unassailable and that human intervention can't change labor conditions.

Many are searching for a political and philosophical foundation for their struggles. This was evident in conferences preceding the Seattle and Washington, D.C. protests and in recent News and Letters Committees



meetings and classes on the globalization of capitalism.

An important part of the history of May Day does not bear repeating, however. Despite taking the crusade for the eight-hour day abroad where the newly formed Second International adopted May 1 as the date for an international demonstration, and despite its courageous shouldering of the eight-hour campaign of the 1880s, the AFL retreated to xenophobia and craft unionism. The Second International itself slid backward into narrow nationalism, leading to its giving the green light to World War I in 1914.

While it is true that trade unionists were a significant presence at the teach-ins and protests in Seattle last year, distancing themselves from Big Labor's traditional pro-capitalist posture which often colluded in U.S. imperialist policies, little separates a recent AFL-CIO demonstration against trade normalization for China from the pandering of Patrick Buchanan to

nationalism and racism. Furthermore, the efforts by the Jubilee 2000 campaign to forgive World Bank and IMF debt of technologically underdeveloped nations do not speak to class struggles inside those countries between the indigenous bourgeoisie and the working class pummeled by state-enforced austerity measures. These detours only reinforce the need for nothing less than uprooting global capitalism, not reforming it.

Amartya Sen acknowledges that "the battle against the unfreedom of bound labor is important in many Third World countries today for the same reasons the American Civil War was momentous." Whether abroad or at home, only a vision of absolute freedom can carry us to a time when every day is May Day.

Livingston and the battle for London

by Christopher Ford

London — This May will see elections to the new Greater London Authority set up by the Blair government under the guise of a move towards greater democracy for London. Instead it has proved to be an exposition of all that can be rotten in bourgeois politics. These elections should have been a festival of capitalism in a centre of business where city banks alone made £5 billion [about \$10 billion] excess in profits. Instead the other London has forced itself onto the scene—the London that has six of the poorest boroughs in the country. The elections have been a disaster for Blair and we have seen the first meaningful fight-back of a force the "Third Way" philosophers proclaimed dead—the socialist Left.

The focus for the current controversy is around the position of London Mayor and the independent candidacy of Ken Livingstone. Red Ken as he was branded led the Greater London Council (GLC) in the 1980s during the height of the "Local Government Left" of the Labour Party. Holding majorities in a number of Local administrations this left implemented a series of radical policies. Livingstone took up the fight against racism and homophobia, Britain's role in Ireland, and defended public services and cheap fares in the London Underground railway system. Whilst much of this radicalism is more myth than reality, the GLC won massive support amongst Londoners in its fight with Thatcher's Tory government, which later abolished it.

Amongst the labour movement and huge sections of the population Livingstone has won renewed support, and yet again it is an expression of support for socialist ideas he does not necessarily believe in at all! Livingstone stated he is 95% in agreement with Blair's policies, but most Londoners are not listening to that; instead, central to his popularity is the 5% he opposes Blair over—notably London transport polices.

Under the previous Tory administration the state-owned railway was sold to an array of capitalists at dirt-cheap prices. The resulting deregulation saw millions of pounds in profits but terrible consequences for passenger safety. A series of tragic disasters in London saw over a hundred deaths and the blame firmly at the door of profit-hungry companies. On the graves of the victims the Blair government has sown the seeds of its current predicament. It decided to privatise the remaining state-run railway, the London Underground. The policy is hugely unpopular and opposition to it is the central plank of Livingstone's campaign.

This is part of his six key populist policies including rooting out the "corrupt and racist minority" in the police and tackling inner city poverty. It is nowhere near his old radicalism and has no mention of an "appeal to the labour and trade union movement to take action" as his previous GLC manifesto called for (but never actually did).

The response of Blair has been to throw the full weight of the Labour Party machinery against socialist ideas as a whole. We have witnessed a McCarthy-style cam-

paigned of attacks on socialism accompanied by equally contemptuous manoeuvres to undermine democracy, a practice second nature to labour bureaucrats. This time it has generated a significant feeling of resentment that goes far beyond the ranks of the labour movement.

Blair claimed to be devolving government to increase democracy with a Parliament established in Scotland, and Assembly in Wales and London. This process has seen one stitch-up after another to secure positions of power for puppets of the central government. Whilst Thatcher simply abolished a London body, Blair means to subject it to absolute control. The selection process for the official Labour Party candidate for mayor was a spectacle of Stalinist proportions designed solely to exclude Livingstone.

The rules for election were changed, from "one member, one vote" to an Electoral College involving unions and various politicians. The London members of Parliament had equal vote to thousands of members and file Labour Party and union members. Then four of the main unions were excluded under the pretext of not having paid their subscriptions in time. The right-wing unions didn't even ballot their members. This ball-toggling got the desired result: Blair's candidate Frank Dobson won by a 3% margin, despite Livingstone winning the majority of Labour Party members and every union that held a ballot.

