

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Strikers have 'seen and had enough'



by Gene Ford

In the year 2000 service jobs have been pushed to the forefront of the labor struggle. In the mid-1970s the auto plant workers were the most militant sweated labor at the point of production, where the machine and management set the pace of how many cars were produced per hour. Speedup became a key point of battle between the worker, the union and the company.

Service jobs could have been seen as soft, labor-intensive jobs. Labor was not connected to a machine which controlled your pace. But what began to happen was an increase in the amount of labor performed in a certain amount of time. In other words, you might be responsible for cleaning 12 rooms or offices in eight hours, then that was changed to 18 or 20 rooms per work shift. So the concept of sweated labor or speedup took on a different form.

That labor-intensive pace sparked rebellion from 8,500 Los Angeles County janitors, a majority immigrants from Mexico and Central America. Many of these workers are living on \$12,000 a year, far below the \$16,700 that the federal government sets as the poverty level for a family of four. The influx of immigrant labor that peaked in the mid-1980s was taken full advantage of by the building maintenance industry to displace Black unionized workers. Immigrants, many undocumented, were hired for less than half of what management had been paying their predecessors.

This strike was grounded in historic Reason, the long trek from south of the border to El Norte in search of a better life, a more human existence. Most of these recent immigrants have come to the U.S. on the heels of political repression in El Salvador, Guatemala or Mexico. While this country sees them as economic refugees and not welcome here, economics and politics cannot be separated so easily.

In the 1970s Blacks dominated the service industry, that is, unskilled labor. The experience I had working in hotel housekeeping was that the crews were 95% Black, and the color of Black reflected a militancy that carried over from the 1960s when many were active in the

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Fight for Vieques

New York — Today, May 19, is the 21st anniversary of the 1979 mass protest against the Navy's occupation and destruction of Vieques. That day, 300 people conducted a peaceful religious service on the beach to stop the Navy ships from landing. Federal marshals arrested 21 of us, selecting out leftists and people from the main island, to try to make it look like we were not from Vieques.

I was born there, but I was a leader, so I was among the 13 people convicted of trespassing. We were used to recognize the authority of the federal court over Vieques and so we presented no defense. I served six months in federal prisons in Atlanta and Louisville. Another leader, 21-year-old Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, was sent to Tallahassee, Fla., where he was found hanged in his cell on Nov. 11, 1979.

Our recent demonstrations and the encampment stopped the bombing for over a year. (The encampment started after a Navy bomb killed a civilian security guard, David Sanes Rodriguez. —Ed.) When it was broken up May 4, 216 people left peacefully, but the federal marshals were not peaceful. They did not arrest us, but when people engaged in civil disobedience by refusing to walk out, they injured them while forcing them to walk.

They grabbed my son by the throat and choked him. They kept some people locked up for three days without allowing them to sleep. Bombing practice resumed four days after we were evicted. Last week 64 of us returned to the bombing range and were arrested.

I will have another trial, and another and another, because we will keep going back until we get the Navy out. The Navy took my parents' land; I was born on the "reservation" to which they moved us. My father became a driver for a sugar cane company.

After the Navy leaves, we will develop the island, but not the way land is usually "developed." We want the land in our hands to protect the island and its resources, and so that people can move around without restriction. Any tourism will have to respect the environment. Some areas will never be able to be inhabited again because of the uranium left by the Navy.

—Ismael Guadalupe, Committee for the Rescue & Development of Vieques

The challenge of Africa in crisis

by Lou Turner

Today Africa faces crises—military, political, economic, and human—more daunting than any since the imperialist carving up of the continent began in 1884, the year following the death of Karl Marx. Though Marx didn't live to see the new stage of capitalist globalization that would come to be called "imperialism," nor its human wastage of sub-Saharan Africa, nothing is more concrete today for understanding the depth of Africa's crisis than his scathing critique of the rapaciousness of capitalist accumulation, and the philosophy of human liberation he developed as a pathway from under it.

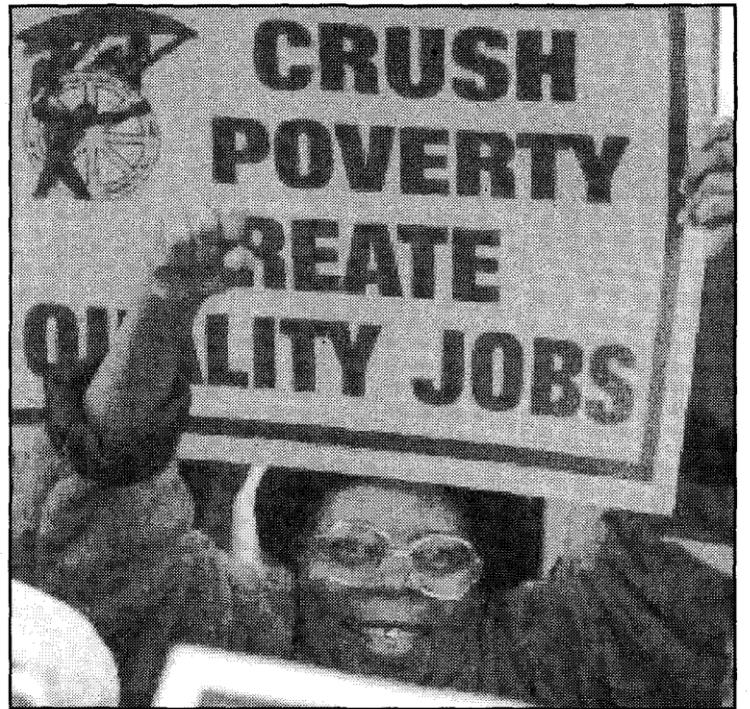
Whether we take such so-called "natural" disasters as the devastating famine in the Sahel in which an estimated 24,000 people die daily, or the epidemiology of the HIV/AIDS crisis in which two-thirds of the 34 million people in the world living with the infection are dying in sub-Saharan Africa, or the two cyclones that wracked Mozambique with the heaviest flooding of the Limpopo and Save rivers in living memory, there is nothing "natural" about Africa's crises.

On the contrary, a man-made array of crises stretches from the Ethiopia-Eritrea "border war" in the Horn of Africa west to the Foday Sankoh/RUF (Revolutionary [sic] United Front), Charles Taylor-sponsored war of atrocities and diamonds in Sierra Leone, southward to Jonas Savimbi/UNITA's counter-revolutionary war of attrition in Angola, northeast to "Africa's world war" in Congo-Kinshasa, and finally southeast to Robert Mugabe's opportunistic nurturing of Zimbabwe's neocolonial contradictions over land and the legacy of white settler colonialism.

SOUTH AFRICA: CLASS STRUGGLE, THE PARTY, AND MARX

Neither the political-military crises nor the so-called natural ones which reveal the violent contradictions now tearing Black Africa asunder constitute all there is to Africa's contradictory reality. Instead, our point of departure must be the contradictory process by which the creativity of the African people also develops in such ongoing class struggles as the one unfolding in Africa's most industrially developed country—South Africa.

The African National Congress (ANC) came to power at the head of a tripartite alliance with the South African Communist Party, and the massive 2 million member COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions). Thabo Mbeki, South Africa's first post-Mandela president, has pressed ahead with his government's Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) program while retrenching deeper into neoliberalism through privatization of public assets like utilities and government agencies, and boosting further the country's huge 32% unemployment rate.



Workers in the Congress of South African Unions rally in Johannesburg against post-apartheid worsening conditions.

In addition to this government-sponsored unemployment, the working class also faces the deadly impact of HIV/AIDS: as much as 20% of the country's skilled workforce will be infected with the retrovirus over the next decade. Yet President Mbeki heads the most scandalous state response to the HIV/AIDS crisis in Africa. With the highest HIV rate of any country in the world, and a projected 3.5 million person mortality rate over the next decade, Mbeki's government has drastically cut funding to fight HIV/AIDS, including the state's refusal to pay for the use of the anti-AIDS inhibitor drug AZT by pregnant women to prevent the spread of the infection to their babies because of his "personal" view that the drug is too toxic. All of this flows from the widely discredited view Mbeki holds that the HIV infection does not cause AIDS!

However, the reason the South African working class's

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ON THE INSIDE

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

Conclusion of three-part commentary by Raya Dunayevskaya's detailed commentary



MARXISM AND FREEDOM, from 1776 until Today

NEW EDITION FOR 2000!

by Raya Dunayevskaya

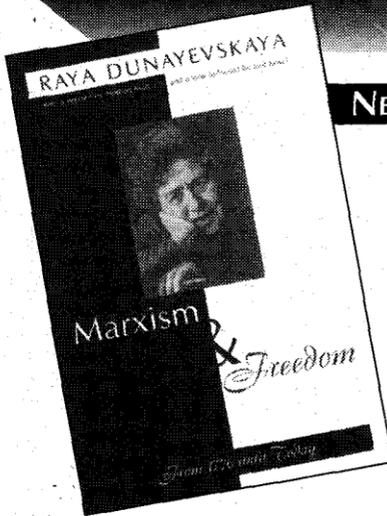
Where Western Marxists tended to become mandarins, and to retreat into the academy, Dunayevskaya and her group valorized ordinary workers and gathered in all of the oppressed and dispossessed as agents of absolute negativity. Already in the present text, Dunayevskaya reaches toward a liberating theorization of this pattern, namely:

Where Hegel saw objective history as the successive manifestations of a world spirit, Marx placed the objective movement in the process of production. He now saw the core of the Hegelian method—the self-movement which is internally necessary because it is the way of the organism's own development—in the self activity of the proletariat. (p. 55)

...We fight, in Dunayevskaya's vision, to realize the full being, inner and outer, of the oppressed. Once this is grasped, no bureaucratization, no state capitalism, no recycling of domination, can stain the radical project. Nor can this project be extinguished by the triumph of reaction such as we have witnessed in recent years....

A special burden for those living in an age of counterrevolution is to sustain both hope and clarity of judgment. Where there is injustice and expropriation, rebellion will arise: that is given in the terms of the human condition, and in the endless evils of the world. These uprisings will come due; the real question is, how transformatively will they be developed? There is a magnificence about Raya Dunayevskaya's thought, well illustrated in this, her path-breaking volume, which provides a real ground for that hope. It is a ground that remains to be built upon.

—From new Humanity Books foreword by Joel Kovel



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Woman as Reason

by Maya Jhansi

I recently spoke on a panel put on by Affinity, a Chicago based Black lesbian group. Though the meeting was about successful models of organizing, it quickly turned into a debate about the possibility of revolution.

Just that day, I had finished reading Patricia Hill Collins' new book, *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice*, (University of Minnesota Press, 1998), which seemed to address questions women raised at the Affinity meeting. This showed me the strength of Collins' attempt to link academic theorizing to activism. Nevertheless, Collins' book also reveals the problem discussed at the Affinity meeting: namely, the refusal or failure to "theorize" the idea of revolution itself. This ultimately undercuts Collins' seemingly anti-elitist concept of critical social theory.

Where Collins' first book, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (1990), concentrated on defining and defending the existence of an Afrocentric feminist standpoint and a Black feminist tradition, her new book attempts to go further by interrogating Black feminism's potential for galvanizing women towards actual social transformation.

Fighting Words is divided into three parts. Part I takes up the new politics of containment that reinscribe the new visibility of Black women into old relations of power. Part II engages the theoretical frameworks of sociology, post-modernism and Afrocentrism, revealing Collins' avowed eclecticism. As she herself explains in the introduction: "I try to take the best from positivist science, Marxist social theory, postmodernism, Afrocentrism, North American feminism, British cultural studies, and other intellectual traditions" (xviii). Part III attempts to move beyond mere critique of society to a more "visionary pragmatism" which Collins sees operative in the everyday struggles of Black women.

The prototypical Black feminist intellectual for Collins is Sojourner Truth. Truth's "migratory status," her ability to cross borders of race, class, gender, geography and so on, and serves as a symbol of Black women's freedom struggles. What Collins highlights about Truth is her multi-dimensionality, her ability to move in and out of several worlds, all the while expanding her definition of freedom. Likewise, Collins argues, Black feminism needs to be "simultaneously particular and universal" (241). She writes, "Black feminist thought must remain situated in African-American women's particular experiences yet must also generate theoretical connections to other knowledges with similar goals" (241).

The fact that she calls for Black feminists to look for connections to other knowledges is what makes Collins' treatment of Marx and Marxism especially disappointing. Where to Raya Dunayevskaya, Sojourner Truth's act of naming herself revealed a whole revolutionary philosophy of freedom that linked inherently to Marx's philosophy of freedom, to Collins, Marxism remains a "grand narrative" guilty of linear thinking.

'Kalayaan' means freedom

Chicago—Jubilee Chicago and the Philippine Anti-Intervention Network recently sponsored a conference for activists concerned with the crushing debt and other problems which confront the people of the Philippines. The Kalayaan Conference—named after the Tagalog word for freedom—was held in a church on the north side of Chicago on May 6.

Participants listened to a number of speakers discuss such topics as the genesis of the over \$52 billion foreign debt which burdens the Filipino people and the deleterious impact of the Visiting Forces Agreement, a 1999 document signed by the U.S. and Philippines. The Visiting Forces Agreement gives U.S. military forces wide-ranging privileges which violate Philippine sovereignty to a greater degree than the arrangement under which the now-closed Clark and Subic Bay bases existed.

Ligaya McGovern, a scholar-activist from the Gabriela Network, described the forces which make the Philippines the world's greatest exporter of labor, primarily women engaged in degrading domestic work. "The Philippines exports a floating global labor force providing cheap labor," she said.

The event's keynote speaker was Sharon Rose Joy Ruiz-Durendes, the General Secretary of the National Council of Churches in the Philippines. Rose condemned the "immoral" debt imposed on her country under which "the impoverished coexist with the filthy rich." She called for the "total repudiation of all onerous and fraudulent loans" agreed to during the Ferdinand Marcos regime.

"We need you to put us back on the map," Rose said in a call for American activists to raise the level of awareness of the problems of the people of the Philippines.

—Kevin Michaels

Discussion-Review

Black feminism's fighting words

The only use Collins has for Marx is Marx's historical method in theorizing class. Though "in the postcolonial, desegregated contexts of advanced capitalism, Marxist class categories lose validity," she argues, his historical, rather than economic or theoretical, approach to class remains useful (213). She is not interested, she says, in his discussion of socialism or capitalism.

Collins' eclectic attitude towards Marx leads to all kinds of simplifications, caricatures and falsehoods. In her attempt to patch together disparate thought, she often

falls into logical inconsistencies. I would argue that it is just not true that Marx's class categories are not relevant to today's society. Furthermore, it is a gross simplification to say that Marx was historical *instead* of theoretical. But because Collins merely throws this out without proof or distinction between what passes as "Marxism" and Marx's own views, it becomes difficult to engage Collins' discussion of Marx in a serious way.

I don't think this would really bother Collins though, since her focus in this book reiterates the academic fashion of the moment, i.e. the notion of border crossing. She valorizes eclecticism and pragmatism for measuring an idea by its functionality in the specific context, rather than by its content.

While Collins presents a lot in *Fighting Words* to think about and discuss, it seems to me that the weakest aspect of the book is its refusal to engage in a serious way with Marx. This is not unrelated to the fact that in talking about justice and the "visionary pragmatism" of Black women, Collins loses sight of the idea of revolution, both as it has manifested in Black women's freedom struggles and as a possibility for the future. I agree with Collins that "without some sense of where we're going and why we want to go there, and some 'righteous rage' to spur us on, we won't even know if we're headed in the right direction" (251). This need to know the direction, to have a vision of a new society, makes Marx indispensable for Black feminism and the freedom movement as a whole, if we want to make revolution a living reality.

Panic in academia

A "troubling phenomenon is occurring on college campuses across the country," *The Washington Post* blares, "The men are vanishing." What brought forth the alarmist headlines was a conference at Goucher College of about 70 college presidents, deans, and scholars titled "Fewer Men on Campus: A Puzzle for Liberal Arts Colleges and Universities." But even before this November conference *The Chronicle of Higher Education* in June 1997 ran a story: "Liberal-Arts Colleges Ask: Where Have the Men Gone?"

