

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

Marxism Today/Action — Marx

Vol. 45 — No. 6

JULY 2000

50¢

Freedom as workers and Marx see it



by B. Ann Lastelle

News & Letters published Raya Dunayevskaya's 1961 lecture notes on Hegel's *Smaller Logic*, the first part of his *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, in three parts ending with the June issue. I noted in Dunayevskaya's quotes from Hegel's work two "definitions" of freedom: "For freedom it is necessary that we should feel no presence of something else which is not ourselves" (Chapter Two: Preliminary Notion, ¶24); and "...we become free when we are confronted by no absolutely alien world, but by a fact which is our second self" (Chapter Four: Second Attitude of Thought Towards the Objective World, ¶38).

Karl Marx's analysis, and my experience, of labor in the capitalist production process reveal the absolute opposite of Hegel's idea of freedom. Marx wrote in the "Alienated Labor" section of his 1844 *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* as if he had been working beside us in the factory:

"First is the fact that labor is **external** to the laborer—that is, it is not part of his nature—and the worker does not affirm himself in his work but denies himself, feels miserable and unhappy, develops no free physical and mental energy but mortifies his flesh and ruins his mind. The worker, therefore feels at ease only outside work, and during work he is outside himself..."

"His work, therefore, is not voluntary, but coerced, **forced labor**. It is not the satisfaction of a need but only a **means** to satisfy other needs. Its alien character is obvious from the fact that as soon as no physical or other pressure exists, labor is avoided like the plague... Finally...the activity of the worker is not his own spontaneous activity. It belongs to another. It is the loss of his own self."

How many times have we said to one another, "I didn't want to come in today, but I need the money"? It is not an inner drive for creativity or self-expression that propels us into action while at work, but the demands of the production process: a machine jams or breaks down, supplies run out, a quality standard is not being met. Even the small satisfactions which might be gained

(Continued on page 3)

Black World

Last words of Shaka Sankofa



Editor's note: This month I turn over Black World to excerpts of the final statement of Shaka Sankofa (Gary Graham) just before he was executed in Texas, June 22. Sankofa's murder by the state of Texas was the 135th during the five-year tenure of Governor George W. Bush. It is estimated that Bush will put to death one man a week between now and election day. Bush hopes to bring this style of "compassionate conservatism" to the White House. Shaka Sankofa's last words from Death Row are a powerful indictment of this state-sponsored genocide, words that put "American civilization" on trial and found it guilty. A luta continua.
—Lou Turner

I would like to say that I did not kill Bobby Lambert. That I'm an innocent Black man that is being murdered. This is a lynching that is happening in America tonight. There's overwhelming and compelling evidence of my [innocence] that has never been heard in any court of America. What is happening here is an outrage for any civilized country.

I thank all of the people that have rallied to my cause. They've been standing in support of me. They have finished with me.

I say to Mr. Lambert's family, I did not kill Bobby Lambert. You are pursuing the execution of an innocent man.

I want to express my sincere thanks to all of ya'll. We must continue to move forward and do everything we can to outlaw legal lynching in America. We must continue to stay strong all around the world, and people must come together to stop the systematic killing of poor and innocent Black people.

We must continue to stand together in unity and to demand a moratorium on all executions. We must not let this murder/lynching be forgotten tonight, my brothers. We
(Continued on page 10)

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 2000–2001

The search for new paths to freedom vs. the destructive drive of global capital

News and Letters Committees publishes the Draft of its Perspectives Thesis each year directly in the pages of *News & Letters*. As part of the preparation for our upcoming national gathering, we urge your participation in our discussion around this thesis because our age is in such total crisis that no revolutionary organization can allow any separation between theory and practice, workers and intellectuals, "inside" and "outside," philosophy and organization. We are raising questions and ask you to help in working out the answers.



Los Angeles janitors on strike in April.

I. Global capital's impact on the human subject

A. Clinton's legacy: a new nuclear arms race?

Were it not for its long-range implications for the entire future of U.S.-Russian relations and global politics as a whole, one could dismiss the June 3-4 Moscow summit between Bill Clinton and Russia's Vladimir Putin as little more than a photo-opportunity for a lame duck president. However, since the summit centered on Clinton's effort to promote a U.S. "defensive shield" against nuclear missiles, which threatens to set off a new nuclear arms race,



May Day 2000 in Vancouver, British Columbia.

the summit has far-reaching implications that will be with us long after Clinton leaves office. The summit contained barely a mention of the U.S. occupation of Kosovo or Russia's genocidal war against Chechnya. The U.S. long ago made it clear that it will do nothing to get in Russia's way on Chechnya, even though Putin's forces have killed tens of thousands of civilians there. Clinton instead tried to convince Putin to agree to his plan to build a \$60 billion anti-nuclear missile "defense" system. Putin refused, arguing that it would seriously undermine the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

It is not hard to see why Putin was unconvinced by Clinton's argument that a missile shield is needed to protect the U.S. from missile attacks by "rogue states" like North Korea. After all, North Korea, like Iran, is at least a decade away from being able to build an ICBM that could even reach the U.S.

Moreover, the impact of the historic June 14 summit between leaders of North and South Korea has made it hard for even Clinton administration spokesmen to explain why a missile defense is needed against a North

Korea which appears increasingly willing to accommodate itself to Western powers. The summit represented such a dramatic shift in North Korea's stance that South Korean President Kim Dae Jung declared shortly afterward that "the threat of war has disappeared" from the Korean peninsula. Yet the administration tried to downplay its importance out of concern that such talk exposes the hollowness of its rationale for missile defense.

Russia, like China, senses that the U.S. missile plan is really directed against itself. It fears it could be a first step toward developing a more elaborate missile defense system which would give U.S. rulers the illusion they could inflict a nuclear first strike against any adversary without fear of retaliation.

Russia is already responding by taking steps to modernize its offensive nuclear capacity. China announced on May 10 that if the U.S. goes ahead with the missile defense it will "significantly expand" its nuclear forces. There is little question that Russia and China are in no position to match the U.S. missile for missile in any new arms race. Yet even a modest growth in their nuclear arsenals can have a dramatic effect on world politics. China now has 18 ICBMs capable of reaching the U.S., but it has a stockpile of fissionable material capable of building 2,700 additional nuclear warheads. If China increases its nuclear arsenal, India, its rival, will as well. And Pakistan will do the same to match India.

Since India and Pakistan almost went to war over Kashmir last year, and shelling continues along their border, the threat of nuclear war is no abstraction to those in South Asia. India is the one place in the world at the moment with a growing anti-nuclear weapons movement.

Insane as is Clinton's effort to carry on the mantle of Reagan's "Star Wars," it pales in comparison with what is in store for us should Bush win the election. He is attacking Clinton's missile-defense plan—for not being extensive enough! Led by Jesse Helms, the Republicans are calling for a much larger missile defense system, even though it has never been proven that it is technologically feasible to shoot down incoming missiles. That this would entail tearing up existing arms-control treaties does not bother the Republicans in the least.