The mass of the population concluded this was a display of utter corruption. There was a groundswell of revulsion at the Blair government and demands on Livingstone to stand independently.

The labour movement in London has virtually walked away from the official Labour Party campaign. Major unions and a mass of union branches and activists have rallied behind Livingstone against the government. The campaign has seen the red-baiting emerge more forcefully. Livingstone's condemnation of global capitalism's treatment of Third World debt as causing more deaths than Hitler did, and his statement that the WTO is not welcome in London provoked an anti-socialist tirade. But to date it has hardly dented Livingstone's popularity and he seems certain to inflict a major defeat on Blair.

The battle for London has placed many questions on the agenda of the labour movement. It has brought home with redoubled force that the Labour Party is not an agency of challenging this bourgeois government or fighting for a new society. If the Labour Left in London cannot even get Livingstone adopted as their "official" candidate, then the door is well and truly shut! There is increasingly a recognition that something significant has changed, that there is a need for the labour movement to organise and express itself in its own interests and in the current set up this is being denied.

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Police brutality epidemic spurs community outrage

(Continued from page 1)

warehoused human beings. The struggle against this system of injustice points to a resolution far beyond any simple reforms.

POLICE MAYHEM IN NEW YORK

Recent events in New York City in particular are representative of the new thinking. Just over a year after four New York City cops gunned down Amadou Diallo in a hail of 41 bullets, and just days after his murderers were acquitted of all charges, the cops killed two more unarmed young Black men, Malcolm Ferguson and Patrick Dorismond. It was as if the Diallo verdict gave the police the green light to kill anyone.

Now youth of every color and many adults say they are also afraid of cops, but the truth is, the cops are also suddenly afraid of the Black and Latino communities where the tension is palpable. A newly mobilized anti-police brutality movement is being joined by new layers of society, by people who are sickened by the killings and by Giuliani's racist, anti-human authoritarianism.

Twenty-three-year-old Malcolm Ferguson was killed March 1, three blocks from Diallo's apartment house where he had taken part in a demonstration on the night of the verdict five days before. According to his mother, he had been hassled by the cops ever since they broke his hand during an arrest and he sued them. After killing him, they put out the story that he had resisted arrest in a drug house, but in fact he was shot in the back while lying face down on the ground with his hands behind his back.

Twenty-six year old Patrick Dorismond, the son of Haitian immigrants, was killed on March 16 while working as a security guard. Undercover cops approached him and asked him where to buy drugs. They then claim that he reacted angrily and was shot "by mistake" in a scuffle.

Mayor Giuliani didn't apologize or attend the funeral, but rather demonized Dorismond, who had no criminal record, by illegally releasing his court-sealed juvenile arrest record and insisting that he had a violent temper. His mother Marie Dorismond said of Giuliani, "I was treated like a dog. They killed him once with a gun and then again with the mayor's mouth."

Dorismond funeral no sanctuary from police

New York — We just returned from the funeral of Patrick Dorismond. The Haitian and Caribbean communities came out by the thousands in an emotional procession, accompanying the casket down Flatbush Avenue in Brooklyn from the funeral home to the church. The night before, there were 2,000 outside the funeral home in a vigil and protest.

Today's march was angry. The organizers had told the police to stay away, that the people were in no mood to see a police presence. The city partly complied, sending mostly community affairs cops and supervisors. The riot squads, the horses and paddy wagons were kept hidden several streets away. Still the marchers were incensed at what police presence there was there, saying "What are they doing here? Get out of here! Murderers!"

The march filled Flatbush from sidewalk to sidewalk. Hundreds who lined the avenue all morning, waiting for the procession, joined in, the sidewalks moving along with the street as one.

BARRICADES TORN DOWN

When we got to Church Avenue, two blocks from the church, we found the police had set up their damn cattle pens, their steel barricades, right down the middle of Church and along the sidewalk. They were going to pen this wall-to-wall tide of marchers into a twenty-foot-wide corral! Tempers exploded, and the hated barricades were soon tossed back, knocked down, thrown against the cops after some shoving.

The cops were no match. The marchers joyfully took the whole street, with all the barricades knocked down for the whole two blocks. I saw one cop on the ground, holding his leg. I guess he got hit by his own barricade. Some women from Barbados were laughing later, saying it was good to see the cops scared for a change, that they were stupid to even try to pen-in such a large crowd.