One dean at a Roman Catholic college lost his job because he balked at taking "whatever steps necessary to enroll more men...even if that meant having a different set of admissions standards or better financial-aid packages for men." That would be affirmative action for men, but strangely, in this case we don't hear any outcry from the anti-affirmative action crowd. In fact, the University of Georgia was giving men preference until this past summer when the university was sued by a woman who was denied admission because of her sex.

What is fueling the panic is that last year 45% of undergraduates were men, down from 55% in 1970. One can't help but wonder why, in 1970, there was no comparable panic about the lack of women?

In all the alarm over women's slight edge in numbers, the most ludicrous explanation came from conference participant Thomas Mortenson, who looked at the statistics and jumped to the conclusion that "Women are succeeding, and men are failing." Daniel J. Kindlon agreed, speculating that boys may be falling behind girls in school because they lack role models, as only 16% of elementary school teachers are men. The fact that women elementary teachers have always far outnumbered men, and yet up until 1997 men have always outnumbered women in college, didn't seem to occur to this Harvard University psychologist.

Mortenson sputtered that "no one who is aware of the problem has been comfortable speaking out about it," claiming that unnamed influential feminists have—until now—silenced discussion of the topic. The truth is that he has rejected other more rational explanations, for example, that many men don't need college to earn a better salary than a woman.

It took 25 years, a social movement of women for freedom, and hard-fought-for anti-discrimination laws on the books before college administrators did one damn thing to help women on their campuses; and many are still fighting tooth and nail against implementing Title IX. But if affirmative action is what it will take to keep white men at the top, then we will not hear a peep from those who otherwise froth at the mouth with their anxiety to keep women, Blacks, and Latinos/as down and out out.

—Terry Moon

Mothers on the move

Oakland, Cal.—This year thousands of mothers across the U.S. marched in over 70 cities. The media focused on the lobbying for gun registration and safety, but many thousands of women came to show their opposition to the ongoing violence in their children's lives. One mother, who has not been in a protest since the '60s, came out to the Oakland Mom demonstration of about 3,000, saying "People like me need to get involved again." It is good to see women who have not been active come out and become involved, and gun safety is a reasonable demand as a starting point, but there is a lot more to the problem of violence against children in this class-ridden, racist society.

Mothers have a long-standing tradition of being at the forefront of protests. This year Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo have shown new initiative in their decades-long struggle to find out what happened to their children. The new regime in Chile wants to forget the atrocities of the Pinochet regime and has pardoned all military personnel for the murders of thousands of Chilean citizens and dissidents. The mothers found a new way to not forget by finding their grandchildren, who were stolen from their children and given to the military torturers. They insist on putting the perpetrators on trial for kidnapping, since they can no longer be tried for murder.

In this country, at the time of the Los Angeles rebellion of 1992, an organization named Mothers Reclaiming Our Children, Mothers ROC, brought together many minority mothers whose children are being railroaded into prisons in the ongoing war on youth the police are carrying out every day. The most recent scandals in the L.A. police department, exposing the Rampart division, are giving some indication of the magnitude of police corruption and court collusion in thousands of the cases Mothers ROC was fighting.

Women in prison, 80% of whom are mothers, are perhaps the most acutely aware of the pervasive social dimension of their relationship with their children. For Linda, who has spent the last 13 years of her life in prison for killing her abusive husband, Mother's Day is a celebration of life. She killed her husband to protect her children. And over the years, as she worked to stay involved in her children's lives, it is their social maturity that she most cherishes.

During a Mother's Day visit she was telling me that at the time she went to prison her son felt so bad about himself, because of the abuse visited on him by his father, that he said he felt like a bug—all he deserved was getting squashed. Linda has worked tirelessly to build up his self-esteem, and it is a miracle to her that he is able to function in society.

When Marx, in the essay on "Private Property and Communism," talked about the "direct and natural species-relation" he talked about the relationship of man to woman. However, mothers in prison also cannot take the relationship to their children for granted, as "natural" and immediate. As with every other aspect of their lives, they have to re-establish who they are by re-defining their self in relation to people who matter to them: their children and other women in prison. Such a fully conscious recreation of ourselves as social beings shows the way to get beyond capitalism and its inhuman reality.

—Urszula Wislanka

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

A 49-day strike ended in victory, May 18, for the 615 nurses at St. Vincent Hospital/Worcester Medical Center, in Worcester, Mass., as they ratified their first contract with Tenet Health Care. The nurses formed a union and began a two-year bargaining process to address their concerns about inadequate staffing and deplorable working conditions. But the issue of mandatory overtime became central with the hospital demanding the right to mandate double shifts, forcing nurses to work up to 16 hours straight. With support from patients; the community and nurses nationwide, they achieved a settlement limiting mandatory overtime to no more than four hours, no more than eight times a year with the right of refusal if a nurse feels tired or ill. The agreement also insists that the hospital maintain full staffing to prevent the need for mandatory overtime.

Women detainees at detention camps in Malaysia have been caned by the police for as long as two days, according to testimony in May at a trial in Kuala Lumpur. Social activist Irene Fernandez is being charged with "publishing false information" by printing a report titled "Abuse, Torture and Dehumanized Treatment of Migrant Workers in Detention Camps."

More than 140,000 public school teachers in Ecuador went on a national strike, May 15, to demand a pay increase after negotiations failed with government officials. Teachers earn an average of \$65 a month and are fighting for at least \$100.

Read about Black feminism, global women's struggles, women's revolutionary history, feminist philosophy and the relationship of all of that to Marx's philosophy in:

Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future

by Raya Dunayevskaya.

To order, see page 7.

May Day march for immigrant workers

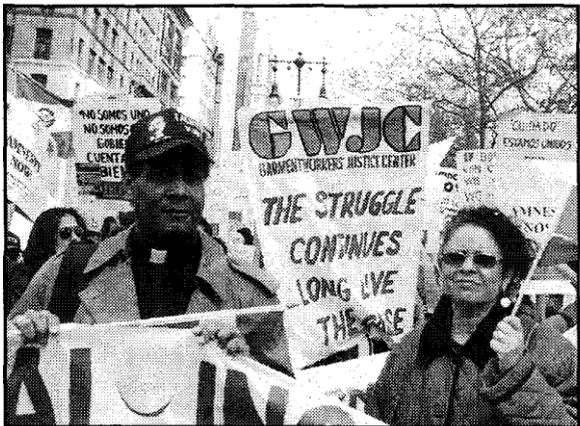
New York—More than 3,000 immigrants and their supporters—mostly Mexicans—marched May 1 to demand amnesty for undocumented immigrants and better pay and working conditions for all immigrant workers. The demonstration began at Union Square, the traditional site for May Day events, and marched to City Hall. It stopped on lower Broadway in front of sweatshops and then at the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service), which has been raiding workplaces and deporting undocumented workers, where we shouted, "The rats are in there."

The march was led by men and women in beautiful Mexican dance attire, and nearly everyone carried a hand-made sign in Spanish or English, as the immigrants appealed to the public:

We raise your economy/we deserve amnesty...No more 12-hour days...Viva Mexico!

Dignity and amnesty for the undocumented...You were once where we are now...We demand because we produce...Fair wages, without discrimination and inequality.

The march, organized by the Coalition for the Human Rights of Immigrants, the garment workers' union, UNITE, and amnesty organizations in New York City. Mexicans here are mostly recent arrivals without a neighborhood or media of their own and with good reason to fear getting into trouble for demonstrating. That so many came at all, especially on May Day, and marched all afternoon, may indicate a new immigrant movement is in formation:



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No human being is illegal...No more slaves/freedom for everyone...Work is a human right.

Other Latin American countries, Chinese, Bangladeshi and African immigrants' groups were represented as well: Amnesty for victims of military intervention...No more borders.

The amnesty movement was given a boost in February when the AFL-CIO, the huge labor federation that once supported anti-immigrant laws, issued a call for a general amnesty for the undocumented and an end to the law that turns employers into INS agents and provides the excuse for workplace raids.

Better to die on your feet than to live a lifetime on your knees...We're here and we're not leaving...Workers of the world unite.

About six million undocumented immigrants live and work in the U.S. Without an amnesty, many have no way to legalize their status, even if they have been here for more than 15 years, and even if they have children who were born here and are U.S. citizens. Many children on the march wore signs expressing fear of their parents' deportation: I was born here but my parents were not...We demand better lives.

Two young Mexican women with baby carriages said, "We came here looking for an opportunity for a little better life for our children. At home there is so much corruption, you cannot make a living. New York is nice, but to get here we went through torture.

"But we're exploited and subjected to racism. We pay taxes here, so we're tired of suffering discrimination. Being undocumented, we don't have any rights to protect us from the boss. I work in a garment factory, and the Mexican women are really discriminated against."

Twice the police arrested for no reason supporters dressed in black, some wearing masks, some carrying huge puppets. It was apparently part of a federally supported national campaign against anarchists since the protests in Seattle last November. One legal observer described how about 200 helmeted cops seemed to come out of nowhere and surround about 20 people. They pushed the legal observers away and kept them from seeing what they were doing as they arrested the people. The immigrants moved away quickly, since arrest can mean deportation for them, but they continued on the march to City Hall.

—Anne Jaclard

Deepest layers of labor



News & Letters

Chicago—The city where it all began saw its largest May Day rally in recent memory this year. Hundreds of Black, white and Latino, women's liberation and queer activists turned out to reclaim the historic meaning of the day.

The international character included support for immigrants' rights, anti-sweatshop actions and statements, and opposition to the bombing of Vieques and military aid to the Colombian government. There was also opposition to local and national police brutality.

One of the most significant aspects of the rally was the participation of a large contingent of day laborers, representing some of the most exploited workers in this economy. Their presence was the result of an ongoing organizing campaign here by the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless and other groups.

The day labor experience is a paradigm for the lowest and deepest elements in society. To spend time in a day labor agency waiting room is to really see today's logic of exploitation in action. Those workers who are considered most vulnerable get called up first, Latinas and Asian women, immigrants; then Latinas and Black women; and finally, maybe, or maybe not, Black men. Those called get packed into a crowded van to be taken to a factory and put to hard, dull work for minimum pay, which amounts to even less after the agency deducts a transportation fee. Those who aren't called get to spend a numb morning watching the same cartoons and talk shows as the warehoused people at the county jail, as well as worrying about food and shelter.

It was a real breakthrough to have such workers present for May Day, and it can be carried much farther if there is an understanding of the way the effects of capitalism represented by the multiple issues taken up at the rally are manifested in the lives of the most exploited workers.

—Gerard Emmett

Gains from janitor unity

Chicago—We Chicago janitors got a better contract than the suburban janitors did, but they didn't have medical benefits before and now get the same medical benefits that we have. Why shouldn't they? They are in the same union. They still don't earn as much as we do though. A suburban janitor only makes \$6.65.

No one has to pay for medical expenses, but we do have to go to the doctors and hospitals they tell us to, and that can be a problem. One time I wound up paying \$300 after a car accident, just because they said I didn't call in soon enough on a claim.

BOMA (Building Owners Management Association) didn't want to give us anything. They settled because we showed them we were willing to fight for the medical benefits or, in our case, a raise. We had the one-day strike downtown and then the suburban janitors had the ten-day strike. UPS refused to cross our lines for deliveries. (Management settled with the downtown janitors on April 17 and with the suburban janitors on April 28.)

We won an extra week of vacation for people with 18 years or more of seniority, which actually doesn't affect too many people. The downtown janitors wanted to win a raise since the cost of living is going up, and the building owners are charging tenants more. We got a three-year contract with raises of 45¢, 30¢ and 30¢ in each year. Now I'm making \$11.85 an hour.

It's still not much, considering what I do. I have to mop and clean entire floors. When I asked the union for help; they told me I could transfer somewhere else and they'd send someone else to clean my building, but they weren't going to tell the cleaning company, Lakeside, to add people to the job.

The foreman sneaks up on me to see if I'm working. One night he yelled at me because I was sitting down before my shift started at 4:45 p.m. He told me to get my cleaning things ready. I told him I don't start working until 4:45.

And recently he wanted me to work overtime when one of the tenants was moving out. If I couldn't do it, they told another cleaner than he would have to do it. The point is he couldn't say no.

The janitors and people like elevator operators united into Local 1 of the Service Employees, now with 13,000 members. Before there were 3,000 downtown janitors in our local, and now our bargain unit has maybe 5,000. There are another 5,500 in the suburbs. Maybe that's why the contractors decided to settle.

—Cleaning woman

Country Select Catfish keeps migrants non-union

Indianola, Miss.—The owner of Country Select Catfish, Mr. Stevenson, brought more than 50 Mexican workers into Humphreys County and plans to bring in 100 more as soon as he renovates several buildings to house them. The community suspects he is using federal empowerment zone money that was supposed to be used in his facility to secure more jobs for the community, which is filled with unemployed workers.

The Mexicans will not be able to participate in the union or in negotiations for a new contract beginning in October, because Stevenson is leasing them through a work service. He keeps them for one year and then trades them for a new group. They aren't even letting the Mexican workers know that.

The workers at Country Select feel this move was made to slow the negotiations down and will have a tremendous effect on the union. The Black workers see this as the company trying to break with the Blacks and the Blacks against the Mexicans.

The company is exploiting the Mexicans because they will do more work and work more hours for less money. For example, one Mexican man ripped his arm from the wrist halfway up his arm. He worked all day and didn't tell anyone because he was afraid they were going to send him back to Mexico. Finally he lost so much blood that they noticed he had hurt himself.

Country Select works four days, 10 hours a day, but they work the Mexicans every day, including Wednesday when other workers are off.

An Urban Institute study said more than 90% of new immigrants settle in urban areas where there is a high concentration of Blacks. That means that Black workers more and more find themselves in competition with immigrants and Country Select is taking advantage of that.

In the Mississippi Delta, catfish bosses know that over the past 15 years we Black single mothers have struggled to overcome the welfare lines and to organize against racism in our workplaces and for better treatment and benefits. It is because we have gotten in that struggle that the company is bringing in workers to try to destroy that new way of thinking.

We know that workers, any workers, are abused to the fullest in the workplace. And we also know that the Mexican workers are treated even worse than us Blacks. That's why it's so important that we focus beyond unions, develop ourselves deeper and unite together as one voice to find that total revolution in permanence that we are searching for.

—S. Hamer

Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

Black Power movement. A few of the workers in the crew I worked with were former Panthers and didn't take any attitude from the so-called bosses, who thought they ran things. I was deep into discovering the thought of George Jackson, Malcolm X and other writers expounding Marxism.

There was a constant battle for power going on between Black labor and management in those years. Many of my co-workers were fired. I was suspended many times for different acts of rebellion and finally fired. I went to the union, fought to get my job back and won a partial victory. But my point is that the majority of the Black workers were, by 1979, fired or pushed off the job because of their militancy, replaced by a more compliant immigrant workforce. So by the year 2000 you have an immigrant workforce which has **seen and had enough!**

The New Afrikan youth are invisible on the job. A whole generation has not worked a substantial amount of time in the workforce outside the prison walls. Most of the youth that I meet who have skills for a job or trade received them while in prison. But the majority doing time in state prison come out without even a GED with which to open the smallest of doors for a "decent job."

The Los Angeles Police Department is not supposed to be working hand in hand with the INS, but the INS in cooperation with the LAPD in the Rampart District deported 10,000 people illegally. These 10,000 people had been tagged as gang members. This area around MacArthur Park was very active during the 1992 Los Angeles Rebellion, an attempt by the masses to repossess what has been stolen for generations, our human labor and our humanity. The police attempt to silence that outrage by deportation and arrest. The police force **presence** within the Black and Brown community attempts to send a message that the rebellion is over.

The Black experience in Amerika exploded on April 29, 1992. The explosion was not a self-destructive act, but an act of mind. We see ourselves trapped, locked down in a ghetto condition with invisible walls of confinement, locked in our Blackness, looking for a vision of a new tomorrow. The Black and Brown community—South Central, Watts, Compton—are in constant rebellion. The community is under the impact of capitalist war, where the police beat, cripple, frame to suppress the hungry masses, hungry not just for a job, food, shelter—all needed—but hungry to determine our destiny.