The Republicans showed their colors earlier this year when the Senate voted down the nuclear test ban treaty—

(Continued on page 5)

ON THE INSIDE

- FROM THE MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES: THE WRITINGS OF RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA
 - Revolutionary dynamic of Hegel's thoughtPage 4
- IN MEMORIAM • Willie Rudd: Black, southern labor fighter.....Page 3
- LETTER FROM AFRICA • Eritrea and Ethiopia at warPage 10

Woman as Reason Five years after Beijing, women question UN's limits

by Terry Moon

Although the Beijing+5 UN Conference, just concluded in New York City, was convened to measure the progress women have made in five years and put in place deadlines to ensure further development, all who participated were oppressively aware of the ground women lost worldwide since the 1995 landmark UN Conference in Beijing, China.

The reality that women face is deadly and getting worse. We now know that half the world's women and girls are brutalized, most often by someone close to them. It is in every country, on every continent. That actuality is seen in Bangladesh, where attacks with acid thrown into the faces of women and girls has increased from 47 in 1996 to over 200 in 1998; in India, where over 6,000 women were burned alive in 1997 because their dowry was considered too small; in Russia, where 12,000 women die every year from domestic violence. So-called "honor" killings are also on the increase in Pakistan and Yemen.

In the U.S. over the past five years, the incarceration rate for African-American women has jumped 826% due to racist, punitive drug laws. When in jail, women suffer rape at the hands of guards, and "health care" so poor that many die unnecessarily. Since 1996, nine million poor parents—many single women—have lost their Medicaid coverage and been thrown deeper into poverty.

Despite this lethal reality and the urgency to move forward, no one was sure whether Beijing+5 wouldn't end up being a place where women's rights would be rolled back further by the concerted effort of what came to be called the "Unholy Alliance": Algeria, Libya, Jordan, Iraq, Poland, Iran, Nicaragua, and Pakistan, with the Vatican at the head.

Nevertheless, new elements emerged at this meeting of 10,000 participants divided between delegates from 189 countries and 1,200 non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

NEW VOICES VS. RETROGRESSION

It was not only new realities that came up for discussion, such as opposition to globalization or how the spread of HIV/AIDS disproportionately affects women; but new subjects of revolution challenged the UN to take their lives and thoughts seriously:

- Immigrant women in the U.S. demanded their inclusion "within national and international forums for women's rights, where our voices have traditionally been ignored or denied."

- Indigenous women from 25 countries used Beijing+5 as the place where they formed a new organization, the Indigenous Women's International Forum, and protested the reduction of references to indigenous issues since the 1995 Platform for Action (PFA).

- Widows from Nigeria, the U.S., Britain, Vietnam, and Zimbabwe decried the fact that widows "are noticeable only by their absence" from the PFA, and demanded to be seen as part of the worldwide Women's Liberation Movement. They pointed out that in countries strongly affected by AIDS, wars, or "ethnic cleansing," "as many as 70% of all adult women may be widows."

- Women Peacemakers made their first explicit appearance and highlighted their new role in Guatemala, Israel, and now Burundi—where women Tutsis and Hutus are talking together.

While these new voices challenged the UN to deepen what women's freedom means, they were not able to stop retrogressionist forces. At a volatile meeting an anti-

abortion heterosexual coalition of 60 groups claimed that the "West" was "pushing homosexuality and abortion 'rights' on unwilling countries..." Ignorance of the issue was apparent when the Nigerian Minister said, "How can you be talking of lesbianism in Nigeria? Rubbish!"

She, and all those who claim that lesbianism is not indigenous to their countries, were answered by Phumi Mtetwa, a South African who said: "I am an African woman. I am also a lesbian. I have fought for the human rights of all people. Why must I be forced to choose when I should have my human rights?" Even with such a spirited defense, and Mtetwa was not alone in her struggle, lesbians lost ground when the language calling for the repeal of all laws criminalizing homosexuality was stricken from the PFA.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF STRUGGLE

What became oppressively evident is that the UN channeled the struggle into one over the language of the final document. The idea is that a strong PFA will give women a tool to use to fight their governments for

Message from Zimbabwe

Editor's Note: Below we print a communication we received from the Musasa Project, a women's liberation group that has fought for women to be able to inherit land, about the situation of women and children in the midst of the election turmoil in Zimbabwe.

We really need your emotional support now, more than ever before. So far a lot of abuse was perpetrated against women and children (families in general) as people were intimidated, harassed, beaten up, homes were burnt including food storages, grains, agricultural seed, clothes and a lot of other personal properties.

Women were particularly vulnerable as they bore the brunt of beatings, rape and torture, either because the husbands were involved in politics or simply because they could not challenge the youth and the marauding war veterans. Ultimately, women got involved as they had to nurse badly beaten husbands and sons, or were raped and beaten if the abusers couldn't locate the men.

More than 12,000 families were displaced. Some were fleeing the terror in the rural areas, whilst some had to leave after their homes were burnt down. The latter group is the one with the most blatant need since the elections do not guarantee a violence free village life and they do not have homes to go back to.

These people need extensive counseling; rape victims need medical examinations; they also need material support starting from food, clothes, building materials, seed for the planting season and household property since they have to start from scratch.

Currently, a number of families are housed in safe houses that were rented out by Zimrights and the National Constitutional Assembly (a coalition of civic organizations). Some good Samaritans have allowed displaced families to use their backyards so NCA and Zimrights have had to hire out tents but seeing as it's winter in Zimbabwe right now, there is a need for blankets and clothes. Most people just flee without anything. They just had the clothes they were wearing.

So any support that you may put together will be most welcome. We may also need financial resources for litigation, especially for rape victims who are likely to have been infected with the AIDS-HIV virus.

Warm regards,
Guide Dube

Revolutionary Afghan women speak

Chicago—The name Afghanistan has come to mean a country where women are hated by their government, a place where females are beaten and starved for minor infractions of the Taliban's concept of Islam. Afghanistan's human tragedy was reported by two representatives of RAWA (Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan), Sehar Saba and Sajeda Hayat, at a forum on June 10th.

RAWA was established in 1977 under the inspiration of Meena, its now martyred leader. In 1979 the Russians backed liberal parties in Afghanistan, sent in troops, and promised women's liberation. But, according to Saba, the Soviets had no idea how to liberate women within the context of Islamic spirituality. In addition the brazen Soviets and their puppets killed 13,000 dissidents.

In the meantime, the United States and Saudi Arabia each devoted \$3.2 billion to back and train seven of the 15 fundamentalist parties whose goal was to overturn the Russian rulers. All the fundamentalists were against women, democracy and civilization, Saba said. The hidden agenda was Western countries' interest in building a pipeline across Afghanistan.

In 1989 the Russians were ejected, and the fundamentalists took over. The fundamentalists were even more criminal than their Soviet predecessors, said Saba. In the first few days they banned all females from radio and TV and required Islamic dress of everyone. Then, without ordering women off the streets, they instigated a campaign of violence and terror. Every day there were stories of abduction, rapes and beatings.