The cops got their vengeance. They waited till the funeral was over, the family and casket gone. Then the community affairs cops withdrew and riot police were brought in, a provocation that made everybody very angry. They were saying, "We're doing nothing here. We are just in front of the church. They say we have to clear the street. Why? They don't do this in other neighborhoods. Why do we have to leave?"

Then there was a police riot. They attacked, hitting anyone they could. The crowd answered with bottles, and the cops arrested the first 29 people they could grab. It didn't matter if you were doing nothing, the cops grabbed you. The arrested included a reporter for WBAI who was in the middle of an interview when he was savagely beaten by the cops, and a young pregnant woman of 16.

This is not over. Tomorrow there will be a mass meeting at a church in Brooklyn, called by those who also

No fewer than 14 people have been killed by the NYPD since the Diallo murder, most of them Blacks and Latinos, but also Gidone Bush, an Orthodox Jew with a history of mental illness. He was neither violent nor threatening, yet was shot dead Aug. 30 while he prayed using a small inscribed hammer as a religious symbol. Cops chased away witnesses and made up a story that he attacked them when in fact he was sitting 15 feet away from them.

The Diallo verdict exonerating the killer cops and the latest murders have revived mass protests that followed Diallo's murder and added new dimensions. Black and Latino neighborhood people gathered at Diallo's building the night of the verdict, and large, multi-racial demonstrations took place in Manhattan for the next few days, always surrounded by a wall of shoulder-to-shoulder police in riot gear.

Nearly 20,000 mourners, many of them Haitians, came out to Dorismond's funeral in Brooklyn March 25. Cops came out in force and provoked a melee. They badly beat WBAI Pacifica reporter Errol Maitland who remains unable to work. He and seven others also face felony charges.

The truth about Bush, Ferguson and many other victims was told in New York by their relatives at the Stolen Lives Project's April 12 "induction ceremony" for the latest victims being added to the project's documentation of police killings, over 2,000 since 1990.

The relatives of the dead and injured told their stories, and the pattern was startlingly consistent. A young man doing nothing or perhaps some petty offense is shot in the back. The police leave him to die while they try to disperse any witnesses, plant a weapon or concoct a story. They delay telling the family, even lie and say they don't know where the missing child is, while they search for a criminal record to embellish their story.

Family members reject the label "tragedy" for these murders. They see the killings as a national epidemic that can be ended when people stand together. "We are the majority," Iris Baez, mother of murdered Anthony Baez, said at the meeting. "I come from a small place, Puerto Rico, but this problem is spread around the world. There are people from the whole world in the Bronx with me. My message is: Don't wait until your child is dead to get

organized this march, the Haitian Coalition for Justice. They have "launched a *rache manyok* campaign to force Mayor Giuliani's immediate removal from office. *Rache manyok* means to pull out by the roots in the Creole language."

They are not calling for Federal oversight or take-over of the NYPD (New York Police Department), unlike Rev. Al Sharpton and Jesse Jackson and I guess the Black middle class who want a solution within the present system. They are counterposing *rache manyok* to that, and calling for community control of the police, not Federal control.

A speaker also said the Haitian community is sick of the hypocrisy of having the NYPD over in Haiti training the police force on how to respect human rights while

they are here killing us. And in Haiti the police are now repressing people and using violence too.

HOW DO WE 'RACHE MANYOK'?

Apart from a couple of reporters for National Public Radio and WBAI, I was the only person of the Caucasian persuasion, or pink, that I saw at this march except for a handful of leftists. A Colombian woman was angry at the lack of Latinos whom she felt should have been there since people in today's march were there for Anthony Baez who was killed by police in the Bronx several years ago.

I felt this was more of a community thing, and we were in the heart of the Haitian and Caribbean community. Of course, I would have loved to see more New Yorkers of every color there, but I think this funeral was seen as the community's, and the others not coming is not a judgment. The protest on Saturday, March 18, after the killing of Dorismond the previous Thursday, was, like the Diallo verdict protest, of many colors.

How do we *rache manyok*? How do we at least get to where a Haitian mother I was speaking to, as we waited for the procession, who felt these events "are all very sad," how do we get to where she doesn't literally fear for the life of her 14-year-old son at the hands of the police, every single morning when he goes to school? She tells me she leaves it in god's hands. We are god's hands. The point is, it is a very very different reality to be Black in New York and the U.S.A.

Mayor Giuliani says we can't complain this time because the cops that did the shooting were "Hispanic." Well there's Latino and there's Latino. I'd like to see a picture of the cops because there's the color line. Latinos are of many colors, and as that Colombian woman said, there's plenty of racism amongst Latinos too.

We have to keep moving since this police terror is only getting worse. And we have to take care we don't focus so much on the person, Giuliani, that they trick us and give us Giulianiism without Giuliani.

—John Marcotte
March 25

involved. Just say, I want to make the world better."