The need is to project the vision of a new social consciousness from the lower and deeper layers of society. "The positive in the negative [for Karl Marx] was not—**was not**—that Alienated Labor under capitalism is the human activity, much less that struggle is the human activity. Rather, it was the **struggles** of the Alienated Laborers against capitalism, and the laborers' passion for an actual unity of mental and manual labor, that spells out the urgency of revolution. What the revolutionary theoreticians need to do is **listen** to the voices from below, and **concretize** that new unity by **practicing** it in their own publications, activities, relations, as they prepare for revolution, anticipate it, labor for it" (Raya Dunayevskaya, *Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives*, 1986-87).

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PART III DOCTRINES OF BEING, ESSENCE, NOTION

Editor's note

This month we conclude Raya Dunayevskaya's 1961 lecture notes on Hegel's *Smaller Logic*. The first part, "Introduction and Preliminary Notion," appeared in April, and the second part, "Attitudes to Objectivity," 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 is a theme overlooked by many writers on Hegel. There 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 Seven: First Subdivision of Logic—The Doctrine of Being

I will not go into the separate categories of Quality, Quantity, Measure or the question of Being, Nothing and Becoming. Instead, all I will do here is point to the examples from the history of philosophy so that you get a feeling for yourself about the specificity of [Hegel's] thinking and realize that his abstractions are not abstractions at all. Two things, for example, from the section on Quality will speak for themselves:

In the history of philosophy the different stages of the logical Idea assume the shape of successive systems, each of which is based on a particular definition of the Absolute. As the logical Idea is seen to unfold itself in a process from the abstract to the concrete, so in the history of philosophy the earliest systems are the most abstract, and thus at the same time have least in them. The relation too of the earlier to the later systems of philosophy is much like the relation of the earlier to the later stages of the logical Idea; in other words, the former are preserved in the latter, but in a subordinate and functional position. This is the true meaning of a much misunderstood phenomenon in the history of philosophy—the refutation of one system by another, of an earlier by a later (§86)...Opinion, with its usual want of thought, believes that specific things are positive throughout, and retains them fast under the form of Being. Mere Being, however, is not the end of the matter (§91).

Remember that the sections in the smaller type are the ones that Hegel quotes orally and then you will get a view of his response to his audience when, say, they would look with blank faces when he would speak of something like "Being-for-self."¹ And now read the following:

The Atomic philosophy² forms a vital stage in the historical growth of the Idea. The principle of that system may be described as Being-for-self in the shape of the Many. At present, students of nature who are anxious to avoid metaphysics, turn a favorable ear to Atomism. But it is not possible to escape metaphysics and cease to trace nature back to terms of thought, by throwing ourselves into the arms of Atomism. The atom in fact is itself a thought; and hence the theory which holds matter to consist of atoms is a metaphysical theory. Newton gave physics an express warning to beware of metaphysics, it is true; but to his honor, be it said, he did not by any means obey his own warning. The only mere physicists are the animals: they alone do not think: while man is a thinking being and a born metaphysician.

(Read the rest for yourself—it is too important to miss §98.)

Chapter Eight: Second Subdivision of Logic—Doctrine of Essence

1. Hegel defines "being-for-self" thusly: "We say that something is for itself in so far as it cancels its otherness, its relatedness to and community with Other, rejecting and abstracting from them. In it, Other only exists as having been transcended, or as its moment... Self-consciousness is Being-for-Self accomplished and posited; the aspect of relation to an Other, an external object, has been removed" [SLI, p. 171; SLM, p. 158].

2. "The Atomic philosophy" refers to the doctrine that existence can be explained in terms of aggregates of atoms, irreducible fixed particles or units. It reached its classic expression in ancient Greece in the philosophy of Democritus. Atomism has often been connected to philosophical materialism.

Here again I will not go into categories such as Identity, Difference, Contradiction, etc., all of which I dealt with when summarizing the *Larger Logic* and which you will find comparatively easy to read here.³ What interests me are the so-called examples and once in a while the easy definitions like "The aim of philosophy is to banish indifference, and to learn the necessity of things" (§119). So we go back to the historical basis which always throws an extra illumination on the generalization that follows:

The Sophists came forward at a time when the Greeks had begun to grow dissatisfied with mere authority and tradition in the matter of morals and religion, and when they felt how needful it was to see that the sum of facts was due to the intervention and act of thought....Sophistry has nothing to do with what is taught:—that may always be true. Sophistry lies in the formal circumstance of teaching it by grounds which are as available for attack as for defense (§121).

I want to recommend the studying in full of the final part of this section called "Actuality." It is not a question only of content or its profound insistence on the relationship of actuality to thought and vice-versa ("The idea is rather absolutely active, as well as actual") (§142). It is a movement of and to freedom within every science, philosophy, and even class struggle, though Hegel, of course, never says that; nevertheless [one] must go through the actuality of necessity and the real world contradictions that are impossible to summarize in any briefer form than the 24 paragraphs Hegel does here (§142-159).

You have heard me quote often the section on Necessity, which ends with: "So long as a man is otherwise conscious that he is free, his harmony of soul and peace of mind will not be disturbed by disagreeable events. It is their view of Necessity, therefore, which is at the root of the content and discontent of man, and which in that way determines their destiny itself" (§147). Now you go to it and study those pages.

Chapter Nine: Third Subdivision of Logic—The Doctrine of the Notion

This last section of the *Logic* is the philosophic framework which most applies to our age. From the very start where he says, "The Notion is the power of Substance in the fruition of its own being, and therefore, what is free," you know that on the one hand, from now on you are on your own and must constantly deepen his content through a materialistic, historical "translation." And, on the other hand, that you cannot do so unless you stand on his solid foundation: "The Notion, in short, is what contains all the earlier categories of Thought merged in it. It certainly is a form, but an infinite and creative form, which includes, but at the same time releases from itself the plenitude of all that it contains" (§160).

I would like you to read the letter I wrote to Olga [Domanski] on Universal, Particular and Individual⁴ and then read Hegel on those categories, and you will see how little of his spirit I was able to transmit and how changeable are his own definitions. For example, he says, "Individual and Actual are the same thing....The Universal in its true and comprehensive meaning is one of those thoughts which demanded thousands of years before it entered into the consciousness of man" (§163). Just ponder on this single phrase "thousands of years."

These categories—Universal, Particular and Individual—are first described in the [Doctrine of the] Notion as notion, then they enter Judgment, then Syllogism, and then throughout to the end, and in each case they are not the same, and you can really break your neck if you try to subsume them into a definitional form. They just will not be fenced in. Hegel, himself, has something to say on this fencing in of the syllogism, for example, which in "common logic" is supposed to conclude so-called elemental theory, which is then followed by a so-called doctrine of method, which is supposed to show you how to apply what you learned in Part I:

It believes Thought to be a mere subjective and formal activity; and the objective fact which confronts Thought it holds to be permanent and self-subsistent, but this dualism is a half-truth... It would be truer to say that it is subjectivity itself, which, as dialectics, breaks through its own barrier and develops itself to objectivity by means of the syllogism (§192).

(I want to call to your attention that it is the last sen-

3. Dunayevskaya's notes on Hegel's *Science of Logic* can be found in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 2815-2833. *News & Letters* reprinted them in the January-February, March, April and May 1999 issues.

4. This refers to a letter to Olga Domanski, a colleague of Dunayevskaya's, of Feb. 27, 1961. It can be found in the *Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 13842-43.

tence in §212, which [C.L.R. James] so badly misused in justifying our return to Trotskyism. Note that the quotation itself speaks of error as a necessary dynamic, whereas James spoke of it as if it were the dynamic: "Error, or other-being, when it is uplifted and absorbed, is itself a necessary dynamic element of truth: for truth can only be where it makes itself its own result." (The phrase underlined was underlined by me in order to stress that James had left it out.)⁵

The final section on the Absolute Idea is extremely abbreviated and by no means gives you all that went into the *Science of Logic*, but it will serve if you read it very carefully; to introduce you to its study in the *Larger Logic*. I will quote only three thoughts from it:

The Absolute Idea is, in the first place, the unity of the theoretical and practical idea, and thus at the same time, the unity of life with the idea of cognition....The defect of life lies in its being only the idea in itself or naturally: whereas cognition is in an equally one-sided way, the merely conscious idea or the idea for itself, The Unity... (§236). It is certainly possible to

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



indulge in a vast amount of senseless declamation about the idea absolute, but its true content is only the whole system, of which we have been hitherto examining the development (§237).

I love the expression that to get to philosophic thought one must be strong enough to ward off the incessant importance of one's own opinion:

The philosophical method is analytical, as well as synthetic...to that end, however, there is required an effort to keep off the ever-incessant impertinence of our own fancies and opinions (§238).

The final sentence of the whole book in the *Smaller Logic* is what pleased Lenin so highly that he wrote as if the *Science of Logic* ended [there] by stating that the "rest of the paragraph" wasn't significant. It is on that rest of the paragraph in the *Larger Logic* around which the whole reason for my 1953 *Letters on the Absolute Idea* rests.⁶ The sentence Lenin liked because it held out a hand to materialism is: "We began with Being, abstract being: where we now are we also have the idea as Being: but this idea, which has Being is Nature." This is the oral remark which followed the written last sentence:

But the idea is absolutely free; and its freedom means that it does not merely pass over into life, or as finite cognition allow life to show in it, but in its own absolute truth resolves to let the element of its particularity, or of the first characterization and other-being, the immediate idea, as its reflection, go forth freely itself from itself as Nature (§244).

5. In 1947-48 James used the notion that "error is the dynamic of truth" to justify the Johnson-Forest Tendency's decision to rejoin the Socialist Workers Party, despite its "erroneous" politics which the Johnson-Forest Tendency had long combated. See his *Notes on Dialectics*, pp. 92-93.

6. See the "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes of 1953" in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1989) and "New Thoughts on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" in *Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), where Dunayevskaya critiques Lenin's interpretation of the closing sentences of the *Logic*.

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Review-Essay

Marx on Suicide: New insights on human relations

by Charles Herr

Marx on Suicide, edited by Eric Plaut and Kevin Anderson (Northwestern University Press, \$14.95), is a marvelous little book. It includes a new translation of Marx's little-known 1846 text on suicide. Marx's text is partly his own words and partly his heavily edited translation of French police official Jacques Peuchet's account of suicides in Paris, mainly by women. The volume also contains introductions by Anderson and Plaut as well as original source material in French and German.

I believe that the topic of suicide was really incidental to Marx's deepest interest, which was freedom, the social conditions that promote or stifle human freedom, and the consequences of the suppression of freedom, in this instance, the extreme consequence of suicide. In addition, I believe that Marx, in translating and commenting upon Peuchet's memoirs, was moved by the latter's compassionate and nonjudgmental description of the people—primarily women—who were driven to suicide by their social circumstances.

I do not believe we need to postulate any morbid preoccupation with suicide per se to explain Marx's interest in the topic. In the first place, I know of no evidence that Marx was depressed at the time he translated and wrote this piece. This brief piece is all, to my knowledge, that Marx wrote about the subject of suicide, and in many respects it is not very different from the piece he wrote for the *New York Daily Tribune* on Jan. 28, 1853 on capital punishment, in which he asked, "Now, if crimes observed on a great scale thus show, in their amount and their classification, the regularity of physical phenomena...is there not a necessity for deeply reflecting upon an alteration of the system that breeds these crimes, instead of glorifying the hangman who executes a lot of criminals to make room only for the supply of new ones?"

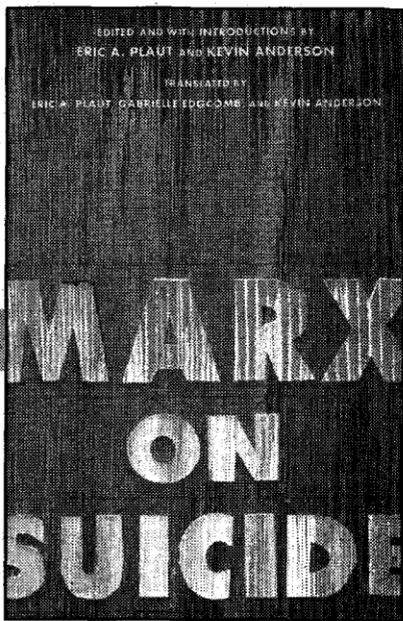
SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND RELATIONSHIPS

Marx was concerned about the alteration of a system that either drove people to suicide or sent them to the gallows. In particular, Marx was explicitly concerned with the social conditions and the social relationships that transform human beings into the property of others, that make them into things. On one case reported by Peuchet Marx comments:

"The unfortunate woman was condemned to unbearable slavery and M. de M. exercised his slaveholding rights, supported by the civil code and the right of property. These were based on social conditions which deem love to be unrelated to the spontaneous feelings of the lovers, but which permit the jealous husband to fetter his wife in chains, like a miser with his hoard of gold, for she is but a part of his inventory" (pp. 57-58).

We need only think of the increasing awareness today of the brutal ways that submission is enforced through domestic violence to recognize the contemporariness of this observation.

Marx's interest in the character of the relationship of man to woman and what it tells us about the stage that human development has reached runs throughout his work, as Anderson documents in his introduction, from the 1844 *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* to the *Ethnological Notebooks* written just before his death. He was also interested in what happens to human beings when they become commodities, mere bearers of labor power, to be bought and used to accumulate capital and then discarded when they no longer serve this purpose.



"Marx's text helps us to grasp more clearly his emerging views on gender and the family in modern society, during the same period in which he was developing his concepts of alienated labor and historical materialism and the beginnings of his critique of political economy and the state."

— from Kevin Anderson's Introduction

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ALIENATION IN BOURGEOIS SOCIETY

Certainly, a central concern of Marx is the topic of alienation, the alienation of people from their own powers and themselves. Clearly, such alienation was a factor in the suicides described by Peuchet. It is extremely important to recall, however, that Marx was not only critical of capitalism because it alienated people from themselves, but also because it alienated them from others, from a genuine human community in which each member is, as Marx put it, "a really individual communal being" ("Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts," in Bottomore, trans., *Karl Marx: Early Writings*, p. 158).

Marx sharply critiqued the bourgeois concept of liberty as "the right to do everything which does not harm others." He writes, "The limits within which each individual can act without harming others are determined by law, just as the boundary between two fields is marked by a stake. It is the question of the liberty of man regarded as an isolated monad... [Liberty in this view] is not founded upon the relations between man and man, but rather upon the separation of man from man. It is the right of such separation. The right of the circumscribed individual, withdrawn into himself."

"The right of property is, therefore, the right to enjoy one's fortune and to dispose of it as one will; without regard for other men and independently of society. It is the right of self-interest. This individual liberty, and its application, form the basis of civil society. It leads every man to see in other men, not the realization, but rather the limitation of his own liberty."

With regard to the definition of equality in the 1795 French constitution, Marx writes: "It is only the equal right to liberty as defined above; namely that every man is equally regarded as a self-sufficient monad" ("On the Jewish Question," in Bottomore, pp. 24-25). In contrast to this bourgeois definition of freedom, Marx observed, "When communist artisans of freedom, Marx, teaching and propaganda are their first aims. But their association itself creates a new need—the need for society—and what appeared to be a means has become an end" ("Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts," in Bottomore, p. 176).

PSYCHOLOGY AND HUMAN CHARACTER

Beyond this, I do not believe that an interest in psychological issues and human character was at all atypical for Marx. Freud had not yet created a dynamic psychology of the human being or developed the concept of the unconscious but, to quote Erich Fromm, "The volumes containing the unabridged correspondence between Marx and Engels show a capacity for penetrating analysis of unconscious motivation that would be a credit to any gifted psychoanalyst" (*Socialist Humanism*, p. 229). Marx had a great admiration for the works of Shakespeare and Balzac, precisely I believe because of their penetrating description of social character types.

Fromm cites Marx's son-in-law Paul Lafargue to the effect that "[Marx] admired Balzac so much that he wished to write a review of his great work *La Comedie humaine* as soon as he finished his book on economics. He considered Balzac not only as the historian of his time, but as the prophetic creator of characters which were still in embryo in the days of Louis Philippe and did not fully develop until after his death, under Napoleon III." Marx never wrote this review, because of his single-minded devotion to completing his work on economics, which, although only a step in his total research, did not permit him to develop these other interests. To give another example, in 1977 Saul Padover published an entire volume of 391 large pages of selections from Marx, *On History and People*, which includes many psychologically penetrating observations on historical personalities.