Today, the Taliban, the most recent and most vicious faction, controls 80% of Afghanistan, and has banned laughing, sports, festivities and recreation, use of the word "woman," music, non-Islamic names, birds as pets and kite-flying. Disobedience is interpreted as political resistance. Because almost all professions are forbidden,

widows are reduced to beggary or prostitution. But some prefer suicide to these occupations; thus the rate among both women and men has climbed. Ms Saba told of a former teacher who killed himself after seeing his children begging.

Men are fired for going to a foreign school, trimming beards, or for having worked for the Russians. Those who fled to Iran are in hard labor, regardless of their education or their potential to make a positive contribution to society.

Hayat, the second speaker, explained the origins and functioning of RAWA. She said Meena, their founder, warned of the danger of the fundamentalism before the Russian intervention. Nevertheless, RAWA sided with the Mujahadeen against the Russians.

Both women said that there is no way to work with the fundamentalist parties. Revolution is the only alternative. The Taliban has done nothing for the people. They think democracy doesn't fit the people of Afghanistan. Incredibly, some foreign nations think it would be a good thing if the fundamentalist parties united. "Can you imagine?" Hayat said.

Hayat decried the fact that foreign governments recognize the Taliban as legitimate rulers. Nations should place political sanctions on the Taliban and all countries that support them. Bring the leaders to international court for crimes against humanity, she said.

During the discussion the women were asked about the unifying ideas that have kept RAWA together for more than 20 years. The question stymied them. Resistance has been their unifying force. But the work of RAWA speaks to human development. More than 20 years of oppression by a reactionary government has done nothing to change the humanness of the Afghan people. RAWA can be reached at www.rawa.org.

—January

better laws and stronger enforcement.

Twenty-five years after the first International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City in 1975, and five years after Beijing, many women activists know the nature of the UN and their always "non-binding" documents. They recognize the need to go beyond them. This could be seen in a speech by Gina Vargas, founder of the Peruvian NGO Flora Tristan. She looked at the years between Beijing and Beijing+5 and wrote: "The advances achieved during these years are due basically to the constant fight of the movements and their NGOs. If Beijing was conceived and assumed as a common ground for all the women around the globe, not as a limit to the aspirations of justice, equality, and liberty of women, we ourselves must not [impose] this limit."

That many women of Beijing+5 refuse to be bound by the "non-binding" UN documents, that they refuse to put any limits on women's freedom, reveals them as Revolutionary Force and Reason. What is always key is what the movement will do after these conferences are over.

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey



Amid Africa's worsening economic crises, market women in Lagos, Nigeria protested, June 12, against an increase in fuel prices.

The outrageous verdict against Dr. Flora Brovina, ethnic Albanian Kosovar human rights activist and feminist, was overturned by Serbia's Supreme Court in June, and her case returned to a lower court for review. She had been convicted of "terrorism" last December and sentenced to 12 years in prison. Dr. Brovina is founder of a women's rights organization in Kosova that provided health care to women and children during the Serb war against Kosova.

The non-profit Women on Waves Foundation, started in 1999 by Dutch Doctor Rebecca Gomperts, is trying to raise \$1 million to purchase and equip a ship, and another \$500,000 a year to operate it as a floating medical clinic providing reproductive health services for women, including abortions. The ship would pick up pregnant women seeking abortions in the ports of call of countries where abortion is illegal and perform the procedure in international waters. The clinic would also provide contraceptives and sex education, as well as abortion and contraceptive training for local medical personnel. At least 25% of the world's population lives in 54 countries that ban or severely restrict abortion.

Latina mothers protest police

Chicago—Predominantly Latina mothers and their families gathered in Riis Park Saturday, June 24 to save the lives of their sons and husbands from Chicago's brutal police and corrupt courts. One cop was targeted as the leader in the number of frame-ups in Chicago Police Department's Area 5. In fact, a federal investigation of Area 5 has shown the fixing of 50 cases. Organizers of *Comite Exigimos Justicia* have conducted their own investigation and found at least 12 young men have been framed for murders they did not commit.

One Black woman whose 15-year-old son was framed by cops told how the police got her to sign a statement, while she was intoxicated, on her son's whereabouts. Her boy is now serving a 50-year sentence for murder. She held back her tears while repeating three times, "I'm here to save my son's life." She stopped and changed what she said to, "No. I'm here to save everybody's sons."

There was a real sense of community and movement at this demonstration organized by women whose families have been torn apart by this system. One youth who had been shot by police and permanently disabled before they locked him up for 10 months went to the mike to thank everyone who fought for his release and to say "I love you" to the crowd. It was especially wonderful to see him alive and free due to the movement's work in the wake of losing Shaka Sankofa (Gary Graham) earlier this week.

The expanse of the movement's struggle was also deepened by a speaker from the Anti-Gay-Bashing Network, who was warmly received, and by two SEIU members, who spoke while dressed in their union T-shirts. Their local actually cleans the Area 5 police station.

—Sonia Bergonzi

Willie Rudd, union and civil rights fighter

We mourn the death and honor the memory of Willie Rudd, who devoted his life to the struggle for workers' rights in the South. Brother Rudd died of a heart attack on June 20 at the age of 55. The list of positions he held was long: President of Furniture Workers/IUE Local 282 in Memphis, Tenn.; President of the Furniture Workers Division of IUE nationally; Vice President, Memphis AFL-CIO Labor Council; IUE National Boycott Director. But he was not a man of "positions."

In an era in which all too many union officials practice a self-serving "business unionism," Willie Rudd was a militant fighter who believed passionately in developing rank-and-file leadership. In the poorest, most racist and most virulently anti-union environments, he launched campaigns against powerful corporations. In an overwhelmingly white international union, he was a Black union leader who was not silent in the face of racism within "the house of labor."

Local 282 became legendary in the South for being more than a union; it became a movement. For many workers in Tennessee and Mississippi, Willie Rudd was, quite simply, "the best union leader in the country."

Born in Sardis, Miss., Rudd came to Memphis as a child. In 1963, while working at National Bedding, a mattress plant, he joined Furniture Workers Local 282. A rank-and-file leader in the 1965 strike there, he was elected chief steward at the plant.

As the labor movement in the South was transformed under the impact of 1960s civil rights struggles, Willie Rudd became a volunteer union organizer. In the late 1960s, he often traveled far from Memphis to help workers in poverty-wage, predominantly Black plants win a union. In 1975 he was elected president of Local 282.

Black women, always a large proportion of the union's membership, became leaders in the local in the 1970s. Ida Leachman, Aletha Baptist and Everlena Yarbrough led organizing campaigns. Rank-and-file women conducted contract negotiations. Willie Rudd encouraged this new leadership and often insisted that in union struggles, "it's the women who are important."