FROM THE LOS ANGELES REBELLION

The kind of social consciousness seen in New York and elsewhere is going to face a very difficult challenge in this election year in which not only the specter of a Bush presidency is looming, but rumors are that Bush is also considering death penalty advocate Governor Thomas Ridge of Pennsylvania as his running mate. This would be a comprehensive challenge in itself, especially to the movement against the death penalty and to the supporters of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

There is even more at stake. The greatest blow to the legacy of Reaganism was struck by the masses of people who rebelled on April 30 to May 1, 1992 in Los Angeles following the "Not Guilty" verdict in the police beating of Rodney King. They carried out the largest urban insurrection in American history.

It was this as anything that discredited the "kinder and gentler" presidency of the elder George Bush and led many to support Bill Clinton as an alternative. President Clinton's eight-year failure to provide any genuine alternative to Reaganism, though, makes the threat of George W. Bush so immediate.

The current police scandal in Los Angeles' Rampart district has served once again to raise some of the core issues of the 1992 rebellion. New and continuing revelations of police corruption, manufacture of evidence, brutality and outright murder have made Rampart the largest such scandal in American history, though still of a piece with earlier such scandals in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, New Orleans and elsewhere. At least 70 officers are currently under investigation.

With California voters having approved the "anti-gang" Proposition 21, aimed at demonizing Black and Latino youth, the truth about the LAPD shows the world turned upside down.

Once again, mass outrage and the legacy of 1992 have forced the authorities to take some cosmetic action, dismissing and suspending a number of officers and overturning, as of today, nearly 100 convictions with more likely to follow.

"Investigations," though, won't change anything fundamental, as the earlier Christopher and Webster "blue ribbon" exposés failed to prevent the current scandal. The nature of this particular shell game was revealed all too clearly in 1992 when Willie Williams replaced Daryl Gates as Los Angeles' Police Chief. Williams had been a high-ranking Philadelphia police official at the time of the 1985 MOVE massacre.

INDEPENDENT THINKING KEY

What is raised by this election year, then, is the pressing need for the movements to continue to develop their own consciousness, independent and aimed at total freedom, to the fullest possible extent. Only such a movement can stand up to bourgeois politics in 2000 and the major parties' campaigns. Police brutality and the prison-industrial complex will, at best, remain unaddressed and fester in silence. At worst, there will be some horrid new twists to the familiar law-and-order projects of attacking and demonizing poor and non-white people, prisoners and youth.

Marxist-Humanism has historically viewed this need for independent consciousness as the key to the American revolution, spelled out as the category "Black masses as vanguard" in 1963's *American Civilization On Trial*. This pamphlet was written for the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation and distributed at that year's March on Washington.

It calls the Kennedy administration's efforts to co-opt that demonstration "the kind of support a rope gives a hanging man," and continues, "This has brought the movement to the crossroads. Though it is impossible to stop the momentum of the Negro struggle, its forward development can be impeded if the underlying philosophy for total freedom is in any way compromised."

Today's movements have their own momentum and logic. Lives are being transformed. People like Gwen Hogan and Iris Baez and many more like them speak with moral authority. Prisoners in the American gulag are asking questions that cut to the heart of America's history, its social relations, and how these can be transformed. The new generation of activists challenging global capitalism can make the connections with these new passions and forces.

Taking responsibility for the revolutionary Marxist-Humanist body of ideas can, as history has shown, bring these questions together and point a way forward. As *American Civilization On Trial* says, "In this situation, a small organization like ours has a pivotal role to play both as a catalyst and a propellant."



New York police attack funeral procession for cop victim Patrick Dorismond.

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Capitalism challenged in D.C. streets

(Continued from page 1)

The legal protest saw contingents of Tibetans, Burmese and Latin Americans who brought injustices in their countries to the attention of the U.S. public. There was a Bolivian leader of the mass movement that recently stopped that country's privatization of the water utility; he hid from the police for four days before he could get on a plane to come here.

We talked with a Liberian man who came here to tell the world that the IMF is supporting the wrong group in an environmental struggle in his country. He is a member of the Save My Future Foundation that promotes sustainable resource management. The IMF is funding the Liberian Agriculture Corporation, which owns rubber plantations, to the tune of \$3.5 million, to carry on logging in primary forests. The forests, habitat for endangered endemic species and the villagers' lifeline to food, medicine, and other resources, are being destroyed in the process and the people displaced.

IS CAPITALISM 'GREED' OR A SYSTEM?

Typical of those present were two young women from Boston College who belong to the Boston Global Justice Project. The group focuses on women's issues such as campus rape as well as international issues such as making sure the school does not sell clothing made in Third World sweatshops.