I believe one of the best illustrations of Marx's incisive psychological insight is the comment that he inserted in Peuchet's work (without attribution!) in his text on suicide: "Those who are most cowardly, who are least capable of resistance themselves, become unyielding as soon as they can exert absolute parental authority. The abuse of that authority also serves as a cruel substitute for all of the submissiveness and dependency people in bourgeois society acquiesce in, willing or unwillingly" (pp. 53-54).

This is an absolutely brilliant description of the sadomasochistic character. It anticipates some of what Fromm writes about in the papers on criminology that Anderson draws attention to in his essay on the young Fromm's contribution to criminology (see Anderson and Quinney, eds., *Erich Fromm and Critical Criminology: Beyond the Punitive Society*, University of Illinois Press). Marx sees clearly that their sadistic punitiveness is rooted in the submission, in what Fromm calls the unlivable life, of the authoritarian character. Related to this is his or her hatred and envy of those who do not submit.

Marx also, in one or two brushstrokes, describes the way in which bourgeois society deprives practically all of its members (willingly or unwillingly) of the freedom to be fully themselves. Marx continued to believe throughout his life that capitalism distorted the human development of the bourgeoisie as well as the industrial workers, but, because their suffering was less intense, he believed they had less motivation than the workers to change the capitalist system that Marx believed to be dehumanizing for all its members.

I think this work by Marx would be worth bringing attention to for that one quotation on the sadomasochistic character type alone. Of course, there is much more, in particular about the concrete ways in which women are made into objects to be possessed, into property, in

bourgeois (and more generally, patriarchal, male dominated) societies.

MARX'S PERSONALITY

I certainly do not wish to idolize Marx or to contribute to any cult of personality, something which Marx and Engels both explicitly eschewed. At the same time, I think that it is important to examine critically some of the ways in which I believe Marx has been pathologized.

For instance, consider how Plaut, one of the editors of *Marx on Suicide*, describes Marx as angry. The real issue is what he was angry about and whether or not it was appropriate to be angry. He was angry because he cared passionately and was not indifferent. We should have more such angry people! I don't believe he was always angry and there are wonderful descriptions of how he could be patient and humorous, including with children who were attracted to his company. (Children tend to avoid angry, hostile people.) Wilhelm Liebknecht, Lafargue and Eleanor Marx are quite consistent in their picture of Marx in this regard.

I agree that Marx was aggressive when fighting opponents and could be intolerant, but interestingly, according to Freud's theory (which I do not, in fact, believe to be accurate), aggression directed toward oneself—as in suicide. In any case, self-assertive aggression is not identical with destructiveness. In fact, it is the opposite of sadism, as Marx indicates so clearly in the quotation cited above.

Also, I believe that to portray Marx as only having a friendship with Engels is a major distortion. Marx's friendship with Engels is only the best known and for good reason: it is one of the most remarkable friendships in human history. Marx had close and creative friendships with Ludwig Kugelmann, Joseph Weydemeyer and Wilhelm Ludw. Lafargue and Liebknecht both describe rich relationships with Marx.

Liebknecht notes that there were "no bad photos of Marx," because Marx was never posing for the camera. He describes him as a deeply caring and committed man who found any physical abuse of women by their husbands intolerable. In short, Marx was simply and completely himself, an intense, passionate man, who loved what was alive and free and hated everything that stifled life and freedom. This delightful little work, I believe, is consistent with that life-long passion.

Gambia massacre

April 10 and 11 will be a turning point in the struggle of Gambian students. Never before has a student demonstration, or any demonstration, ended in such a brutal and bloody way. The students intended to hold a peaceful protest on April 10 to demand that justice be done in the case of a student who was beaten to death by fire service officers and in the case of another who was raped by a person in police uniform.

The paramilitary forces who opened fire at the students, killing more than 14 people and wounding an unknown number, are known for their brutality. A journalist who was also a Red Cross volunteer and a three-year-old were among those massacred. The paramilitary forces showed no regret for such a barbaric act, but continued to harass, arrest and torture students in their homes.

The next day, as the news of the murders in Serre Koundy (the biggest town in the Gambia) reached the countryside and nearby towns, students in those areas took to the streets, only to be met with the same brutality. The anger of the people was not to be mistaken.

Retired Colonel Jammeh came to power through a military coup in 1994, claiming that his forces were "soldiers with a difference" and declaring their takeover of state power revolutionary. The Gambian masses, who had had enough of 30 years of neo-colonialism, welcomed such a change. A great number of the radical left forces joined the military.

It did not take long before rumors of coups and counter-coups, corruption and brutal murder became the order of the day. The military leadership fell apart and many of them are now either in jail or self-imposed exile, mostly in the U.S. Now the leader of the "soldiers with a difference," Jammeh, is believed to be the richest president in the region.

There has been an international campaign among Gambians to demand the release of all students detained and a fair trial for the students who are going to face trial. Gambian legal practitioners have offered to defend students on a voluntary basis. The whereabouts of the head of the Gambian student union is still unknown. The security agents say that he is not in their custody, but experience shows that such claims have proved to mean the opposite. A commission has been set up to look into the crisis, but little is expected to come out of its findings.

"Jammeh must go" has become a popular demand among Gambians and, as a matter of fact, this might be the best solution to the political crisis in the country. That justice will be done is hard to believe. When he came back from Cuba, Jammeh told reporters that he was in constant contact with his government while the crisis was on. "Then who gave the command for the students to be shot?" is the question that all Gambians are asking. Jammeh, the commander-in-chief, must have been responsible. One thing is clear, not only to the students, but to the Gambian people: Jammeh must go.

—Ba Karang

POST-SEATTLE STRUGGLES

Someone I know is assigned to the city's "command center" whenever there is an emergency or potential emergency. He is being activated June 1-6 because, as he put it, "the WTO is meeting in Windsor." The command center will be open 24 hours during those days. I guess there are a lot of responses to Seattle.

**Susan
Detroit**

* * *

Even Vancouver's City Council has made clear it does not intend to accept all the edicts of the WTO without at least requesting some more open and democratic procedures. They passed a motion on May 2 urging the government of Canada to consult widely with the people of Canada before taking any further action on the General Agreement on Trade in Services (known as GATS) and to hold public hearings on the impact of the WTO. They oppose GATS because it may result in the inclusion of many of the features of the now defunct Multilateral Agreement on Investment, which the Vancouver City Council had opposed by resolution on April 28, 1998.

**Seattle veteran
Vancouver**

* * *

You will be happy to know that DePaul University, after much student activism, including a tent city on the campus, adopted one of the strongest codes of conduct in the country for its licensees of university logo apparel. It was written in part by the students. The university also committed itself to the student-founded Workers Rights Consortium and rejected the industry-sponsored Fair Labor Association, which is under the control of the corporations who are responsible for the human rights violations.

**Supporter
Chicago**

* * *

Seattle was just the beginning. You can help plan and mobilize for the August 10-13 People's Convention in Los Angeles. We want a grassroots convention where the real issues will be heard, as an alternative to the Democratic National Convention. We want a political forum for people who are excluded by the twin parties of corporate capitalism. We want to address issues of social and economic justice, labor, ecology, police/prison reform, peace conversion and other issues that affect the everyday lives of people around the world.

After three days of discussion we want to march in the streets to save the life of political prisoner Mumia Abu Jamal and to protest the World Bank/WTO violations of workers rights and environmental balance. All comments, contributions and inquiries can be sent to:

**People's Convention-LA 2000
PO Box 6254
Alhambra CA 91802**

* * *

I found resonance with what occurred here in Ecuador in January and Todd

Morrison's thoughts about pacifism in regard to the events in Seattle. (See "Philosophic Dialogue" May N&L.) Much of what the indigenous leadership did in Ecuador has been self-justified on the grounds of "avoiding bloodshed." I find that seductive. Who does not want to avoid bloodshed? But in the context of unrelenting state-inspired violence against the life and dignity of an entire people, confrontation is the only sane alternative. I consider the concepts of "democracy" and "constitutionalism" to be a fetishism used by the reformers as much as by the ruling elites in an attempt to discredit direct action. I was glad Todd went out of his way not to equate pacifism with nonviolent direct social action.

**Correspondent
Ecuador**



MARX AS CONTEMPORARY

Reading Marx's chapter on "The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation" for the News and Letters classes on "Beyond Capitalism" this year made me appreciate how prescient he was regarding what I see as contemporary American political economy. I consider that the attitude toward "welfare reform" that we endure today was summed up by what Marx quoted from Bernard de Mandeville in the early 18th century -- that it is "in the interest of all rich nations that the greatest part of the poor should almost never be idle and yet spend what they get...The only thing that can render the labouring man industrious is a moderate quantity of money, as too little will make him desperate, and too much will make him insolent and lazy."

By today there is ample evidence of exactly what Marx had outlined in *Capital* as "the mechanism of the process of accumulation itself increases, along with the capital, the mass of 'labouring poor.'"

**Student of Marx
San Francisco**

* * *

I'm taking a class on social movements and revolutions and am interested in the question of Marx and organization. I find it fascinating because most people, including many sociologists, assume all Marx did was sit in a library. What they don't seem to know is that he also found the time to organize workers. The area is really new to me so I'd welcome your discussion of it.

**Student
Oregon**

WHO ARE THE TERRORISTS?

I visited the new Oklahoma City memorial and it made me think about Kent State, Vietnam, and all the inhuman acts

CHINA: CAPITALIST PRODUCTION/ALIENATED LABOR

I saw an item buried deep within the press about 20,000 workers and their families in a mining region in northern China who fought for three days with local authorities and the army over mass layoffs and the privatization of their mine. The deep and persistent labor battles going on throughout China today are no surprise to any of us who heard the Chinese labor leader Cai Chong Gua speak at the anti-WTO events in Seattle. It's not new for the 51 year-old Chinese regime to put down a labor revolt. From the start Mao called it a "state-capitalist" regime. But China's evolution, its discontinuities from Mao's period, can help us grasp the "changed world economy" that Raya Dunayevskaya critiqued in the 1980s in her article on "Capitalist Production/Alienated Labor" which was one of the readings in our ongoing Classes on "Beyond Capitalism."

**Ron Brokmeyer
California**

Editor's Note: "Capitalist Production/Alienated Labor" is included in *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism*. See lit ad, p. 7.

* * *

The House approval of the permanent China trade bill by 40 votes might never have been in doubt, given the ground that had been set by ten annual votes since the massacres at Tiananmen Square and Chengdu. But the more vigorous opposition since last year's anti-WTO demonstrations in Seattle and this year's May

Day marches supported by trade unionists and youth activists makes me think there could and should be even more explicit class solidarity between U.S. and Chinese workers. Capitalists have voted their class position to keep access to the lowest paid industrial workforce. Chinese workers in state-run "company" unions, or no union at all in export zones, can use our support. With the wave of strikes and actions to get back pay and other rights, they have plenty to teach us too.

**Union member
Chicago**

* * *

As I write this, there are less than two weeks to the 11th anniversary of the Chinese government's massacre of protesters in Tiananmen Square. They get nervous every time any street protest threatens, but especially around this time. This is why it was so important to read about the way the rape and murder of a young freshman at Beijing University on May 23 set off student demonstrations on that campus with hundreds of students defying the government ban on protests and sitting in outside of the administration building. The initial demands focused on campus security and quickly expanded to anger over rising tuition and limiting student expression. When I saw that one poster read "We can't stay silent," I felt that the revolutionary spirit of Tiananmen can definitely not be crushed.

**Revolutionary
Chicago**

Readers' Views

that the capitalistic system has perpetrated in the name of peace. The memorial shed light for me on how they are all terrorist acts. But you don't have to be shot down by a gun or bomb to be a victim of this system. All you have to do to see that is look at how the richest nation in the world lets people go without even the basics for survival -- food, shelter and clothing. Shouldn't it matter that they are all human beings?

**Lynn
Louisiana**

* * *

The Million Mom March drew 750,000 people to Washington, D.C. on Mother's Day to demand gun control laws that can save our children's lives. There were delegations of mothers from all over, including Nicaragua, where the U.S. armed the counter-revolutionaries. When I saw their faces, I felt that a new movement had been born, one that could bring peace to the whole world.

**Marcher
New York**

* * *

On May 18 Congress voted to close the old School of the Americas and open a "clone" that would carry on the same atrocities with a different name. They think we are fooled but we will not go away until the School is closed, no matter what the name.

**SOA watcher
Chicago**

REMEMBERING FELIX MARTIN

The Workshop Talks column on "Remembering Felix Martin" (May N&L) took me back to some of the articles I had read in the May 1999 issue, right after he had passed away. I recognized him as an adult educator because he kept telling everyone he met what he believed. He explained surplus value to a cashier in the supermarket, taking potatoes as an example. He demonstrated self-development through his garden to visitors there. He taught his co-workers what human power is. He brought the ideas of Marxist-Humanism into his life as he enjoyed and developed it.

As I am struggling to study that body of ideas, I am re-reading those articles about him and am learning how important it is to unite theory and practice and to embed the ideas in our everyday life. As an adult educator, what I have learned is the importance of how this worker combined manual and mental work to transmit it to ordinary people in their language.

**Educator
Illinois**

* * *

The minute I saw the picture of the Florida farm worker with the sign "I am not a tractor" (see "Readers' Views," May N&L) I felt that Felix Martin would have written a whole column about it.

I wonder how many people realize that the fields are no different than a free-standing factory and assembly line?

**Pauline
California**

* * *

Editor's Note: Felix Martin was a writer, columnist and Labor Editor of N&L for 27 years until his death last year. We are preparing to publish a pamphlet of writings by this revolutionary worker this summer to share them with a new generation of workers and intellectuals.

JESSE JACKSON IN AFRICA

The savage atrocities perpetrated by the psychopathic Foday Sankoh in Sierra Leone are well known, but much less known is the role of Clinton's "special envoy" Jesse Jackson in appeasing Sankoh -- much as the U.S. did the neofascist Milosevic over Bosnia and Kosova.

When one Sierra Leonean human rights leader was interviewed she explained why she considered Jackson so "horrible" by reporting what he said at a news conference when asked how he expected to negotiate a deal with a killer like Sankoh when the masses are so opposed to him. She said Jackson responded that that is what leadership is all about -- compelling people to do what they otherwise would not. She said leadership, far from what Jesse thinks, is about listening to the people and expressing their aspirations. No wonder Jesse is Clinton's man in Africa.

**Lou Turner
Chicago**

EAST TIMOR'S CONTINUING STRUGGLE

An international solidarity conference held in the Netherlands in May celebrated the end of Indonesia's 24-year occupation of East Timor by focusing on the problems now facing the newest nation of the 21st century under UN administration. The problems are formidable, including the fact that the local people still cannot control their government, reconstruction or economic development. Most glaring is the economic disparity between well-paid foreign workers and the 80% unemployed East Timorese population. Many are describing the UN and international aid agencies as the "new colonizers."

**Observer
New York**



THE BRITISH SCENE

There was a great outcry by the powers-that-be calling the May Day protesters who defaced monuments and attacked McDonald's in Whitehall "mindless thugs." But many people are very disturbed by the rate of ecological decay in the world and say they reckon human civilization has 50 to 100 years before irreversibility sets in and condemns our descendants to god-knows-what. I don't see a sense of urgency as a bad thing. So a sense of proportion is needed in the face of the attacks from the Blairite gang of prissy, moralizing bigots. I sometimes wonder if they are simply in denial about the destructive dynamic of capitalism. It's even more disturbing considering how many of them were once in or close to the revolutionary Left.

**Dave
London**

* * *

It's OK to murder people if you have the power, but a few wrecked beefburgers herald the end of the world? I think not.

**Patrick
Britain**

* * *

"Livingstone and the battle for London" (May N&L) should be must reading for those who are interested in having a Labor Party in the U.S. If it becomes a substitute for revolutionary socialism, it will inevitably become the party of the labor bureaucracy, not the rank and file. The corruption, red-baiting and anti-democratic maneuvers described by Christopher Ford are the consequence when revolution is put off into the hazy future and the door is opened to pragmatic compromises with the existing exploitative system.