The bitter 1977 Memphis Furniture strike marked the new kind of union Local 282 had become. It was as much a civil rights crusade as a strike. Rudd exposed the owners' vicious racism and publicly traced their ancestry to prominent slaveowner families. Dozens of community organizations rallied to support the workers; Coretta Scott King returned to Memphis to speak at a mass meeting at Mason Temple. The workers won a contract.

In the 1990s Local 282 had to fight runaway shops

INS as company enforcer

Chicago—Immigrant workers spoke out for total amnesty for undocumented workers at a Midwest AFL-CIO-sponsored conference on June 3. Among the speakers were three workers who spoke of their struggles to organize against employer abuses. —J.O.

Housekeeper: The general manager at Holiday Inn Express in Minneapolis took us to INS a week before negotiations started in retailing for organizing a union. He took us to a room and INS met us there and arrested us. We were in jail for seven days.

The union fought against the employer and the community, supported us all the way. After a federal investigation, the employer was found guilty and fined \$72,000 in compensatory damages for doing that to us.

Laundry worker: Many of my co-workers at Hospital Laundry Services in Chicago know what it means to be mistreated or fired because of being undocumented. If employers think the social security numbers of workers are invalid, they fire them, then rehire them later. The reason is simple; they rehire them at minimum wage and without benefits. The employers don't care if the workers have years of experience.

It is possible to improve conditions. You can see that in our union, UNITE.

Factory worker: When it comes to safety, our employers care more about equipment than about workers. When OSHA inspectors came to this medical equipment factory in Chicago, management handed out respirators, then took them back after the inspection.

When they had to shut down dangerous operations for a day, our employer denied us worker compensation because he knows we cannot challenge him in court. When a worker gets close to the time when some meager benefit will be offered, he's told to bring in a new social security card and he's rehired as someone else, without benefits.

During slow periods, we are not laid off by seniority, but by favoritism and whether some have work papers. Those with work papers go first while day workers. Anglo workers are getting double, sometimes triple pay for the same work as we do. We trained them, so it's not about experience. You're paid according to skin color and immigration status.

We had a union election this Wednesday. Our employer has promised some and threatened more. If there's another amnesty period, employers would treat us better.

and sophisticated anti-union lawyers as they went to the aid of workers in Mississippi and rural west Tennessee. At Hood Furniture, in Jackson, Miss., workers waged an 11-year-long battle for a Local 282 contract. For a decade, they maintained their shop floor organization even after the International signed them to a sweetheart deal with another local.

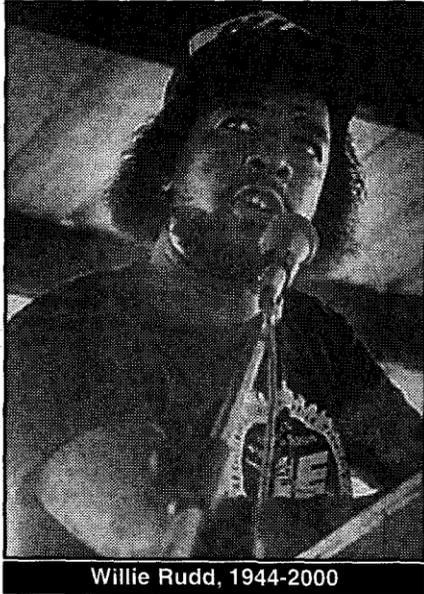
Hood workers wrote in N&L: "We voted for Local 282 because it is an organization that fights for its members and supports them, and because we learned to trust and believe in its president, Willie Rudd, an independent Black man." The Hood workers' struggle has drawn support from civil rights organizations across the South.

At Willie Rudd's funeral, Memphis Central Church was packed with workers and friends. Management at the Sealy plant offered to let stewards off from work to attend the funeral, but when they took a tally of all the workers who wanted to attend, they realized there wouldn't be enough workers to run production. The plant was closed in his honor.

Ida Leachman, interim president of Local 282, asked that all who want to donate money to honor Willie Rudd make donations either to Local 282, 3275 Millbranch Road, Suite A, Memphis, TN 38116, or to the Memphis chapter of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, 4950 Tiergarten, Memphis, TN 38109.

"But the most important thing you can do," she said, "is to help the most unfinished tasks he left us, organizing the unorganized here. That means boycotting Sears to support Local 282 workers at Sears' Olive Branch, Miss. warehouse, who have been negotiating for a first contract for over a year." Brother Willie Rudd will be deeply missed, but the struggles he waged will be carried on.

—Michael Flug



Willie Rudd, 1944-2000

Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

from solving problems on the line are thwarted by management's drive for productivity and cost savings.

Marx, in his more "scientific" analysis of the capitalist production process, *Capital*, continued to emphasize the alien, external nature of that process. Workers are brought together by the capitalist who purchases their individual labor powers:

"Their unification into one single productive body, and the establishment of a connection between their individual functions...are not their own act, but the act of the capital that brings them together and maintains them in that situation. Hence the interconnection between their various labours confronts them, in the realm of ideas, as a plan drawn up by the capitalist, and, in practice, as his authority, as the powerful will of a being outside them, who subjects their activity to his purpose" (Chapter 13: Co-operation).

The purpose of which Marx speaks is the production of surplus value, profit, and the accumulation of capital. We workers come into the factory with a different goal: to earn a living. Management uses various tactics to subject our activity to its purpose: the manipulative, in other words, process improvement and employee involvement schemes; the financial, that is, raises and promotions (My supervisor's favorite claim is, "It will look good on your performance review."); the despotic, or disciplinary measures up to and including termination.

Over all hangs the threat that if we as a group do not produce the requisite profit, the line will shut down, the plant will close, we will lose our jobs. The people who decide what the requisite profit is and how we are to produce it—what products with what machines on what schedule—are far, far away from the reality of the shop floor.

Marx described that reality this way: "...within the capitalist system all methods for raising the social productivity of labor are put into effect at the cost of the individual worker; ...all means for the development of production...become means of domination and exploitation of the producers; they distort the worker into a fragment of a man, they degrade him to the level of an appendage of a machine, they destroy the actual content of his labor by turning it into a torment; they alienate from him the intellectual potentialities of the labor process in the same proportion as science is incorporated in it as an independent power; they deform the conditions under which he works, subject him during the labor process to a despotism the more hateful for its meanness..." (Chapter 25: The Accumulation of Capital).

Marx's perspective for the future was the absolute opposite of the accumulation of capital and the misery of the working class. His 1875 *Critique of the Gotha Program* envisioned a classless society where "the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labor, has vanished," and "labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want." Labor is no longer forced; it becomes an expression of our human creativity. That is an idea of freedom worth fighting for.

Delta Pride guts contract

Indianola, Miss.—Delta Pride, the largest catfish plant in the world, has found a new method of exploiting workers. Delta Pride is located in the deep Mississippi Delta with about 700 workers, 80% of whom are Black single mothers. In 1986 they fought this company, owned by 178 white farmers, to stop its plantation-style mentality and to demand dignity, respect, and better working conditions on the job.