We talked with a forest activist from Washington State who was involved in planning for both Seattle and Washington. She noted the more youth in Washington, and more union members in Seattle, although the unions had turned out thousands to lobby in Washington a few days before the April 16 demonstration. "How did these kids get so smart?" she wondered. "They seem to know the problems and what needs to be done."

Discussions about the nature of capitalism, however, and how to uproot it were not easy to find on the days we were there. The signs and slogans overwhelmingly referred to "greed" as if the problem were a few evil men instead of a system.

The demands put forth were as varied as the people. Some signs proclaimed "Capitalism Kills!" while others merely asked for mild reforms. We were impressed that the people who came to the *News & Letters* literature table showed more interest in learning about capitalism and Marxist-Humanism than we had seen in the past ten years.

—Anne Jaclard

I just came back from the anti-IMF and World Bank protests in D.C. It was no repeat of Seattle, at least for the level of civil disobedience, although the police as you probably saw on TV went on a couple of cop riots.

Yesterday (April 15) 600 demonstrators were arrested for nothing, and the D.C. fire department evicted 100 demonstrators from a building they were staying in. The police arrested a bunch of puppets after "duly mirandizing them," but then they were returned to the demonstrators later in the day. The local neo-fascist media played up the civil disobedience, but it seemed pretty mild with fences being moved around by demonstrators and traffic blocked which is pretty fun because traffic here normally gets stuck all day anyway.

The legally permitted demonstration was very hard to get to. The Metropolitan Transit Authority shut down train stations to discourage protesters. The police using their toes calculated the crowd at 10,000, but it was much larger than that. At any one time there may have been 10,000 people at the Ellipse, but people spontaneously formed marches and blocked traffic.

We weren't allowed near the IMF and World Bank,

but people peeled off from the march to join the protesters in front of the barricades. The organizers were pretty clever; they were telling people the march was moving down Vermont Avenue, but the IMF building was two blocks the other way. Many of the demonstrators peeled off for the unpermitted demonstration there.

What struck me about these demonstrations was the broad base of support that showed up. There were members of organized labor, Service Employees, Communications Workers, AFSCME, Teamsters, Steelworkers along with youths, gays, Black community activists, an organization representing Latino domestic workers in Maryland, the Catholic Left, Act Up, environmental groups, Puerto Ricans against the shelling of Vieques, demonstrators from the Philippines, Korea, Japan, France, the Greens, Muslims, and more.

It was truly astounding the size and breadth of the groups represented, along with the anarchist factions and the old New Left. What was interesting was not the IMF and World Bank abuses exposed, which are well known now, but many of the placards and demonstrators signs questioning the nature of work and its ends.

It hit this *N&L* supporter as a very obvious return to the same questions Marx raised. What is the end of human labor? Profit didn't seem to be the main aim with these people. The idea that investment and labor would lead to an increase in the sum total of human happiness was directly challenged in an original and undogmatic way.

When the masses challenge capitalism, it comes from an examination of labor. Labor remains a most vital and dialectically pregnant category. Let us hope the markets crash further.

—Dylan

Fighting capital punishment

Memphis, Tenn.—A determined and growing number of activists continue to challenge the state of Tennessee's plans to bring back executions after a 40-year hiatus. The state set execution dates for Robert Glen Coe in late March and Philip Workman in early April. Coe's date was stayed on two different occasions, while Philip Workman's has been stayed once.

The state carried through its plans to kill Mr. Coe on April 19: No new date has yet been set for Mr. Workman. Activists in both Memphis and Nashville continue to engage in a number of events to stir opposition to the death penalty. The Tennessee Coalition to Abolish State Killing (TCASK) has led the way in providing thousands of "clemency cards" which have been distributed, signed, and sent to Governor Don Sundquist urging him to overturn the planned executions.

Weekly street corner demonstrations continue to take place in both Nashville and Memphis. Recently, students from Vanderbilt University have also taken to the streets in daily protests at the capital building in Nashville.

Prior to the originally scheduled executions there were vigils held in both cities, with a variety of speakers and groups represented. In Memphis, George White, whose own wife was murdered, spoke forcefully against the notion that executions can bring "healing and closure" to family members of murder victims, saying, "healing does not come from more hatred."

Additionally, activists have fasted in the days leading up to the scheduled executions. News of this fasting reached Death Row, where a number of prisoners joined in, refusing their meals in support of efforts to move the state to practice justice rather than revenge. Civil disobedience is planned if the state continues with its plans to execute.

—Pete Gathje

Protesters denounce anti-gay media figure



The Chicago Anti-Bashing Network organized a demonstration on April 15 to protest CBS affiliate WBBM-TV's decision to air Dr. Laura Schlessinger's new television show this fall. Activists picketed the station's offices to denounce the virulently anti-gay attacks Schlessinger routinely launches on her widely syndicated radio show. Schlessinger has called gays "biological mistakes."