**Revolutionary reader
Tennessee**



SILENCING MUMIA'S SUPPORTERS

Not everyone knows how the government has been trying to silence Mumia's supporters. Clark Kissinger, the organizer of the national leadership conferences for Mumia, and Frances Goldin, Mumia's literary agent, have both been sentenced by a federal magistrate to a fine and one year of supervised probation as a result of a peaceful protest last year at the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia. Their "crime" was not even classified a misdemeanor, but the equivalent of a traffic ticket. The purpose of their sentence is clear when you know it means they are forbidden to "associate with felons" (that means Mumia) and can't leave their federal court district in New York City without permission. They also had to surrender their passports, submit to visits to their homes, and turn in detailed records every month on where their money comes from and how they spend it. The government is clearly intent on crippling the work to save Mumia.

**Mumia support activist
New York**

FIGHTING CRIMINAL INJUSTICE



The Diallo shooting would be horrendous even if it were a relatively isolated incident. But it is not. It is another symptom of an underlying cancer in America called the "criminal justice system" that spells out INJUSTICE. At the same time that our nation jails more of its citizens than any other country on earth, we are experiencing a wave of police violence. Here in Louisiana local police and corrections officials have been prosecuted for drug peddling, drug protection rackets, armed robbery, child molestation, rape, murder and kidnapping. (At least here, there have been convictions in some of these cases.) Change can only be realized by tackling the underlying economic structure which is itself criminal. I see the criminal justice system as merely the scab on the sore.

**David Tyler
Louisiana**

The material in your publication is great. If some people are offended by it, it's because it hits them hard with the truth. The government has had too much success in brainwashing them. I was transferred to a higher security facility in retaliation for being "litigious." I was not allowed to receive *N&L* there because they said it was anti-government. I flagged my account to have the issues sent home which means I don't have much mail coming in. But I love the publication so much that I had to have it one way or another.

**Prisoner
Michigan**

I found you because I was searching for stronger and more pointed reading material. Being African-American and finding myself caught up in California's 3 strike law net (I was not aware that California's law came about in '94, yet they count felonies from the 70s and 80s as strikes when there was no such law), I saw how these "law and order" bills were easily passed by a non-thinking public. Now I've noticed that in California, even after serving lengthy sentences, many ex-inmates

will be required to register as drug offenders or gang members or sex offenders. Looking at all of this, yes, I definitely need stronger reading material. What I mean is literature that will expose me to ideas that will assist me in protecting myself. The "little men" have become too manageable. For things to change, we need more than the kind of opposition that is presently demonstrated. I never cared much for marches.

**Prisoner
California**

Please print the following report in your paper as "A Call to Protest the Prisoners' Litigation Reform Act":

On 9/16/98 I filed a law suit in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia against the U.S. President William Clinton and Congress. This case is entitled *Winson v. Clinton, et al.*, Civil Action No. 98-2201. This law suit seeks to declare the Prisoners Litigation Reform Act of 1996 unconstitutional. I will seek class-action certification to cover the nation's prisoners if you support me. For further information and to send copies of your letters in protest as well as to physically protest, contact X Shakur 2X Africa s/n Derek Winson, 703 Rampart, Columbus, TX 78934. Letters should be sent to Judge Aubrey E. Robinson, Third St. and Constitution Ave., Washington, D.C. 20001 and to Michael Johnson, Asst. U.S. Attorney, 555 4th St., NW, Rm 4231, Washington, D.C. 20001.

**X Shakur 2X Africa
Texas**

In 1995 I was sentenced to 35 to 70 years for safe cracking, which is a non-violent property crime in Michigan. I foolishly listened to my state-appointed lawyer and signed an open plea bargain. He told me I wouldn't receive any more than 10 years, maybe less, if I signed it. I know now that an open plea gave the judge the right to sentence me to any number of years he chose. In Michigan every court has a set of guidelines to follow for each crime but the crime of safe cracking has no guidelines so they used armed robbery (a violent crime) guidelines to sentence me. The system seems designed to keep the poor like myself in prison. I would need \$5000 for my legal

help to take my case to the next level. Any money my family and I could get together would be my only chance. Do you think your readers could help us?

**Mike Conklin, 249288
1960 U.S. 41 South
Marquette, MI 49855**

HAITI

I want to reply to your article on the assassination of Jean Dominique (see "Our Life and Times" May *N&L*) and to the idea that the assassins belong to the conservative Right. I was there that fatal morning of April 3, when Jean was murdered. I can testify that people close to Jean seemed to think that the murder came as a response to his recent questioning of the corruption of Aristide's entourage. Such information requires consideration from all friends of Haiti. Please avoid taking sides until you have scrutinized the situation in Haiti today. Aristide's Lavalas consider themselves not responsible for events in the country on the grounds that they have not been in power yet. Technically, the movement of October 1990 has exploded into a number of parties. But it remains that Aristide's Lavalas has been in power since October 1994, almost six years. I write this to you because of the importance of voices from the U.S. in our politics.

**Haitian student
Illinois**

STOPDRLAURA.COM

It was good to hear that the "StopDrLaura.com" campaign has succeeded in getting Procter & Gamble to reverse its decision to be an advertiser on the "Dr. Laura" show which is slated to begin on TV this September. It didn't take long for P&G to get the message that they would be in the middle of a strong protest against the abusive anti-gay rhetoric Laura Schlessinger has used consistently on her daily radio show. Her calling gays "deviant" and "biological errors" and her claim that "a huge proportion of the male homosexual populace is predatory on young boys" is intolerable and has nothing to do with "free speech." We need a campaign to get her off radio, too.

**Outraged
Illinois**

SERIAL KILLER IN WHITE HOUSE?

Finding that 13 out of 27 inmates on Death Row were innocent and had to be released is an incredible indictment of the death penalty. It is too late to find out somebody was innocent after he/she is executed. Resurrection is not yet part of the penal system!

It may have changed Gov. Ryan's confidence enough to declare a moratorium, but Gov. Bush denied the request for any such moratorium, insisting that the decisions of Texas courts are always right and justified.

But we can reasonably assume that they are not infallible, despite what he insists. Since Texas now has the largest number of prisoners sentenced to death and executed, if any number were innocent and still executed, couldn't Bush be rightly called a serial killer?

Next question: Could a serial killer wind up the president of the U.S.?

**Giorgio
British Columbia**

WHO READS NEWS & LETTERS?

Many thanks for the sample copy of your May issue and for getting a donor to make me part of your subscription family. My overall political interests and perspectives are quite simple: I don't believe in "politics" because they are basically dirty, corrupt and self-serving. Being a prisoner and having plenty of experience with this Gulag style, I'm against the police state that backs it and I'm for all "Human Struggle" against it.

I have one request. Could you send me the first part of Raya Dunayevskaya's 1961 lecture notes on "Hegel's *Smaller Logic*, Introduction and preliminary Notion" which appeared in your April issue?

**Prisoner
Texas**

Editor's Note: We will be happy to send all three parts of Dunayevskaya's "Notes on the *Smaller Logic*" to any readers who request them.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

BOOKS

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

- NEW!** *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today* 2000 edition. Foreword by Joel Kovel.....\$24.95
- Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* 1989 edition. New author's introduction.....\$14.95
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* 1991 edition. New author's introduction. Foreword by Adrienne Rich.....\$12.95
- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future* (1996 edition).....\$15.95
- The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism: Selected Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya*.....\$8.50
- The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya* Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes".....\$3 paperback, \$10 hardcover

By CHARLES DENBY

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

By KEVIN ANDERSON

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

PAMPHLETS

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

- Voices from within the Prison Walls* by D. A. Sheldon. Prisoners' views of (in)justice system and organizing from within.....\$8
For pamphlet plus donor copy for a prisoner.....\$16
- Harry McShane and the Scottish Roots of Marxist-Humanism* by Peter Hudis.....\$3
- Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western 'Civilization'* (Expanded edition).....\$5
- NEW!** *Kosova: Writings from News & Letters* 1998-1999.....\$3.50
- Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis* Includes critiques of Ernest Mandel and Tony Cliff.....\$2
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- Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World since World War II* by Raya Dunayevskaya.....\$2
- Theory and Practice, by Rosa Luxemburg* First English translation.....\$2
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions* by Raya Dunayevskaya.....\$1.25
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought* by Lou Turner and John Alan.....\$3
- Working Women for Freedom* by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan, and Mary Holmes.....\$2
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- NEW!** *Marxist-Humanist Literature Catalog for 2000* A full list of publications (includes many not listed here) available from News and Letters Committees.....\$5c postage

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

A debate on the concept of the "white psyche" has re-emerged after the reprint of Raya Dunayevskaya's "Black Power," *Race and Class* in the January-February 2000 edition of *News & Letters*. The reprint prompted a response by New Afrikan political prisoner Ali Khalid Abdullah in April and a response to his response by John Alan in the May *N&L*. The dialogue is an important one. The struggle for freedom has been fraught with landmines which revolve around the discord surrounding race, class and gender.

To begin a serious dialogue on the concept of the "white psyche," we must talk also about its cultural opposite, the "Black psyche." Too often in the discussion of race and class have we failed to consider both the white and Black sides of the equation, and too often have we ignored the gender issue. The dialogue is to embark upon solutions for the fundamental questions of why such diversity exists (outside the concrete realities of capitalism) and its relative impact on a "truly united" front which takes into consideration "all" peoples involved with the dialectic to make Marx's "revolution in permanence" a reality.

In her reprinted thesis Dunayevskaya wrote: "To further insist that 'whatever their political persuasion,' all whites are part of the collective white America' so that the U.S. has '180 million racists' is to blur the class line which cuts across the race divisions as well as to muffle the philosophy of total freedom which has created a second America."

Ironically, some of the same "Black power" political leaders of the 1960s, who were quick to define "all whites" as racists, also relegated Black women in the struggle to a lesser valued status. Marcia Ann Gillespie wrote: "From the beginning the quest for African American rights, freedom, and justice has primarily been couched in patriarchal terms. Oft called a 'struggle for manhood,' it's been a quest for power in which women, with a few notable exceptions, have been and still are expected to play supporting roles. Women's rights and 'women's issues' were seen as secondary to a larger goal" (*Ms.*, January/February 1993, p. 80).

Therein lies the fundamental enemy of a united front for freedom in all human relations. If there is no consistent level of unity and "freedom" within a specific cultural entity—Black or white—the universality of the precept will always be defined by the myopic influences of white vs. Black, male vs. female, young vs. old, light-skinned Black vs. medium- or dark-skinned Black, or African American vs. the Black world outside the U.S.

After his 1964 trip to Africa, Malcolm X noted: "I think the single worst mistake of the American Black organizations, and their leaders, is that they have failed to establish direct brotherhood lines of communication between the independent nations of Africa and the American Black people." He further noted that the last thing that the American power structure wanted was for Black people to start thinking internationally:

"The system in this country cannot produce freedom for an Afro-American.... [A]ll of the countries that are emerging today from under the shackles of colonialism are turning toward socialism. I don't think it's an accident. Most of the countries that were colonial powers were capitalist countries, and the last bulwark of capitalism today is America. It's impossible for a white person to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism."

CAPITAL AND HUMAN RELATIONS

The problems of cultural relationships are not purely racial nor purely economic, but a linked pathological concept which cannot be eradicated as a cultural singularity; it must be eradicated as a whole entity, beginning with the transmutational effects that capital has on human relationships. Nowhere are those effects seen better than in relationships between men and women, regardless of race. Karl Marx wrote:

"The infinite degradation in which man exists for himself is expressed in this relation to the woman as the spoils and handmaiden of communal lust. For the secret of the relationship of man to man finds its **unambiguous, definitive, open**, obvious expression in the relationship of man to woman, and in this way the **direct, natural** relationship between the sexes. The direct, natural, necessary relationship of man to man is the **relationship of man to woman**... From the character of this relation it follows to what degree man as a species has become **human**..." (quoted in Dunayevskaya, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, pp. 80-81).

The struggle for freedom is not merely a Black, white or gender struggle; it transcends all of those. It is a human struggle, a struggle against capitalistic influences which work both sides of the spectrum—Black and white, male and female, young and old. "Over a long, insidious, and brutal process of being conquered, peoples of color have been instilled with the same racist, chauvinist, and supremacist values and attitudes which have oppressed us" (Harris and Ordone, "Racism and Cross-Racial Hostility," *Haciendo Caras: Making Face, Making Soul*, p. 363).

Therein lies one of the foundations of the "Black psyche." As John Alan wrote, "[Stokely] Carmichael saw 'Black Power' as African Americans being organized, like other ethnic groups, to elect their own race to political positions." As Alan also wrote, the Black masses had

On race and class

a different idea of what the concept meant, deciding "that politics was not enough."

There would be little argument with Abdullah's statement that the "development of SNCC and what it advocated cannot be underestimated or dismissed as inadequate merely because some of the ideas were, perhaps, off the mark. When understanding the sign of the times and the urgent need to have Black people rise up from a state of powerlessness to that of power, we must understand that things were said to motivate and stimulate the mind in order to get them to move forward." However, as Alan noted, such a presumption infers that Carmichael "was dealing with a docile Uncle Tom type of people," which was certainly not the case.

Alan further noted, "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." To do this would be to replace one form of intellectual slavery with another, simply changing the color of the skin.

ENDANGERED BLACK MALES

This brings us to the second factor of the "Black psyche," "the endangered Black male syndrome." Robert Staples noted that, "While all Blacks—men, women and children—are burdened by the persistence of institutionalized racism, the situation of Black males has deteriorated to the point of their being called an endangered species" ("Black Male genocide: A final solution to the race problem in America," *The Black Scholar*, May-June 1987, p. 9). This theme has been expounded in various forms and fashions, often in terms of "gender equity."

There is absolutely no doubt that a war is being waged against Black males in this culture, but this is a capitalistic war of class, not one designed to annihilate a specific "species." A movement for solidarity centered on the "endangered Black species" leaves little room in the discussion for the problems affecting the Black female. Without the "whole" of the issue being equally involved in the discussion and the solutions, there is no solidarity; there can be no true freedom.

The conceptualization of race and class privilege, from a capitalistic perspective, is desensitizing—by design—when it comes to the totality of human relationships. It is easier to dominate a section of society if that element is already alienated, depersonalized and subject to factors of deculturalization from within.

In South Africa it was "masses in motion" embodied by the youth, not the sanctions of capitalistic governments, which brought down apartheid; in the former African colonies it was "masses in motion" which ended those colonial regimes; in Haiti it was "masses in motion" which ousted the French to create a Black-run nation within a hemisphere riddled with the abuses of slavery. In Marxist-Humanism it is "masses in motion" which must bring about change, not only in the abject slavery of capitalism, but in human relationships.

If there is truly a "white psyche," let us be more specific in determining its essence and reconstruct it as a "white-bourgeois-male psyche," which has no feeling of guilt and fears only one thing, a unified movement of the masses, workers, Blacks, men and women united. Institutionalized racism on a global scale; supportive of inequities with regard to race, color, creed, national origin and sexual orientation; supportive of abuses of Third World workers; union busters; environment destroyers; death penalty proponents; child labor proponents; selective sweatshop amnesia advocates; prison-industrial complex privateers; advocates of "law and order"—let us call it the "psyche of capitalism."

—Robert Taliaferro

Watching the South Carolina environment

Gadsden, S.C.—South Carolina Environmental Watch was started in response to Mr. Insminger, who wanted to build a poultry farm on 15 acres of land in a densely populated area of lower Richland County, a mainly Black rural area. Around 1991 we met to discuss this with elected officials and Department of Health and Environmental Control representatives, and we were told there were no laws on the books. A hardcore group continued to fight. Finally we got Mr. Insminger to purchase another piece of land which was not around a populated area.

Poultry farms stink. You can't take the smell out of poultry poop. When you spread raw poultry manure over an area, it can cause a debilitating disease called Blue Baby syndrome. It increases the number of flies, gnats, rodents and snakes. There can also be runoff from raw manure into the waterways.

After our initial battle we began to help people in other communities all over the state of South Carolina with everything from landfills to chemical plants. Our newest involvement is with the nuclear laundry in Columbia. They launder uniforms from Oak Ridge, Tenn., Westinghouse Nuclear Fuel and the Savannah River site. The waste water from this nuclear laundry goes into our sewer system.