One contract clause we fought hard to achieve is experience pay, which management has targeted. The contract states that an employee who leaves Delta Pride and returns within three years can, after probation, receive the pay their past years of service in the catfish industry have earned them.

The company says it cannot find workers in the area to work, but this is not true. The experience pay is one reason this company refuses to hire experienced workers back.

This May Delta Pride officials asked permission from the Indianola Area Planning Commission to put trailers on their land to house migrant workers. This company intends to place six trailers on its property just about a mile away, where the smell from the plant is terrible, and put eight workers in each four-bedroom trailer. They will demand that they work every day—sick or whatever the circumstances—or they'll be shipped back to Mexico.

The reason this company is using Mexicans is for cheap labor, and they think they will not complain about anything because they do not want to be sent home. The company thinks that the Mexican workers' goal is to work at any cost and in any conditions so that they can send money back to support their families.

Delta Pride is following in the footsteps of other catfish factory owners who have brought migrant workers into the facilities and pay them less money. It is their strategy to pit the migrant workers against the Black workers. Black workers are protesting this decision made by the Planning Commission, not because of any bias, but because they know that these workers will be used to replace them, and used in ways to break the contract or keep it from being more radical in the future.

The more migrant workers they bring in, the less the workers within the community will be hired. We, as workers, took a stand against this company to build this company into a place where workers have a voice. But this company will hire workers even more exploited to try and turn it around. They plan on treating the Mexican workers even worse than they do us.

Several years ago I visited Tijuana, Mexico, and talked to the workers about their inhumane treatment, including the 14-year-old rape victims who had been locked in the plant at night and raped by the foreman. This is what the Mexicans want to change by coming here, but this is the same treatment that bosses inflicted on all workers until we forced them to stop.

I told them about the way we were treated and what we did to change our situation. This move that the Delta Pride owners have made to hire the Mexican workers shows their desire to continue to keep all the workers under their thumb. We have to find a way as Black and Mexican workers to not lose control of our destiny. We must fight in unity to keep our humanity. The Delta Pride workers have to get the Mexican workers to focus on how we were treated in the past and get them to join forces with us as workers in unity to keep our dignity and respect.

—S. Hamer

Company picnic and lockdown

Michigan, City, Ind.—On June 14, the Indiana State Prison, Michigan City, held their "officer appreciation day" picnic on the prison grounds. This is an annual event, the "company picnic" where the prison staff members bring their spouses and children to the prison for the usual fare (hamburgers, hot dogs, etc.) with games and contests for the kids to play—including a dunk tank—and kiddie treats like popcorn and balloons.

There is something seriously wrong with this concept. The prison staff brings their families to the prison to celebrate and honor the abusers that bring torment and denial of liberties imposed on the convicted ones. Being in the shadows of the prison walls and all the atrocities they hide is cause for a party, and they get to tour the prison.

In one cell house, while the tour was present, a medical emergency occurred. A stretcher was quickly brought in and the patient was wheeled out getting oxygen. This was a very impressive show for the tourists. The old man has asthma, and has an episode about every 10-14 days. Never before did he get a stretcher. But then, never before was there a civilian audience. On other occasions, he was just walked to the infirmary.

It should be noted that on this day the prison was closed down to other operations. The inmates were locked up and given a cheese sandwich and a piece of fruit for the noon meal. (Question: Is the tax money they saved by not feeding the cons, the money they used to pay for the party, since the food did come from the prison dining room?)

While the civilians venerated the staff and the inhumanity they inflict, the inmates were denied access to their families and loved ones. People coming in for visits were turned away. No advance notice had been given so inmates could tell their families.

—Michigan City prisoner

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

Editor's note

In preparation for the upcoming Convention of News and Letters Committees, we are exploring anew this summer the historic-philosophic relation of philosophy and organization. As part of our study and discussion of the contributions made by Marxist-Humanism to this important problematic, we reprint here a letter written by Raya Dunayevskaya to a colleague in News and Letters Committees, Olga Domanski, in February 1961 that takes up the relation between dialectics and organization. The letter was written in the period in which she wrote her "Notes on Hegel's *Smaller Logic*," which we reprinted in the last three issues of *News & Letters*. The original can be found in *Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, #13842. The title and footnotes were added by the editors.

Feb. 7, 1961

Dear Olga,

Your letter breaks through on the central point, philosophically, for the new book¹—the question of subjectivity in the philosophic sense, especially in the Marxist sense, that has absorbed objectivity. Again, I cannot overestimate the importance of seeing the new book as a recruiting weapon, and I hope that everyone studies very carefully the parts I quoted at the REB [Resident Editorial Board] discussion.

On the other hand, do not hurry to concretize, in too immediate a sense, the [Hegelian categories of] Universal, Particular and Individual. I am using the word, immediate, in the Hegelian sense of something that is superficial. For example, what you say about those categories as applicable to the existentialists is correct, but is neither new nor deserves to be expressed in those profound Hegelian categories.

It is not true that we begin with the Individual and try to "derive" a Universal from it. For one thing, Individual does not mean an individual. It means the concretization of the Universal, its highest form, in the sense in which Marx said that the individual was the social entity and the individual's freedom the only proof of universal freedom. And yet, Individual, as concrete, does not mean the concrete everyday kind of facts, but rather what we would call the self-developing subject.

At the same time, a Universal does not always mean something great like a new society or socialism. It very often means the first, the abstract and, therefore, nonmeaningful first stage of development that can be diverted, perverted, corrupted. Just as abstraction always plays into the hands of the enemy, so, philosophically, all sorts of people can hide themselves

1. Raya Dunayevskaya was at work on a new book which would later become *Philosophy and Revolution*.

Revolutionary dynamic of Hegel's thought

under the Universal by reading the Absolute into it "like a shot out of a pistol."

At the REB I gave examples of Universal, Particular, Individual in relationship to money as the universal medium of exchange and commodity as the concrete unit of wealth, which hides less the dual character of labor than does glittering money, but nevertheless contains the whole fetishism which Marx so masterfully exposes as the ideology of capitalism. And I contrasted that to the labor which Marx considers the essential, not only in its degraded stage under capital-

week I give an entirely different set of definitions, and the following week I tell them to disregard them all. All I can say is, first, just read over the hell, the literal hell, Hegel gives the whole concept of definitions in Vol. II of the *Science of Logic*, pp. 436-60 [Johnston and Struthers trans., MacMillan, 1929], and yet, hold tight to the fact that all this devastating criticism comes just a few pages short of the climax of the work on the Absolute Idea. In a word, he is opposed to the method of definitions because nothing, in thought or in action, can be fenced into a definition, and yet definitions are

one of the stages—or more correctly, processes of getting to know a category—so that one can dispense with "knowing" and let the self-development of the idea itself "take over."

This is one reason why I have stopped writing on the *Phenomenology of Mind*. It is not as you suppose that at one time I thought that one "superior" to the *Logic*. There is in fact no such description of either work, although Marx and in fact even bourgeois philosophers have admitted that the *Phenomenology* was the first spontaneous (if one can use such a phrase to describe such a thought-out work as the *Phenomenology*) work and, therefore, fresher than the systematized *Logic*.