Meeting condemns racial profiling

Memphis, Tenn.—Though poorly publicized, a forum on racial profiling, held April 12 at the University of Memphis, ended up being jammed with participants. Many Blacks came to tell of their experiences being stopped by the police for no apparent reason. One teenager told of being stopped and harassed with his friends without the police ever asking for their identification or checking the car tags.

Several people told of the particular hazards of "driving while Black" (and of driving while white with Blacks in the car) in the wealthy suburb Germantown.

Just as striking was how many people came to tell their stories of far more egregious police abuse. They did not know where else to go to try to get justice. One man spoke of being framed by the Sheriff's Department, and a woman told of how her sons had been targeted and fired by the Sheriff because she had opposed him politically. Another told of the harassment that comes with living in a neighborhood that has been designated a "high crime" area. Just by walking or driving on the street you are automatically a suspect.

One of the panelists, a Black woman judge, even complained about being stripped to her underwear and searched in the airport for no reason. A Latino cop said that racial profiling not only happened every day but that it was part of the training he had received, and that he had endured countless racist jokes.

Many more in the crowd would have liked to speak if there had been time. The assurances by the district attorney that one could file a complaint against a police officer "and eventually they would have so many marks against them" did not reassure the audience.

—Outraged citizen

Ecuador new beginning

The Republic of Ecuador finds itself subject to the most severe social, economic, political, and moral crisis of its history. Neoliberalism, applied by recent governments in an irrational form and with a high dose of corruption, has devastated Ecuadorian society, relegating the majority of the population to poverty, hunger, unemployment, crime, and social decomposition.

Anti-human capitalism, arrogantly arising on the pedestal of these dirty and vile conditions, has achieved dominance of us all. Men throw themselves into a mindless race in the pursuit of money, irrespective of how many are run over along the way.

All search enthusiastically to satisfy themselves with material goods, because their happiness depends on it. In the conflict between to have and to be, to have has triumphed, which is the basis of the most irrational of political systems. Meanwhile the human being, the historical Subject, from whose hand flows all wealth, has been abandoned, alienated, exploited, converted to a slave.

In our country capitalism has cracked its whip with the greatest violence, carrying the dreams of freedom and progress, of longing for human realization, to the terrain of the impossible.

Faced with this desolate panorama, we as Ecuadorian workers have considered it necessary to organize ourselves in a party that in the political arena will defend our historic interests. For this reason we have formed the glorious Partido de los Trabajadores (Workers Party), which brings together the best leaders of social organizations, the "deeper layers," and looks towards forming a philosophic conception profoundly rooted in Marxist Humanism.

Our organization is being built forcefully, created in a space where there is a search for political identity among the proletariat, thanks to the experience of work, organization, intellectual formation and struggle.

We consider ourselves part of the world Marxist Humanist movement, and in the interests of creating the strongest bonds of cooperation to bring the "new continent of thought" to the masses, we believe it's necessary to consolidate the unity of all fraternal organizations of the world.

Our invitation is to the creation of a larger and more solid movement, extending our relationships towards all parts of the globe.

—Hector Valdiviezo

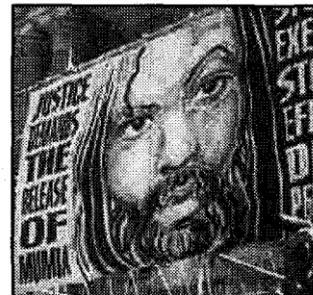
'Voice of voiceless'

The voice of journalist and Pennsylvania Death Row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal, known as the "Voice of the Voiceless" for his coverage of police brutality and other issues, will reach out from behind prison walls to be heard on two college campuses this spring.

The graduating class of Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio has asked Mumia to deliver an address as the school's commencement ceremony on April 29. In addition, two campus groups at Kent State University,

also in Ohio, have extended an invitation to Mumia. The groups are organizing a ceremony to be held on May 4 which will mark the 30th anniversary of the shooting deaths of four students at an anti-war protest in 1970.

Both talks will be delivered by means of audio tape. Another upcoming event in the effort to save Mumia's life is the mass rally scheduled to take place in Chicago on May 13.