We're also involved in nontoxic issues like the inequitable sentencing of Black youth in Beaufort County. We're involved in fighting zero tolerance in the school system. As African-descended people, we realize that environmental justice is everything that is part of our environment. It is our school system, our legal sys-

Driving while Black

Sacramento, Cal.—Over 2,000 people demonstrated on April 27 because Governor Davis, a quasi-liberal, vetoed a bill which would have required the police to keep records on which motorists they are stopping. The bill was introduced by an African-American state senator after he was stopped by police and was approved by a two-thirds majority.

In light of all the recent exposés of the illegal practices of police all over the country and especially in California, it is frightening that Davis vetoed even such a mild reform as keeping statistics. Davis has shown once again how tied he is to the criminal justice system, from his support of the prison guards, who got much higher raises than teachers, to building new prisons, refusing to pardon anyone sentenced to death and keeping thousands of women who acted against their abusers in prison for life by glibly holding that no one convicted of killing someone will be paroled while he is in office.

Several people at the rally spoke about their own experiences with police. They said that the practice of racial profiling of drivers is already illegal. We didn't need a law against that. What we do need is to hold the police accountable via records of what they actually do.

The ACLU, which sponsored the rally, has collected information for several months from people who were stopped for "driving while Black or Brown." The ongoing focus on this issue helped bring out the mostly Black and Brown youth, as well as some Asians and whites. This demonstration is part of a movement which won't stop at passing laws. What we really need is to re-create society from the bottom up.

—Marxist-Humanist participants

Haiti's political chaos

Politically Haiti lives under what Marxists call "anarcho-populism." It is marked by total irresponsibility on the part of its government and social chaos. The recent violence in the country may well be explained by a reaction of panic on the part of those in power, who would wish to remain there. Indeed, Haitians have voted in parliamentary elections, which were denied by the powers that be for 18 months, and presidential elections are due next November. They won't avoid these elections, and they cannot count on a spontaneous majority either.

Economically the country lives on transfusions from the West. The informal economy triumphs and the national production sectors are agonizing, from the peasantry to the industrialists. Only the latter can benefit from their adaptability to change. They have linked up to the global markets. The most serious of Haiti's former communists feel the constraints and speak of a "bourgeoisie nationale" (not "nationaliste"!)" as a necessary partner in rebuilding the state.

Politically, again, the focus is on the reconstruction of the state. Political sectors, but for some nostalgics on both the Left and the Right, are now struggling to build an alternative to the present situation. It may be impossible. But a reasonable, humane alternative alone will allow for our civil society to build itself back to about where its progressive sectors stood in the 1980s—working toward a transformative project that will win the adherence of the majority of the people, on new grounds and with renewed hope!

—Haitian student

tem, the banking system.

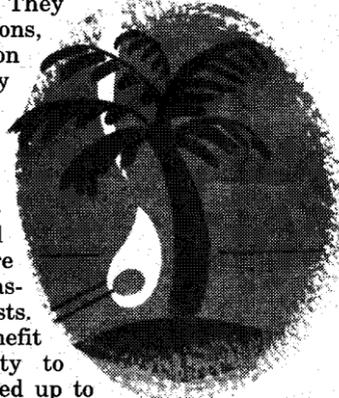
Our kids are exposed to pesticides and herbicides and all sorts of chemicals in their playgrounds and schools, so we can't separate toxic issues from children's health. We can't separate education, because we know that certain toxins affect the way children learn. We can't separate the judicial, because certain chemicals cause criminal-like behavior.

You can't separate the toxic issues from women's health. When we get dioxin built up in our fatty tissue, when we have fish that have too high a mercury content—and we have some fish subsistence cultures in South Carolina, for instance, along the Savannah River where the nuclear plant is located—we see we can't separate these issues.

Being involved in the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s definitely plays a part in my activism today. When we started to forge a movement, we came up with the terminology "people of color" to unify us. There is an attempt to create a division among people of color so we can't get together and be that wave that creates change. Racism is not about hatred; it is all about power. And no one is willing to concede one iota of that power.

When I started fighting the poultry farm, I didn't know a thing. This thing is addictive. The more you learn, the more there is to know. The more there is to know, the more you want to know, and the greater the battle is, the more you dig in your heels for the fight! Struggle is nothing new to African-descended people in America. Our whole lives have been a struggle.

—Mildred Myers



The challenge of Africa in crisis for today's liberation movement

(Continued from page 1)

May 10 general strike which saw over 4 million workers stay away from their jobs must be our point of departure is not only because it's easy to forget that revolution in permanence (and not Mbeki's and the national bourgeoisie's rhetoric of a capitalist "African renaissance") remains the ongoing impulse of the African masses in the midst of seemingly endless crises. It is also because most of the contradictions we see across the continent as a result of the unfinished nature of the African revolutions are found in this most technologically developed land in Africa.

Take so seemingly different hot spots as the Ethiopia-Eritrea war and the "land war" in Zimbabwe. It is certainly true that these stem from the historical contradictions of the legacy of imperialist colonialism. Nevertheless the immediate forms that they take are organized around the specific class impulses of the ruling party elites, namely, the fear that their failure to deal with their internal economic and political crises will result in the African masses voting out or severely weakening their ruling party power through even such limited means as national elections.

Whether it's Mugabe's ruling ZANU-PF party, or the ruling EPRDF in Ethiopia, fear of even a modest decrease in their monolithic state power impels them onto the cynical path of fomenting armed conflicts to divert the masses' attention from their governmental incompetence and corruption.

Exactly 40 years ago Frantz Fanon warned precisely of this phenomenon. "In reality," Fanon wrote in his field notes published posthumously in *Toward the African Revolution*, "the colonized states that reached independence by the political path seem to have no other concern than to find themselves a real battlefield with wounds and destruction. It is clear, however, that this psychological explanation, which appeals to a hypothetical need for release of pent-up aggressiveness, does not satisfy us. We must once again come back to the Marxist formula. The triumphant middle classes are the most impetuous, the most enterprising, the most annexationist in the world (not for nothing did the French bourgeoisie of 1789 put Europe to fire and sword)."

ZIMBABWE AND MOZAMBIQUE: THE LAND, THE ECONOMY, AND THE PARTY

In Zimbabwe, Mugabe's ZANU-PF faced the most serious vote of confidence in the 20 years of its single party rule when it lost the constitutional referendum in February. Corruption and its incompetent handling of the economy have made the party more unpopular than ever, as well as Mugabe's intervention in the conflict in Congo-Kinshasa. Until the war veterans' land seizures, the Western-favored MDC (Movement for Democratic Change) stood to make rescheduled June, national elections.

Which is why it is crucial to recognize that while the Zimbabwean masses have every legitimate claim to the rich white-owned farm lands that were brutally expropriated from them under colonialism and that have been occupied since March, Mugabe's opportunistic support for the land seizures (after his government fumbled a chance three years ago to confiscate 1,000 white-owned farms under eminent domain) is really aimed at silencing his African political opposition who were poised to silence his party. The MDC could win 50-70 seats in the 150-seat parliament in the upcoming national elections.

The occupation of 1,000 of Zimbabwe's 6,500 commercial farms by disenfranchised veterans of the country's liberation war reveals just how important Zimbabwe's \$32 billion a year agricultural industry is to the country's most powerful political interests. Principal among them are the white farmers organized under the Commercial Farmers' Union, Mugabe's ZANU-PF government, and the farm laborers' union affiliated with the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions whose general secretary, Morgan Tsvangirai also heads the opposition MDC.

The agreement of white farmers to allow the African squatters represented by the ZANU-PF-affiliated War Veterans Association to remain on the land permits ZANU-PF to establish political bases on the farms to counter the broad organizational support the MDC enjoys among farm laborers.

The current political crisis in Zimbabwe is unmistakably a class struggle. It is no less so in neighboring Mozambique though submerged by torrential floods. Once the poorest country in the world, Mozambique over the last several years has had the fastest growing economy in the world with a 11% growth rate.

Though it's true that the floods may have washed it all away, disclosing just how difficult it is to sustain economic development in poor Third World countries, it is no less true that it is because IMF/World Bank and Anglo-American investment and debt relief have divided the country north and south. Most aid and investment is concentrated around the capital Maputo in the south, the region of the flooding, while neglecting the center and north of the country.

Mozambique, moreover, is evidence of a new ecological

danger created by capitalist globalization. Disastrous climatological changes, ranging from drought and famine to floods, further exacerbate the uneven development fostered by international finance institutions.

Zimbabwe's land crisis and Mozambique's "natural disaster" have repercussions for the rest of the continent. South Africa's land commission has nearly 64,000 land claims before it, of which only 4,000 have been addressed. The Pan African Congress has warned that unless the process of redistributing vast, wealthy farmlands is speeded up, land seizures will commence in South Africa.

AFRICA'S RENDEZVOUS WITH MARX?

Capitalist development of African agricultural lands has not succeeded in lifting the African masses out of the most wretched poverty, despite the small but growing stratum of Black commercial farm owners who have enriched themselves as much at the expense of poor farm laborers as white farmowners have. Nonetheless it is true that Africa's traditional peasant farming, much of it done by women, is among the most productive sectors of the agricultural and foreign subsidies going to big commercial farms.

According to Mwesiga Baregu, research coordinator of the Harare-based Southern African Regional Institute for Policy Studies, "The land question in southern Africa...arises from the forceful and often brutal evictions of indigenous people from fertile land by colonial settlers. The fundamental goal of the liberation struggles, therefore, was to redress this historical wrong

"But the liberation wars in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa were largely terminated by peaceful settlements which were essentially a counter-strategy to armed victories.... Thus suing for peace or 'constructive engagement' in southern Africa was meant to establish a controlled regional transition and, if that was not possible, at least a negotiated one. A 'revolutionary transition' had to be avoided at all costs.... The nearly century-old struggle for justice in South Africa (understood as repossession of stolen land) was 'transformed' into a crusade for peace and democracy. Form took the place of essence and content."

There was however a historical moment during this second wave of the African revolutions in which revolutionary intellectuals resisted foisting theoretical responsibility for the making of the revolution onto the shoulders of the African masses, and took Fanon's advice to once again turn to Marx. One such African Marxist, S. Mshonga, in addressing the land question in Namibia, also had to wrestle with the contradictory legacy of post-Marx Marxism, beginning with Engels

On the one hand, Mshonga quotes Engels as an uncritical advocate of the classical customary family system, the tenure system, based the extended family system, as the pathway to creating a modern socialist society. According to Engels, "It is not only possible but inescapable that the countries which have managed to make a start on capitalist production and where tribal institutions or relics of them are still intact, will be able to use these relics of communal ownership and the corresponding popular customs as powerful means of considerably shortening their advance to the socialist society...."

On the other hand, Mshonga takes a second critical look at the contradictions within the land question in the theoretical context in which Marx posed it in the last years of his life, as European imperialism was poised to

make its mad scramble for Africa.

Marx's insight into the duality in the traditional Russian commune, the *mir*, led Mshonga to critically consider the duality in Africa's communal land forms: "In this regard Marx noted that 'either the propriety trend will prevail over the collective one or the latter will prevail over the former. Everything depends on the historical environment within which it finds itself.'"

Africa once again finds itself at a crossroads. It is now self-evident to the African masses what four decades of traveling down a road that has postponed its rendezvous with Marx's Marxism has meant.

FROM SIERRA LEONE TO THE HORN OF AFRICA—WARS, DIAMONDS, AND GLOBALIZATION

In Sierra Leone and the Horn of Africa, the question is no different though it would seem that terrorist and annexationist wars have made sheer human survival instead of revolutionary transformation the most immediate task at hand.

The collapse of the UN-brokered, July 1999, Lome Peace Accords to end Sierra Leone's 8-year civil war, the intervention of British military forces, the appeasement diplomacy of President Clinton's special envoy to Sierra Leone, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, and the latest capture of the Pol Potist Foday Sankoh, May 18—all point to the reality that the terrorist RUF remains in control of Sierra Leone's lucrative Kono and Tongo diamond fields

The RUF's control of the diamonds fields, no less than its unspeakable atrocities against the Sierra Leonean masses, have won Sankoh leverage and appeasement from the UN and the U.S. who, against protests from human rights and democracy movement groups, sponsored his power-sharing position in the government.

As in Bosnia and Kosovo, U.S. imperialism leads the way in appeasing genocide. In Africa it's on a more monstrous scale: Sankoh's RUF specializes in mass dismemberment of men, women, and children as young as four months old, rape camps, and the recruiting of children by forcing them to liberate their own families

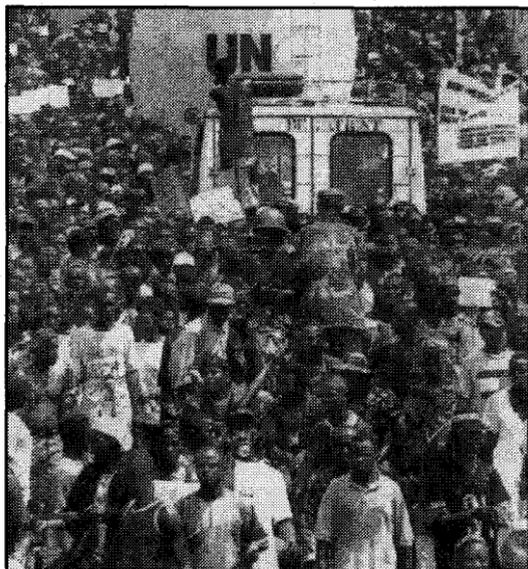
Meanwhile, Liberian President Charles Taylor, who helped found the rogue RUF during his own war of atrocities in Liberia and who was himself given legitimacy through the diplomatic fig-leaf of Jesse Jackson, has kept a steady flow of arms going to the RUF in exchange for diamonds smuggled out of Sierra Leone by the RUF.

The RUF and UNITA in Angola, as well as various forces in the civil war in Congo-Kinshasa, especially the Kabila government, exploit their country's diamond wealth to finance their war aims while their masses subsist in grinding poverty. United Nations sanctions against UNITA's diamond smuggling operations—the largest in the world—were curtailed by fears that UNITA might dump the diamonds on the world market to raise cash, thereby driving down diamond prices. Which is why in Angola and Sierra Leone transnational corporations like DeBeers and Anglo-American are deeply but secretly involved in the conflicts. Just as Taylor has done in Sierra Leone, so has Mugabe come to Kabila's defense in Congo-Kinshasa by defending its diamond rich Kasai province.

Finally, the Ethiopia-Eritrea war has returned Ethiopia to the annexationist road it had unsuccessfully traveled down for three decades, first under the monarch Haile Selassie and then under the Stalinist Mengistu. After several months of cease fire in the border war instigated by Eritrea's occupation of fire in the desolate Badame region, Ethiopia resumed its two-year old war with Eritrea on May 12. As we go to press, Ethiopia has penetrated deep inside Eritrea, quickly taking control of a third of the country, and declared victory

Having supported the EPRDF to oust Mengistu's Derg government in 1991, Eritrea achieved its own self-determination not long after. On the anniversary of its independence, it finds itself at war with its former ally. In two years, tens of thousands have died on both sides, and more than a million Eritreans have been displaced by Ethiopia's latest offensive. While Ethiopia has spent millions on this

(Continued on page 10)



Residents of Freetown, Sierra Leone, mass outside the residence of hated RUF leader Foday Sankoh, demanding an end to fighting.

Nation rallies for Mumia Abu-Jamal

San Francisco — "Mumia, Mumia, you know we're gonna free ya!" That was the resounding cry on May 13 from the crowd of several thousand. The day before, Labor held a day long conference for Mumia Abu-Jamal, the radical journalist unjustly sentenced to death in the shooting of a Philadelphia cop. Many unionists came to both the conference and the march.

There were, for example, representatives from a local of longshoremen from South Carolina. They joined the fight against police brutality and to save Mumia's life after the police beat up their members who were picketing a non-union shipper. That experience radicalized not just the pickets, but much of the community.

After winning the fight against the non-union shipper, the local went on to fight for other causes for justice, such as justice for Mumia.

We started at the foot of Market Street and marched to City Hall where the popular gay president of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, Tom Ammann, spoke in support of Mumia and against the death penalty.

The movement to save Mumia is bringing together different dimensions of those opposed to this oppressive society. A large percentage of the people who came were Asian and Latino.

Maybe Labor's focus on Mumia can be a turning point in saving his life and reversing the oppressive criminal justice system.