No, they really deal with different fields, and because the *Phenomenology* deals with phenomena and can

so easily, therefore, be abused, as indeed the existentialists have done, I felt that for the time being we had better stick to objective categories before going into social types in which those categories become "embodied."

In a word, just as Marx thought that unless you begin with production relations before you bother your head about profits, you would not understand either the one or the other, so the *Phenomenology* only appears easier to understand, but is in fact much more difficult, and can only be understood fully after one has mastered the *Logic*.

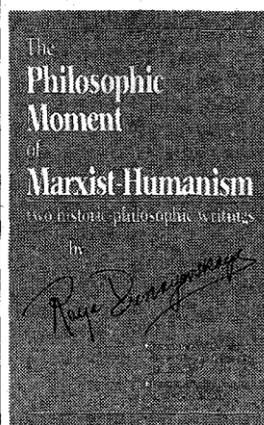
You are hovering around a difference between leadership and masses insofar as unity of theory and practice is concerned, but that is not really of the essence.

I was very struck by your paragraph about the difference between *Marxism and Freedom* and the new work. However, the difference is not "quantitative," or as you put it, a question of "more sharply." It is a question of entirely different population strata. I am through with setting out challenges for "theoreticians"; I am interested in the workers and in ourselves. So I will set out neither much more nor much less concretely the challenge to the intellectuals; the challenge and the offer will be to the worker.

You are absolutely right, however, that the organization is all-important. What, after all, is the science of *Logic*? It is an organization of thought. It has remained "dead" because the organization that undertook to supposedly live by it was the University or the Theological Seminary, and those organizations do not live by a revolutionary organization of thought, and the dialectic is revolutionary through and through, no matter what positivistic conclusions Hegel himself tried to foist upon it. Because it is revolutionary through and through, the dialectic demands an organization of people for its realization that are Marxist-Humanists through and through.

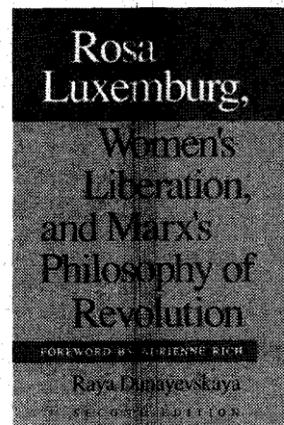
There may be other points that you would rather have had me comment on than the ones I chose. Please continue to write about any and all of them and do not feel that somewhere you will "go wrong." Among other things, that profound dialectician, Hegel, said, "Error is a dynamic of truth."
**Yours,
 Raya**

Special Summer Offer



Two writings by
 Raya Dunayevskaya

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



The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism

Both for only \$12.95 (regular price \$15.95)

To order, see ad on page 12

ism, but that which could make it the unity of mental and manual and give the human being that new dimension which only a classless society can create the conditions for.

I could give a million more "examples," but that is not really my purpose here, because it is not examples, right or wrong ones, that are important here, but only the care with which one must approach a category, any philosophic category, and especially so those analyzed by Hegel for the very highest stage of his *Logic*, the Doctrine of the Notion.

Johnny² once told me that he takes down definitions I give of Hegelian categories one week, and the next

2. Robert Ellery, early youth columnist for *News & Letters*.

Take a journey of discovery into the Archives of Marxist-Humanism on the DIALECTICS OF ORGANIZATION AND PHILOSOPHY

This summer News and Letters Committees is focusing on a renewed study and discussion of Raya Dunayevskaya's writings on one of the most critical issues facing the revolutionary movement—the relation of philosophy and organization. Here are a few of the many documents from the Archives of Marxist-Humanism that we will be looking at. We invite you to join in this effort to explore the problem of dialectics of organization and philosophy.

- From *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991; original edition, 1981):

Chapter 11, "The Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates New Ground for Organization"

Chapter 12, "The Last Writings of Marx Point a Trail to the 1980s"

- From *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*:

"The Trail to the 1980s for Transforming Reality" (September 1981). Perspectives Thesis to News and Letters Committees Plenum, microfilm #7090.

"On the 150th Anniversary since Hegel's Death: How Valid for Our Day are Marx's Hegelian Roots?" (December 1981, originally in *News & Letters*), 7481.

"On the Battle of Ideas: Philosophic-Theoretic Points of Departure as Political Tendencies Respond to the Objective Situation" (Oct. 15, 1982). Political-Philosophic Letter, 7486.

"Marxist-Humanism 1983: The Summation that is a New Beginning" (Jan. 1, 1983), 7639.

- From the *Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*:

"What is New in the Concept and Practice of Organization Since Chapter 11 of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*" (Oct. 24, 1984).

Letter to David Joravsky (May 15, 1985). On the section on "Organizational Interlude" in *Marxism and Freedom* and subjecting "the question of the Party" to Absolute Method," 17213.

"Notes on Organization and Religion in Hegel" (Oct. 6, 1986), 10788.

"1953 as Concept vs. Experience" (May 13, 1987). On the dialectic of philosophy as inseparable from the dialectic of organization, 10923.

- *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1989):

Includes "Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" (June 1, 1987) and "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes" (May 12, 20, 1953).

The *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection* and *Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection* are available on microfilm at libraries nationwide. All documents are also available from *News & Letters*; see ad, page 12.

NEWS & LETTERS

Vol. 45, No. 6

July 2000

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published 10 times a year, monthly, except bi-monthly January-February and August-September for \$5.00 a year (bulk order of 5 or more, 25¢ each) by *News & Letters*, 36 S. Wabash, Room 1440, Chicago, IL 60603. Telephone (312) 236-0799. Fax (312) 236-0725. Second Class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *News & Letters*, 36 S. Wabash, Room 1440, Chicago, IL 60603. Articles may be reprinted verbatim if credited to "News & Letters."

Raya Dunayevskaya
 Chairwoman, National Editorial Board (1955-1987)
 Charles Denby
 Editor (1955-1983)

Olga Domanski, Peter Wermuth, Co-National Organizers, News and Letters Committees. Lou Turner, Managing Editor. Felix Martin, Labor Editor (1983-1999).

News & Letters is printed in a union shop.

759-C

The search for new paths to freedom vs. the destructive drive of global capital

(Continued from page 1)

a development which shocked even U.S. allies for its shortsightedness and arrogance. At the time, Gore said he would make arms control an issue in the presidential elections. As of now he has done no such thing. Gore, who is as committed to a missile-defense system as Clinton, is hardly in a position to take the high road on arms control.

Even the U.S.'s closest European allies oppose its plans for missile defense. Putin tried to take advantage of this at a meeting with German Chancellor Schroeder in late June, where both condemned Clinton's proposal. Schroeder even said he was in favor of creating a "strategic partnership" with Russia.