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DETROIT P.O. Box 27205 Detroit MI 48227 MEETINGS Tuesdays, 6 p.m. Central Methodist Church Woodward and Adams	OAKLAND P.O. Box 3345 Oakland, CA 94609 510 658 1448 MEETINGS Sundays, 6:30 p.m. 2015 Center St. (at Milvia) Berkeley
LOS ANGELES 4475 Sunset Drive-Box 181 Los Angeles, CA 90027 MEETINGS Sundays, 5:30 p.m. Echo Park United Methodist Church 1226 N. Alvarado (North of Sunset, side door)	MEMPHIS & MISSISSIPPI 1910 Madison Ave, PMB 59 Memphis, TN 38104
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Our Life and Times

The war over Kosova, one year later

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

A year after the war, the Kosovar Albanians face many problems, not least the continued refusal of NATO to allow them to move toward the only viable political solution, an independent Kosova. This remains the case despite the sacrifices of so many in the resistance, including the courageous fight of the Kosova Liberation Army (KLA) against the Serbian terror machine.

Nonetheless, there is a great change from a year ago. As the well-known Albanian writer Ismail Kadare wrote recently: "A people of two million has become free. Doors of houses are no longer broken

Chinese miners protest

Over 20,000 Chinese miners and their families in the northeast town of Yangjiazhangzi battled police and army troops during a three-day protest in late February. Reports of the upheaval were suppressed in the state media, but surfaced in April when news was passed on to human rights groups.

Most of the huge, previously state-owned Yangjiazhangzhi mine, which produced molybdenum, was shut down last November. In February of this year, mine officials told workers they would receive only a pittance in severance pay, around \$68 for each year worked, out of which health and social security benefits were to be deducted. Thousands of miners marched, demanding to meet with mine officials who they accuse of looting the mine by selling off equipment, trucks and other valuable parts to cronies and relatives. During the demonstrations, miners set up barricades and burned cars until the army was called in.

State-owned mine closures, primarily coal, accelerated in the 1990s under China's capitalist "reform" program of updating technology, ending state subsidies to basic industries, privatization and growing foreign capitalization. Chinese state officials predicted that over 11 million workers in mines, steel and other industries will be jobless by the end of 2000; the World Bank put the figure closer to 140 million.

In the most recently reported protests, coal miners blocked a main rail line in Sichuan province at the beginning of April. The miners demonstrated against the loss of some 40,000 jobs and inadequate severance pay after their mine was declared bankrupt. Ten previous blockades have been organized by miners on the rail line.

Haitian journalist killed

On April 3, assassins shot to death Jean Dominique, Haiti's most prominent journalist, as he arrived at Radio Haiti-Inter. This was just after a series of radio broadcasts in which he had denounced opponents of leftist former President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Few doubt that the killers were linked to the conservative opposition to Aristide.

Jean Dominique's whole life was one of struggle against dictatorship and oppression. In 1958, his brother Philippe Dominique gave his life as part of an abortive coup attempt by progressive army officers against the fascist regime of Francois Duvalier. Jean Dominique then became a radical journalist, braving threats from Duvalier's notorious political police, the Tontons Macoutes.

In 1980, thugs working for Duvalier's son, Jean-Claude, destroyed Radio Haiti-Inter, forcing Dominique into exile. When he returned in 1986, after the overthrow of Duvalier, to rebuild the station, some 50,000 supporters greeted him.

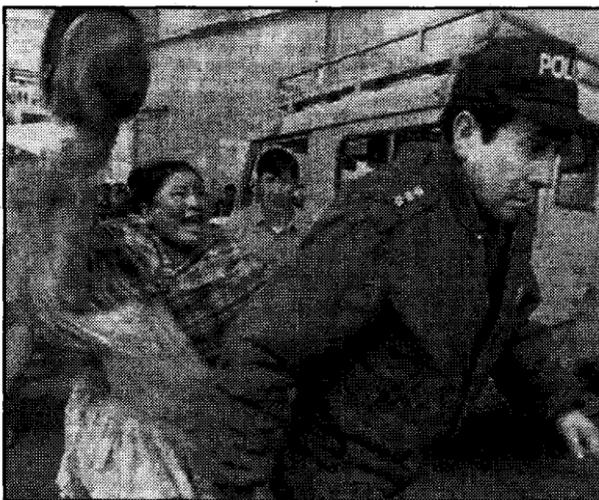
Forced into exile again in 1991 after the military toppled Aristide, Dominique returned in 1994 after the restoration of democracy, continuing the fight. He often described himself as a "journalist and anti-macoute activist." Some 15,000 turned out for his funeral.

into at night by criminals; parents are no longer massacred in front of their children; little girls are no longer raped in front of their parents; people are no longer thrown, their hands cut off, into wells, are not hung on hooks like butchered animals, are not burned in ovens, are not driven across the border like cattle" (*Le Monde* March 25, 2000).

During 1999, Slobodan Milosevic's Serbian forces killed at least 10,000 Albanians, most of them civilians while, according to Human Rights Watch, NATO bombs killed some 500 civilians. Since the war's end in June 1999, several hundred civilians, a few more Albanians than Serbs, have been killed inside Kosova.