—Participants

Chicago — Supporters of journalist and Pennsylvania Death Row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal traveled from all over the midwest for a rally held in downtown Chicago on the afternoon of May 13. The event was held both to call for Mumia's freedom and to mark the 15th anniversary of the fatal police siege of MOVE members in Philadelphia in 1985.

The rally was attended by well over 300, including Mumia supporters from Detroit, Mich. and Grinnell College in Iowa. Participants heard speeches of solidarity from U.S. Representative Danny Davis, activist lawyer Standish Willis and Vera Love, mother of Robert Russ, a Black Northwestern University student slain by Chicago police last summer. Among the others who spoke were a number of high school and college student supporters of Mumia's cause.

Mumia's cause was heavy during the rally and it became more intense as a planned march began. A young woman marcher was injured by a police officer who threw a street newspaper box at her.

At the end of the march, a number of youth took part in unplanned civil disobedience. At least 12 were arrested and reported maltreatment at the hands of police officers who had removed their badges so as to be difficult to identify.

—Kevin Michaels

Editorial *Legacy of war in Vietnam and at home*

The passage of 25 years since the Vietnam War ended in a debacle for U.S. imperialist war policy provided a rare opportunity for widespread reflection on that longest of foreign wars. One theme repeated in public forums or radio call-ins around the anniversary was Vietnam veterans pinpointing when they themselves began to oppose the war. The Vietnam War, which ultimately five presidents had a hand in waging, cannot be recalled apart from resistance to it, and in particular the decade of mass demonstrations against all-out war.

We are a generation removed from actual fighting in Vietnam, and a decade since the Cold War rivalry underlying the war seemed to be replaced by Pax Americana with the crumbling of the state-capitalist regime calling itself Communism in Russia. But demonstrations against the World Trade Organization in Seattle testify that global capitalism survived opposition to the war and remains the main enemy of the masses in each country. It still must be confronted and brought down.

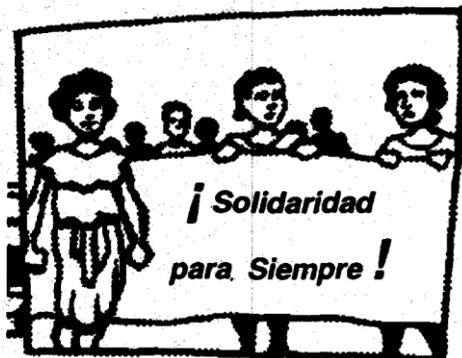
In 1956, President Eisenhower encouraged Ngo Dinh Diem to ignore scheduled elections to decide the fate of a unified Vietnam and instead run South Vietnam as an American client. With U.S. policy anchored to subse-

Salvadoran strike tour

New York—The New York Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) sponsored a fundraiser, in April, featuring two of the leaders of the recent victorious Salvadoran health care strike. Labor leaders—Dr. Julio Oseguede and Victor Pineda—are on a U.S. tour speaking about the four-month strike of 10,000 health care workers to defend the right of health care for all. The government agreed to halt the privatization process and negotiate, but has been stalling.

Strike support came from sweatshop/maquila workers, campesinos, market vendors, teachers and the work of "international solidarity."

The majority of Salvadorans were on the brink of losing their right to health care as a result of President



Francisco Flores signing an agreement with the World Bank to put the control of essential public services, including education and water, in the hands of private corporations.

During the strike, the cops used tear gas and rubber bullets. Patients going in and out of the hospital as well as students at a nearby school were affected. Union leaders and their families were intimidated.

During the discussion, I asked the speakers about their fight against globalization in the context of *News & Letters'* philosophy of a total uprooting of capitalism and vision of a new society. They specified their aims for a "political system based on solidarity, unification of different sectors, identifying the common enemy internationally, transforming our own reality, getting rid of corruption, and sharing the wealth." —Sheila G.

quent military rulers, in 1961 the U.S. responded militarily to the inevitable revolt in South Vietnam with Orwellian jargon like calling soldiers "advisers." Lyndon B. Johnson even ran as a "peace" candidate in 1964 against Goldwater.

Just two months later LBJ began pursuing war without limits, committing troops till more than half a million were in the field and dropping more bombs on Vietnam than the Allies used on Germany in World War II.

GROWING ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

New layers of anti-war opposition emerged immediately, responding with teach-ins, marches, and draft resistance. Over ten years, the battle of ideas within that movement proved so vigorous that it became fertile ground for the rise of the women's liberation and gay movements.

Development of the anti-war movement, incorporating the passions of youth and rooted in the Civil Rights Movement, posed enough of an obstacle to warmongers that LBJ dared not run for reelection and Nixon in 1968 ran with a "secret plan for peace." Even in 1972 Nixon created a cease-fire to run for reelection, one he broke days after the election.

At the pivotal moment of the war, confrontations with protests that exploded against Nixon's invasion of Cambodia in 1970 had turned murderous. The National Guard killed four demonstrators at Kent State. Students at over 400 schools shut down campuses or otherwise protested the killings, including Jackson State, where police killed two Black students. Unfortunately, fewer campuses memorialized the students killed there.

By expanding the ground war into Cambodia, Nixon and his Secretary of State Kissinger had intensified the war at home. Since invading Cambodia had only sunk the U.S. deeper, he needed help to extricate himself from Vietnam and ward off the threat of revolt at home. Nixon turned to Mao Zedong who had launched the Cultural Revolution to divert a similar revolutionary opposition in China.

LINKS TO TODAY

Counter-revolutionary alliances carried out after Nixon and Kissinger played the China card have survived. What links the anti-Vietnam War movement most strongly to today are the rising struggles of youth and workers which oppose the same enemy, global capitalism. The war at home likewise has a link to today in the movements against police abuse and prisonization of a generation of restive youth. These movements and more take inspiration, not uncritically, from the earlier anti-war struggles, resuming the goal of putting this system out of its misery.

Aceh violence continues

Indonesian police killed nine "suspected separatists," May 17, in spite of the truce agreement made five days earlier between the government and the armed wing of the Aceh Merdeka separatist movement (GAM). Police said eight of the nine were killed in a firefight, but residents said they had been shot in cold blood while sitting in a cafe waiting to watch a football match on television.

The ninth victim that day was a motorcycle driver identified as Udin, 26, shot dead by police during a road check in the Muara Dua subdistrict in North Aceh. Witnesses said that Udin was forced to run and then some 20 policemen chased and "executed" him 300 meters from the checkpoint.

Violence by the Indonesian army and police has continued in this resource-rich province on the northern tip of Sumatra island, despite the three-month "humanitarian pause" signed in Geneva and set to begin June 2. The latest killings came just hours after a court jailed 24 soldiers for a massacre of 58 civilians last year. They were sentenced to prison terms of up to ten years. Indonesian authorities say the convictions are a sign of their determination to secure justice for victims of military human rights abuses, but human rights groups say that, as no senior officers were brought to trial, justice has yet to be served.

The trial left unpunished those who ordered the massacre of Islamic teacher Teungku Bantaqiah and 57 of his followers. Human rights groups condemned the trial, even though the sentences were some of the harshest Indonesia has given its soldiers for rights abuses. Public reaction in Aceh was virtually nil. "No one cares," said Saifuddin Bantasyam, executive director of Care Human Rights Forum in the capital, Banda Aceh. "They already knew the result of the trial. This trial could not bring justice to the people. We need a body to investigate all human rights abuses in Aceh." A series of such inquiries have recently begun work looking at a range of unresolved business from the past, most notably last year's East Timor violence. But, noting a lack of similar inquiries in Aceh, rights activists suggest it may be just too delicate a subject to handle.

Activists in Aceh urge Jakarta to set up a full human rights inquiry into abuses in the province. If Indonesia wants the de facto ceasefire to lead to a lasting peace, they say, the anger over Aceh's treatment by the military has to be assuaged. In the past year, a mass civil movement in support of independence has grown up in response to the continuous killings. As of May 9, the death toll for this year is 345 people.

—Information from the International Forum for Aceh

Defend London's May Day

London—Amidst the screams of the bourgeois media, the politicians and the respectables of the labour movement, the true picture of London's May Day 2000 has been blurred. It was a weekend in which thousands participated in peaceful activities ranging from seminars on "what is capital," direct action by environmentalists, to two major demonstrations. For weeks prior to the events there was panic generated of a virtual red terror about to be unleashed by anti-capitalist "mobs" on the city centre. It is a tried and tested tactic of the rulers to raise the profile of a threat, build up its defences, create a confrontation and drown the message of the opposition.

Home Secretary Jack Straw denounced the day as "criminality and thuggery masquerading as political protest." No mention was made of the 7,000-strong demonstration of socialists and trade unionists, headed by BMW-Rover and Ford car workers protesting job cuts, which was unceremoniously banned from entering Trafalgar Square 50 yards from the rally point by riot police—despite police agreement it could do so! The police said it was "unsafe" to allow the march to continue; it was unsafe for the powers that be. They did not want the thousands of anti-capitalist protesters on a second march to join with the labour movement at the square.

The massive anti-capitalist protest included greens, anarchists, socialists, environmental activists and notably working-class youth who would not normally attend anything called by the traditional Left. It moved from Parliament Square, where flowers were planted, towards Trafalgar Square in a party mood; it was a festival of anti-capitalism.

Two incidents have been turned into the main theme of the media rage against May Day. The Cenotaph, a war memorial, and a statue of Winston Churchill were targeted for graffiti. Demonstrators trashed a McDonald's after the police protecting this despised company strangely left. Demonstrations when reaching the Square could not participate in the now banned rally, an event organised by the unions, but encircled by a wall of riot police. For over three hours protesters and tourists were slowly squeezed in by the police—there were some clashes as a result but no media coverage of the use of CS gas, pepper sprays and assorted police thuggery as the square was cleared.

The frenzy after these events is an attempt at marginalising the opponents of capitalism and the message they carried on May Day. There is no doubt that it was mistake for the young street artist to deface the Cenotaph, which only insulted the anti-fascist feeling of the working class. But it is a grand lie that a "mindless thug" defaced Winston Churchill's statue who we are told kept Britain free from fascism in World War II. It was done by ex-British soldier James Matthews, who declared:

"I am not a thug. I didn't and never would deface the Whitehall Cenotaph—it's a monument to ordinary soldiers and I was an ordinary soldier. Churchill was an exponent of capitalism and of imperialism and anti-Semitism."

We cannot separate the events around the Greater London Authority elections culminating on May 4. The left populist Ken Livingstone trounced the official New Labour candidate, giving the Blair government a bloody nose from working-class London. The socialist, communist and green candidates won a combined vote of 249,563—hardly a reflection of an idea we were told died in 1989.

The response of the respectables on the Left has been far from satisfactory—mayor of London "red Ken" Livingstone has shown he is not as red as many may think and condemned the protests without a word about the extreme violence of the police of whom he is now the boss. Similarly the union-backed London May Day Organising Committee has only condemned the police for banning their march with not a word of condemnation for the violence against the anti-capitalist protesters who were prevented from joining them. Next year the division between the labour movement and the "anti-capitalists" should be prevented by one united demonstration proceeding under the old slogan "Peacefully if we may—Forcefully if we must."

—Jean Paul Marat

Africa in crisis

(Continued from page 9)

ill-considered war, famine threatens millions of Ethiopians and Eritreans

And all of this occurs in a "new world order" in which capitalist globalization has inaugurated the recolonization of Africa. African underdevelopment is at one and the same time the condition for such mass human tragedies as famine, war, and disease, as well as for Western "humanitarian" aid to further enrich big Western agricultural, military and pharmaceutical interests. Food aid is part of the U.S.'s diplomatic arsenal, whether in the form of sanctions which devastate vast impoverished masses of people, or in the form of famine relief. Globalization has sunk the old colonial and neocolonial relations to entirely new, more degenerate depths.

As we have seen, however, the poor Africans are not only suffering but fighting back. That's because Africa has known ever since the ill-fated, UN-designated "Africa Year" of 1960 that the logic of capitalist accumulation assures that there will never be enough capital available to develop even one impoverished country in Black Africa.

Which is why Raya Dunayevskaya concluded her chapter in *Philosophy and Revolution* on "The African Revolutions and the World Economy" that "It is not possible to comprehend the African reality apart from the compelling objective forces of world production, the pull of the world market, and the underlying philosophy of the masses which Marx called 'the quest for universality.'" Working that out a quarter century later is what Africa's myriad crises challenges us to do.

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Forgotten dimension of Kent State massacre

Kent, Ohio—In April of 1998, speaking on the Kent State University campus, labor activist Staughton Lynd reminded his listeners that May 4, 1970 symbolizes an intersection of labor history and the history of the student left. It was because of a spontaneous wildcat strike of independent truckers that then Governor James Rhodes dispatched the National Guard to northeast Ohio, a center of strike activity.

Thus, National Guard units were nearby when President Nixon ordered the U.S. invasion of Cambodia and when, as a result, there was an upsurge in anti-war activism at Kent State and across the country.

Why is Lynd's analysis useful? It is important because if we are to understand the significance of Kent State, we must see it within a class context: National Guardsmen were dispatched to suppress a spontaneous labor uprising and were then redeployed on the campus of a working-class university in order to control the anti-war actions of its students.

The first week of May 2000 saw two different commemorations of the killing of Alison Krause, William Schroeder, Jeffrey Miller and Sandy Shever and the wounding of nine other Kent State students 30 years ago.

On May 1 and 2, the university sponsored a symposium, "The Boundaries of Freedom of Expression and

Order in a Democratic Society." This program featured six panel discussions on themes that explored balancing civil liberties and stability within bourgeois society. Anthony Lewis of *The New York Times* and Kathleen Sullivan, dean of the Stanford Law School, were featured speakers.

The rest of the week saw the student-organized programs take center stage. The May Fourth Task Force brought such speakers as Naomi Chomsky to campus. The theme of the programs was: "Peace: Learn it, teach it, live it." Relatives of the martyred students also spoke. The centerpiece was a moving commemoration on May 4. A bell was rung at 12:24 p.m. to mark the time 30 years ago that the National Guard bullets brought down the four students.

Perhaps the most interesting program was "Reflections on War Resistance." It featured pacifist Larry Gara, trade unionist Jerry Gordon, former Kent State SDS leader Candy Erikson and anti-war and labor activist Staughton Lynd and drew almost 150 people.

Neither commemoration, however, provided the class context for the May 4 shootings: the link to the independent trucker strike as well as the general tradition of state violence against working people who organize to struggle for a better world.

—Green Social Alliance activist

Police board fiasco

Chicago—When the Chicago Police Board was called to account by 150 angry community residents and activists, the board walked out. The scheduled hearing took place May 18 after police shot and killed two men and wounded two others in the first half of May.

Joseph Zagar was shot May 3 while "aiming" a battery pack at police and Michael Taylor, 20, was slain May 13. Witnesses dispute the police who say Taylor had a gun and who tried to intimidate Taylor's girlfriend into saying he was armed. Even the NAACP Southside Branch has demanded a federal investigation into Chicago police terror after Taylor's death.

Several participants affixed plastic forks to their clothes in symbolic protest over the killing March 16 of Arthur Hutchinson, a homeless man whom police simply shot dead after he lunged at them with a fork.

One by one, community speakers tore into Police Superintendent Terry Hillard, who sat with the board. One by one, people linked the current atmosphere of police violence with personal incidents of repression. Gwen Hogan, whose husband Kelsey was shot and killed by an off-duty corrections officer last year, complained the Chicago police investigation was a whitewash.

Mary Reed, mother of Leroy Reed, condemned the police for cutting down her son in a neighborhood gang sweep Feb. 16 and then callously stonewalling her. A young mother who came to complain that police and the principal of her daughter's school conspired unjustly to arrest her, in front of the child and her classmates, when she and the principal got into an argument. At these women and others who took the floor, Hillard either tossed back trivial answers, suggested they go on a bureaucratic goose chase, or sat silently as allotted time elapsed for each speaker.

The board limits complaints by requiring speakers to get on a list the day before a meeting. Seeded activists from the October 22 Coalition against police brutality and others answered a call to attend the board meeting and at least three activists got on the list and spoke eloquently against the outbreak of repression.

When one activist attempted, however, to speak out of turn, about the Zagar slaying, and then refused to yield to the next person, the board seized the opportunity to adjourn, filing out under police guard. Apparently the activist had not shared the plan to take over the microphone with some community residents. Those residents had showed up to air their own complaints of police misconduct. This shows an obstacle for activists to bridge—to actually listen to those subjected to police repression in this city.