The political fall-out from the U.S.'s drive for missile defense shows that the end of the Cold War and the collapse of many state-capitalist regimes which called themselves "Communist" did nothing to change the self-destructive nature of capitalism. Whether it be nuclear powers like the U.S., Russia and China, or aspirants to the nuclear club like North Korea, one thing is true of them all—while they rush to spend billions on weapons of mass destruction, they will not stop to raise the living standards of their masses. Capital will not allow it.

B. Human life and the commodification of science

Nothing more exposes capital's inhumanity than the execution in Texas of Shaka Sankofa (Gary Graham) last month. The refusal of George W. Bush to even consider commuting his sentence, despite Sankofa's clear innocence, was aimed at demoralizing the growing movement against capital punishment and the criminal injustice system. It may also be the system's dress rehearsal for what it has in store for Mumia Abu-Jamal—unless we stop them.

The state's drive to destroy life via the death penalty is part and parcel of a system which privileges things over people, profit and power over life, the self-expansion of capital at the expense of the expansion of human talents and abilities.

One of the most striking indicators of this is the 11 million in the U.S. who have been added to the list of those lacking health insurance over the last decade. The uninsured now total 47 million. The lack of health insurance translates into a 25% higher risk of death. Even those with health insurance are increasingly at risk. A recent Supreme Court ruling essentially called profits the first priority of HMOs, so patients cannot sue for any injuries inflicted on them by skimping on services.

The problem of health care has hardly received any attention so far in the U.S. presidential campaign. Bush has not only executed more inmates than any governor, he also presides over a state with one of the worst records of any in public health. Texas is at the top of the nation in rates of AIDS infection, diabetes, and tuberculosis, and near the bottom in immunizations, mammograms, and access to physicians. Only John McCain's Arizona has a higher rate of growth of those lacking health insurance. Gore has been almost as silent on this issue as Bush.

The issue of health care gets to the heart of the contradictions facing global capitalism, given the enormous amount of money being invested in genetic engineering

and biotechnology. The claim is that the extension of high tech to the biological realm will result in an improvement of human health through the treatment and eradication of various diseases. Yet the commodified form in which the "biotech revolution" is unfolding suggests that things are moving in a quite different direction.

To discern this direction we need only look at capital's impact on the health crisis in Africa. Africa faces a health crisis of gargantuan proportions: it accounts for 70% of new AIDS cases worldwide, and AIDS has reduced average life expectancy in Africa by 20 years—erasing all the gains made since World War II. The country devoting the most money to AIDS research, the U.S., has concentrated most of its funding on finding a vaccine for a subtype of AIDS prevalent in the northern hemisphere—leaving Africa totally out of the picture. And even though some drug companies have said they will cut the price of AZT and other AIDS drugs, the price is still way out of reach for almost all Africans.

The one place in Africa where the rate of AIDS infection has fallen is Uganda. It has fallen there not because of aid or advice provided by western capital, but because Ugandan women have taken the lead in educating the populace about the dangers of HIV transmission. That this is occurring at a moment when the rate of HIV infection is rising again in some sections of the U.S., especially among inner-city youth, indicates that the African masses have much to teach us on the AIDS issue.¹

Africa's health crisis is by no means restricted to AIDS. Millions die there yearly from treatable diseases like sleeping sickness, malaria and tuberculosis. Recent reports show that 1.7 million have died in Congo over the last two years from a breakdown in health services connected to the war.

Even though drugs are available for many diseases afflicting Africans, they are being pulled off the market because drug companies feel they cannot generate enough profit from their sale to them! Africa accounts for 1% of world drug sales, compared to 80% for the U.S., West Europe, and Japan. Drug companies would much rather invest in drugs to cure male baldness than life-saving drugs for workers in underdeveloped countries. As Francois Gros of Aventis, a company that recently pulled a drug for African sleeping sickness off the market put it, "We're an industry in a competitive environment—we have a commitment to deliver performance to shareholders."

The commodification of the health care system should give pause to those with illusions about the "biotech revolution." The huge amount of capital now being invested in genetic engineering is not limited to the genetic manipulation of crops like corn and soybeans, which now account for over half the U.S. market. It includes efforts to genetically manipulate animal reproduction, through cloning and other measures, and even efforts to artificially create life. Last month scientists reported that they created the world's first synthetic DNA molecules—which means that artificial organisms could be created within two years.

The point is not whether or not the intent of such

remarkable intellectual advances is to alleviate human suffering. It is that as soon as such creativity is shackled to the value-form assumed by products of labor under capitalism, everything takes on a life of its own—to the detriment of life itself. Capital is inexorably driven to increase value, to expand, to self-expand, regardless of human potential or natural limits. As soon as any invention or intellectual breakthrough is brought under the sway of capital, it serves the purpose of augmenting value, regardless of what is required for human self-development.

This is reflected in capitalism's growth preference to seek genetic solutions to social problems. It is much more profitable for a company to claim that a disease can be cured by manipulating genes than trying to alleviate the environmental conditions (such as man-made pollutants) which may trigger a genetic disposition toward a given illness. And just as it is more profitable for capital to invest in cures for baldness than sleeping sickness, the effects of biotechnology will be used to benefit a narrow portion of the world's populace, if that.

The most troubling part of today's drive for genetic manipulation is that it takes little heed of the social and environmental consequences, precisely because the self-expansion of value is so much at stake in it. Recognition of this underlines the mass opposition to genetically engineered food in Europe and India and the growing protests against it in the U.S., such as the rally of 6,000 in Boston this spring.

As one critic put it in writing of the genetic manipulation of crops—which is but the tip of the iceberg of the biotech revolution—"The transformation of plant genetics is being accelerated from the measured pace of biological evolution to the speed of next quarter's earnings report. Such haste makes it impossible to foresee and forestall unintended consequences appear only later, when they may not be fixable, because novel life-forms aren't recallable" ("A Tale of Two Botanies," Amory B. Lovins and Hunter L. Lovins, *Wired*, April 2000).

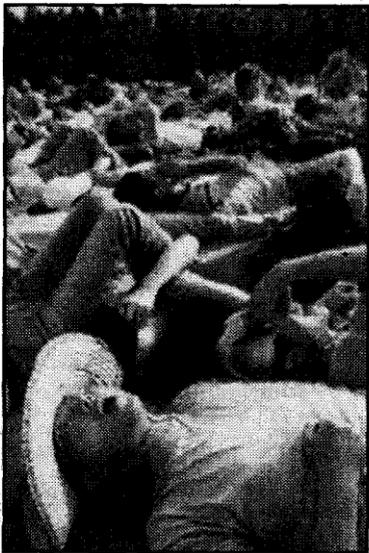
It is not alone a renewed nuclear arms race which threatens the life of this planet, but genetic engineering and global warming as well. As the expression of the domination of means of production over means of consumption, of dead labor over living labor, capital's tendency for self-destruction has always been as real as its drive for self-expansion.