Milosevic, who in 1989 began a policy of racist repression in Kosova and then in 1992 launched the Bosnian War, remains in power in Belgrade. Over the past decade his wars for a Greater Serbia have led to 250,000 deaths and over two million refugees, also giving the world a horrific new term, "ethnic cleansing." Nonetheless, the Serbian opposition has itself failed to come to terms with the legacy of this regime, vociferously opposing, for example, Milosevic's indictment as a war criminal.

Some of Milosevic's paramilitaries remain clandestinely inside Kosova, in the Serb enclave that French NATO troops have allowed to form in the mineral-rich Mitrovica area. Serbian forces there have "ethnically cleansed" their community of Albanians and seek at the very least an ethnic partition of Kosova, if not a base for revenge attacks across the country. Despite a peaceful mass march of tens of thousands some weeks ago, NATO and the UN have

Unrest shakes Bolivia

Cochabamba became the starting point for protests which swept Bolivia in April. There, on April 3, demonstrators began a series of marches, rallies and strikes against the government's continuing support of privatization of the water system, which meant a staggering hike in water prices. Peasant unions also organized protests against legislation designed to end their free use of water.

The protests were widely based and spread to other Bolivian cities. Hugo Banzer, once head of a dictatorship and now president, declared a three-month state of siege. The government mounted an ideological campaign attributing the organization of the protests to narcotraffickers, but saying very little about Bolivia's deep economic crisis. Thousands of Indian peasants who grew coca leaves until the government wiped out their livelihood with no back-up joined the demonstrations.

Organizing to block the government sell-off of the public water system to international investors began last year, and protests have been held since January. After the April campaign, the consortium pulled out and Banzer was also forced to back off from imposing fees on rural water use.

refused to open up Mitrovica or to allow the Trepca miners, fired en masse by Milosevic, to return to their jobs.

Inside Serbia itself several thousand Albanians remain in prison, many of them transported there under the very noses of NATO last June by retreating Serb forces. It turns out that NATO commanders had allowed Serbia to remove a clause in the ceasefire agreement that called for the release of political prisoners.

Unlike in Bosnia, where women survivors of Serbian rape camps have made public accusations, some of them testifying at this spring's trial of Serb war criminals in The Hague, few Kosovar Albanian women have come forward. Social pressures within the patriarchal culture are so strong that some women who have given evidence to human rights workers have committed suicide soon afterward. The fact that the Albanian political groupings, including the KLA, have not created an atmosphere that allows these women to testify speaks volumes about their own limitations. The silence of the international human rights community on this issue, despite clear physical evidence of rape centers under the Serb occupation—four of them in Pristina alone—is also extremely disturbing.

The KLA and other Albanian nationalist forces have also failed to speak out strongly against persecution of Serbian, Roma (Gypsy), and even Bosniak (Muslim Slav) civilians.

Ismail Kadare has also deplored this violence, writing that "freedom for the Albanians will never be complete without freedom for the Serbian population." But he adds that those in the West who search eagerly for a pattern of "Albanian vengeance" are often seeking to "justify the old argument according to which people in the Balkans kill each other and then reconcile, both without cause, and that it is therefore useless to look for perpetrators and victims." This, he concludes, "is a very old colonialist way of looking at things."

Zimbabwe land battles

The current wave of farm invasions in Zimbabwe involves more than land reform, but land remains central. Although the politicized "war veterans" affiliated with President Robert Mugabe and ZANU-PF have led the invasions, many of the squatters are poor landless families.

More than 4,000 white farmers, recent buyers or descendants of the British colonialists who drove the indigenous peoples off their own land, constitute less than 1% of the population, but own over half the fertile land. Their farms have been targeted not only for economic reasons, but because they have provided the financial wherewithal for Mugabe's political opponents in the Movement for Democratic Change.

Land redistribution was central in the anti-colonial liberation struggle and has remained so ever since. Mugabe's far-reaching 1980 plan to resettle 600,000 families in five years resulted in no more than 65,000 gaining land. Of these, many have failed due to lack of legal and economic support. Resettlements basically stopped after 1990.

In 1996, the Mugabe government mandated the buy-out of some 270 farms, constituting over one million acres. Recent reports revealed that the farms went to 416 ZANU-PF higher-ups, many with no farming background. Balking financing from Britain and the U.S., together with the farmers' reluctance to part with property, have also contributed to stalling any meaningful land reform.

The Mugabe government was shaken in February when Zimbabweans who voted rejected constitutional changes designed to expand presidential powers and to expedite government land seizures. Inflation topped out at 60% last year, unemployment is running at 50%, and a large portion of the national wealth (reportedly \$1 million a day) is being spent on the 11,000 soldiers Mugabe has sent to back Kabila in the Congo war.

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.