—Jim Mills

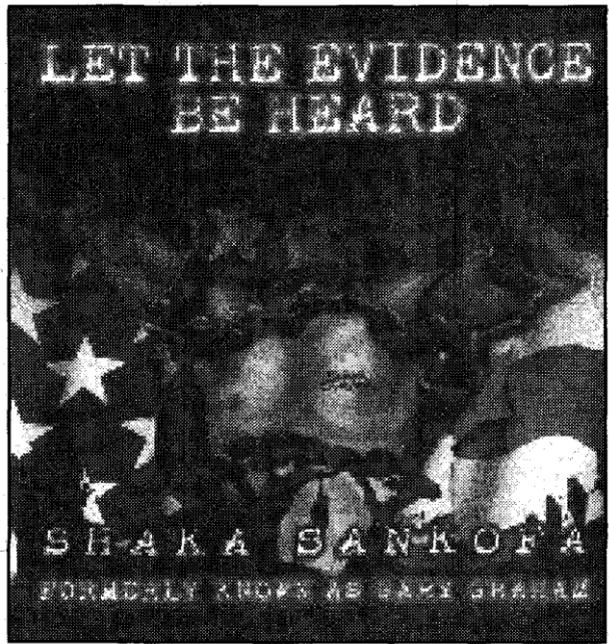
Save Shaka Sankofa

The life of Texas Death Row resident Shaka Sankofa is in grave danger. At the age of 17 Sankofa, then known as Gary Graham, was convicted of murder and sentenced to die in an unfair trial. He used the harsh years of his imprisonment to become a self-conscious individual and prison rights activist. The U.S. Supreme Court refused on May 1 to hear his case and immediately after, the state of Texas scheduled an execution date of June 22.

Shaka's supporters are urgently calling for people to write on his behalf to Governor George W. Bush in care of the Office of the Governor, P.O. Box 12428, Austin, TX 78748.

A benefit CD for Sankofa has recently become available. "Let the Evidence Be Heard" featuring the music of Elighah "Ricky" Jason and Jazzie Redd can be obtained from Plight Entertainment at 4705 Collier, Suite 10, Beaumont, TX 77706.

The urgency of Shaka's situation makes Mumia Abu-Jamal's recent words on the case ring true: "It is necessary to mobilize unsparing protests and stiff resistance to the death machine to bring about what should be our obvious goal: the life and freedom of Shaka Sankofa."



Disabled man felled by police bullets

Chicago—Jaime Schaller is not only a victim of a mental illness, he is now a victim of police brutality. For nearly three years, our family has desperately been seeking proper care for Jaime's illness without much success. He falls into the category of the one who has slipped through the cracks. He would be released from one facility and sent home, just to go through the same vicious circle into illness again.

Our family has called officers to assist us with Jaime in the past. We are grateful for the officers who handled these instances in a professional, non-forceful manner. Unfortunately, on Jan. 12, Jaime had a relapse and his sister called the police. She explained the circumstances over the phone and specified that Jaime had a mental illness. Officers arrived minutes later and opened fire, hitting Jaime 12 times. He has been in the hospital in intensive care since then. He is suffering from the gunshot wounds and has a serious infection.

In covering the incident in which Jaime was shot by police, the media portrayed him as "the ax-wielding man." Those of us who know and love him would testify that Jaime is a sweet and caring young man. We have accepted his illness and understand he has no control over his actions.

This brutality by the Chicago Police Department has got to be dealt with by the Commissioner and his superiors. Police carelessly opened fire on a residential block at approximately 5:15 p.m. with families and children present. Luckily, no one else was injured. Have human life and rights become unimportant?

Jaime Schaller did not hurt anyone. The state, the city and two police officers hurt Jaime. Now what happens? Does it get swept under the rug? Covered up? Or does someone take responsibility for where Jaime Schaller is now? This is why common people have no respect for authority. The authorities have not earned it.

—Jaime Schaller's family

San Cristobal bishop speaks on Chiapas struggle

Chicago—Retired Bishop Samuel Ruiz of San Cristobal de las Casas, in Chiapas, Mexico, gave a very interesting talk May 19 at the University of Chicago Divinity School. Bishop Ruiz has been the mediator in talks between the EZLN and the Mexican state. He spoke of how the rebellion in Chiapas was rooted in the attack upon the ejido system of communal property which strikes at the very existence of indigenous communities. The "violence" of the rebellion there is in response to the greater violence of the state, and is only one aspect of the many ways in which the indigenous communities have organized themselves to resist.

There were two things in particular that I found very impressive in Bishop Ruiz' talk. First was the description of how the indigenous communities were being changed in the course of their struggle, and developing a revolutionary consciousness. It has already been pointed out that 40% of the EZLN are women and the reason for that was clear from the description of the way, as Ruiz said, the feminist movement of indigenous women is about being included in all aspects of life.

The other really striking thing was the description of how the indigenous communities saw the need to start a newspaper—"of a different kind," as he put it—to serve as a vehicle of communication among them. Doing this, the people would meet to read the paper, as well as to exchange the views and stories that would then appear in the next issue. (With this in mind, it was nice to be able to present Bishop Ruiz with a copy of *News & Letters* as the voice of the "other America.")

Perhaps the most interesting moment came when one person in the audience asked a question about the state of liberation theology after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Bishop Ruiz said, "I think what you are really asking me about is Marxism." His reply was that any genuine Christian theology is about liberation, but that in the U.S., there is a theology that justifies the existence of capitalism, and this is a theology of slavery. As a Marxist-Humanist, of course I found this answer most endearing, and it certainly made for an interesting afternoon at the University of Chicago, the home of neoliberalism.

—Marxist-Humanist

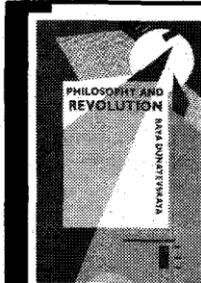
Doing Whatever It Takes

Editor's note: This poem was written by a 16-year-old African-American woman who helped found Youth Terminating Pollution. She read the poem at the "Days of Outrage and Action" in April in Memphis, Tenn. See articles in March and May issues of *News & Letters*.

*Until the problem is solved we'll do whatever it takes.
Let's become involved even if it's the traditions we break.
Just talking about it won't be enough,
We have to be strong, we have to be courageous, and we
have to be tough.
We were stuck in the dark for too many years,
Forcing us to lose so many loved ones, shedding so many
tears.
Distributing your share of pain, disease and death,
Trying to wipe us out until there is no one left.
Not just the adults, you have affected us children, too.
Disease-stricken families, no conditions improved.
These problems you made and this is without a doubt:
We will be heard even if we have to argue fight kick and
shout.
You look and see a child then think, let's continue this game.
We'll hear me now, all of that it has to change.
Questions go unanswered, you'll get back with me and
you'll follow up.
I have three words for you, enough is enough.
You don't discourage me, my spirits you can't break.
But I'll continue fighting, doing whatever it takes.*

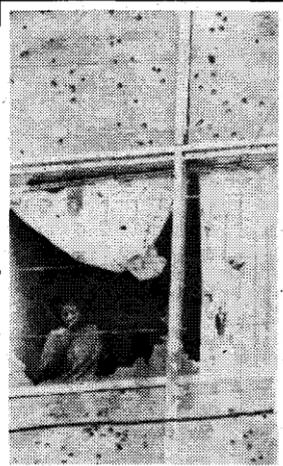
—Isis Bradshaw,
Vice president, Youth Terminating Pollution

On the 30th anniversary of the killings of two Black students at Jackson State University in Mississippi, purchase a copy of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* for \$15 and receive a new or renewal subscription for free. Offer good through Bastille Day 2000.



From the book: "In contrast to the mass outpouring of protest all over the country to the Kent killings and the Cambodian invasion, there was very nearly total silence on the part of whites to the happenings in the South, the murder of Blacks by police and the planned and massive gunfire poured out at the Black women's dormitory at Jackson State."

See page 7 to order.



Our Life and Times **May Day 2000 involves youth and labor**

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Many of this year's May Day marches and protests took on a different character than in the recent past, greeting the new millennium in a youthful, sometimes revolutionary tone. The Seattle protests and similar movements elsewhere have helped to create a type of solidarity between youth and workers not seen in decades.

India general strike



On May 11, up to 20 million workers joined a one-day general strike called by the National Platform of Mass Organizations, a coalition of mainly leftist trade unions. Strongest in West Bengal, the strike touched all 26 of India's states, but had less impact in Mumbai (Bombay), the commercial capital.

Banks, insurance companies, airports, and railroads, as well as the coal belt and some agricultural districts were heavily impacted. On the day of the strike, Tapan Sen of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions stated: "The strike is to protest against the economic policies of the government, against liberalization and globalization which is affecting labor and the poor" (BBC News, May 11, 2000).

Specifically, strikers targeted plans to raise the prices of cooking gas and kerosene by cutting subsidies in order to reduce the government's budget deficit. More generally, they attacked plans to privatize the state sector and to encourage the entry of multinationals into India.

Brazil peasant protests

Over 30,000 landless peasants and their supporters occupied public buildings on May 2 in Brazil, in a widespread, well-organized and effective protest to demand land for 100,000 families, and financial support for others who have already received grants of land. The building occupations followed a wave of May Day land invasions in northeast Brazil. The protests were organized by the left-ist Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST) and were timed also to begin with the start of a truckers' strike.

The MST building takeovers spanned the country. They demanded to meet with President Henrique Cardoso, who they want to expend \$6.1 billion on land reform, instead of the \$720 million that has been allocated. In Brazil only one-fifth of the population owns 90% of the land. Cardoso responded by creating a special police unit to evict "illegal" settlers from land occupations and building seizures. In addition, the government legislated against the MST by instituting a two-year delay in distribution when land is occupied "illegally."

Cardoso and all previous governments were condemned a month earlier when thousands of Indians and their supporters protested the "official" commemoration of the landing of the Portuguese conquistador Pedro Cabral 500 years ago (April 22, 1500). The Indians called it Portugal's "invasion," not discovery, of their land.

At Porto Seguro, the landing site, Indians carried banners that read "500 years of resistance" and "Who said Brazil was discovered?" Police kept workers, peasants, students and Black activists from joining the Indians. Cardoso was forced to stay on a nearby island. Earlier, hundreds of Indians marched in the capital and wrecked a monument built for the anniversary.

This year's events, while smaller than the old ritualized marches by reformist trade unions in bourgeois democracies (not to speak of the even larger state-sponsored ones in the former Communist regimes, in reality state-capitalist), suggested nonetheless that a new generation of revolutionaries may have begun to emerge.

In Paris, two of the big reformist union federations, one of them allied with the Communist Party, led the annual march and rally, drawing about 20,000. This year, however, for the first time in many years, the anarcho-syndicalist National Labor Confederation (CNT) managed to mobilize enough people, some 3,000, to hold its own march around the theme "direct action against capitalism," later joining the larger demonstration.

In Berlin, a march against "capitalism and imperialism" that drew anarchists grew to 10,000 who clashed with police. Elsewhere in Germany, the far Left fought on the streets against neo-Nazis.

In Vienna, in a demonstration called by social democrats, nearly 100,000 came out to oppose the new Austrian

government coalition of conservatives and neo-fascists.

A few days after May Day, 80,000 workers in Norway overruled their union bureaucracy to begin that country's largest strike since 1921. They opposed growing economic inequality and demanded higher wages and benefits for workers.

It is certainly gratifying to see these new types of May Day actions, and especially the involvement of youth. However, the rise of anarchism presents its own problems. As Marxist-Humanists, we join with anarchists in calling for the abolition of the state as well as capital, and in opposing not only Western-style capitalism, but also state-capitalist regimes calling themselves Communist such as those in China or Cuba. However, anarchism's rejection of theory, let alone a Hegelian-Marxian dialectical philosophy of revolution, and the penchant of some anarchist tendencies toward premature and self-destructive confrontations with the rulers, will continue to create serious contradictions within the emerging movement against global capitalism.

Discontent and repression deepen in Iran

The February elections in Iran, in which the majority hard line faction of the Islamic Republic candidates lost in favor of "reformist" Islamist candidates, continue to have strong reverberations.

In April, the government started the trial of 13 Iranian Jews from the city of Shiraz. They were arrested last year on charges of "espionage for Israel." It is notable that anytime the Islamic regime has faced a major crisis, it has persecuted religious minorities, especially Bahais and Jews, as agents of foreign governments. It should be mentioned that none of the so-called "reformists" has ever taken a stand to defend the rights of these minorities in Iran. Eight of the defendants have "confessed" but four have refused to accept these sham charges. The Islamic regime has a history of "confessions" that were extracted by torture and threats.

Soon after Iranian TV broadcast the "confessions," Ayatollah Ali Khamenei gave a Friday sermon in which he once again defended Roger Garaudy, the French former Communist and now Islamicist, for having denied that the holocaust of Jews ever took place. This use and intensification of anti-Semitism have resulted in acts such as the burning of two Jewish-owned stores in Tehran and the harassment of Jewish students in Shiraz.

To circumvent the legitimacy crisis the regime faces, during the month of April the government also banned 16 newspapers based on charges that they had offended Islam.

Two significant developments reveal the discontent that exists in the country:

On May Day, thousands of workers marched in Tehran to protest the new labor law which denies labor rights to workers in workshops with less than five workers. This is a significant development for Iranian workers because small workshops employ millions of workers in Iran. The reaction to this law shows a spontaneous form of protest. However, most of the speakers at the May Day protest were from The Worker's House, a governmental body that held the speeches within the acceptable boundaries of the regime.

During the second round of the Iranian parliamentary elections, the votes were once again overwhelmingly for "reform" candidates. So humiliating was the defeat of the hard line candidates, that Hashemi Rafsanjani the former Iranian president and a representative of Khamenei's faction, received the minimum number of votes to be admitted to the parliament. In the meantime, the Council of Guardians (one of several bodies created to preserve the Islamic regime) did its best to nullify elections in those cities where "reformists" won. Their efforts to undermine the election results resulted in mass protests in several cities.

The crisis of legitimacy for the regime is so deep that the "Supreme leader" Khamenei decided not to take the risk of causing further anger among the people over the election results. He warned the Council of Guardians not to nullify Tehran's election and bowed to the vote of the people. Following further protests by students at Tehran University and other expressions of hatred for Rafsanjani among the masses of people, Rafsanjani announced his resignation from the parliament. He still continues to wield enormous influence, however, as a member of the Council of Expediency which arbitrates disputes between the parliament and other branches of the government.

—Sheila Fuller and Bahram Teymoorian

Dissent in Serbia, Bosnia

Since April, when 100,000 came onto the streets of Belgrade to oppose strongman Slobodan Milosevic, protests have continued inside Serbia. In addition to the two opportunistic opposition parties, a new youth group, Otpor (Resistance), has emerged. It claims 50,000 members within a highly decentralized organizational structure.

In mid-May, Milosevic moved aggressively against the opposition, seizing the country's only remaining independent TV station, Studio B. This brought tens of thousands into the streets of Belgrade again, with some setting up barricades and fighting with police.

According to *The New York Times* (May 18, 2000), a new slogan was heard: "To The Hague, To The Hague, Slobodan to The Hague." While it is unclear how widely shared such views are, this could be a sign that part of the youth is finally beginning to admit Serbia's genocidal actions in Bosnia and Kosova.

For their part, the established opposition leaders continue to cater to the rankest Serbian chauvinism. The most reactionary one, Vuk Draskovic, regularly attacks Milosevic as the "traitor" who "lost" Kosova!

In Bosnia, a very different picture emerged from the April municipal elections in those parts of the country controlled by the Bosnian government. The Social Democratic Party defeated Muslim nationalists in all major cities and towns, including Sarajevo, Tuzla, Bihac, and Gorazde. This victory will deepen Bosnia's commitment, already maintained in the face of Milosevic's 1992-95 genocidal war, to a multiethnic society in which Muslims, Serbs, and Croats can live as fellow citizens with equal rights.

Unfortunately, in the larger part of Bosnia that is still ruled illegally by Serb or Croat chauvinists, racist anti-Muslim parties committed to the maintenance of "ethnic cleansing" once again triumphed in the municipal elections.

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*.