Just as state-capitalism used science's ability to uncover the basic laws of physics to unleash the destructive power of the atom bomb, so restructured state-capitalism is now using the discovery of the basic laws of biology to unleash the destructive power of biotechnology. In each case, the role of the state remains decisive—as seen in the large investment of the U.S. government in the human genome project.

This makes newly concrete Marxist-Humanism's insistence, projected since its birth in the workers' struggles against automated production in the 1950s, that there is no solution to human development short of a total uprooting of the separation of mental from manual labor that is the very basis of capital. As Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in *Marxism and Freedom*, "The challenge of our times is not to machines, but to humanity. Intercontinental missiles can destroy mankind, but they cannot solve its human relations. The creation of a new society remains the human endeavor" (p. 287).² The question is whether a movement will emerge which will meet this challenge today.



Protest in Chicago against agribusiness's genetic mutation of foods.



Protesters in South Korea block the gates of a U.S. bombing range to demand its closure in June.

1. For an analysis of the political crisis of African states in relation to ongoing mass unrest, see "The challenge of Africa in crisis," by Lou Turner, *News & Letters*, June 2000.

2. *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today*, p. 287. This has just appeared in a new edition by Humanity Books.

II. New subjective challenges to global capital

A. Defying capitalism's new 16th century

One event which helps illuminate the nature of the present moment was a trip that Clinton made to Portugal in June, en route to his summit in Moscow. Its purpose was to quiet the fears of the European allies about his missile-defense plan. The visit began with a ceremony at Belem Tower—a fort at the entrance of Lisbon harbor built in the 16th century, which Portuguese explorers of Asia, Africa, and the Americas—as well as slave traders—departed from. President Sampaio of Portugal declared at the ceremony that "our increasingly globalized world owes a lot to their deeds."

Sampaio was not wrong that the globalization of capital that we hear so much about today owes much to the 16th century. Capitalism first emerged as a global system with the opening up of Asia, Africa and America to colonialism and the slave trade in the 16th century. Marx called it "the rosy dawn of capitalist accumulation." As Marx said of the new stage of globalization reached with 19th century capitalism, "There is no denying that bourgeois society has for the second time experienced its 16th century, a 16th century which, I hope, will sound its death knell just as the

first ushered it into the world. The proper task of bourgeois society is the creation of the world market, at least in outline, and the production based on that market."³

It is no exaggeration to say that capitalism is now experiencing yet another 16th century, as seen in its incessant drive for global expansion and effort to commodify ever more areas of human and natural existence. At the same time, the vast inequities generated by this stage of capital accumulation point to a return to the brutal exploitation and racism which defined capitalism's origin. Whether its death knell will be sounded this time around is the question that remains to be answered.

What creates potential for answering this question is the emergence of a new generation of activists and thinkers reaching for new ideas, struggles, and organizational forms with which to challenge the dominance of global capital.

The protest against the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Seattle brought this to the forefront. Seattle rekindled the spirit of anti-capitalist defiance through an unprecedented coalescence of students, workers, environmentalists, feminists, gays and lesbians and Third World activists. It fired the imagination of tens of thousands

around the country, as seen in how the spirit of Seattle helped reinvigorate revolutionary May Day in marches held in over a dozen cities around the country.

Such new openings are not limited to Seattle. New labor struggles have occurred, from the organizing campaign of home-care workers in Los Angeles to nationwide strikes of janitors and from the 49-day walkout of nurses in Worcester, Mass. to the strike of Boeing's engineers—the largest walkout of "high tech" workers ever. New protests against police abuse and the racist criminal justice system also arose, as did marches and rallies in defense of gay and lesbian rights. And new student struggles emerged, from campus movements against sweatshops to the 11-day boycott of classes by 10th graders, and some fourth graders, in Massachusetts in April against standardized testing.

It is not just the number of protests that is striking, but their character. A level of solidarity between students and workers is occurring which has not been seen in decades. There is also a new level of cross-border labor solidarity between workers at home and abroad. And there is more direct, open discussion of the need to abolish capital and the state than we have seen for a very long time.

What fuels this opposition is recognition of the inequities of global capital. Three billion in the world today lack basic sanitation, three billion live on less than

3. Letter of Marx to Engels, Oct. 8, 1858. This was written shortly after Marx completed his *Grundrisse*, with its section on "Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations."

(Continued on page 6)

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 2000–2001:

(Continued from page 5)

\$2 a day, and over a billion lack adequate food and nutrition. Far from being a legacy of "Third World backwardness" that global capital will sooner or later get around to tackling, these conditions are the product of capital's restructuring over the last three decades.

According to the UN Development Project, "No fewer than 100 countries—either developing or in transition—have experienced serious economic decline over the past three decades." Worst off of all is Sub-Saharan Africa. Even the World Bank was forced to admit in a study released in June that sub-Saharan Africans are poorer today than 30 years ago.

According to Caroline Thomas, "The explosive widening of the gap between rich and poor states (and between rich and poor people) evident over the last 50 years has been exacerbated in the 1990s...The dynamic of economic driven globalization has led to a global reproduction of Third World social problems...Concentration of wealth, and social exclusion, seem to be part of a single global process" ("Where is the Third World Now?" *The Interregnum: Controversies in World Politics, 1989-99*, ed. by Michael Cox, Ken Booth, and Tim Dunn).

Global capital has clearly proven itself incapable of putting a dent in the endemic problems of poverty and inequality in the largest economy on earth, the U.S., let alone anywhere else—despite the vast increases in labor productivity achieved through computerized technology and reorganized work processes. Though labor productivity in the U.S. grew 46.5% over the last 24 years, most workers are earning less, adjusted for inflation, than 24 years ago, and are working far harder. Though unemployment is at the lowest level in the U.S. for years, significant wage growth is still not occurring. And while the number of billionaires have quadrupled over the past decade, those living below the poverty line have increased 10%, to 34.5 million.

The fact that women are bearing the brunt of these conditions, as seen in the disproportionate number of women lacking basic employment, education, and health care, while being subjected to spousal abuse and an array of forms of sexual harassment, explains why women are in the forefront of the resistance to the conditions imposed by restructured capitalism. Just as many of the new generation of anti-sweatshop labor organizers are women, be it in the Mississippi Delta or in Indonesia, so are many of those leading the campaigns against globalization. This is evident from each of the major protests against global capital this year, be it Seattle, the April protest in Washington D.C., or the UN conference on global women's issues.⁴

A revival of movement activity seems to be occurring on every continent. In Norway, the largest industrial strike in years occurred in May against management and the trade union leadership. In Ukraine 40,000 miners went on strike in May against unpaid wages and working conditions that have killed hundreds of miners. In South Africa four million participated in a strike on May 10 against mass unemployment. In India 20 million went on strike May 11 against efforts to open the economy to global competition by privatizing state enterprises. And in China a

three-day pitched battle between 20,000 miners and soldiers broke out in May in Yangjiazhanzi in response to mass layoffs.

New protests are also occurring in Latin America, especially in Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru and Argentina. All of them face the mailed fist of state repression. This is especially so in Mexico, even though the ruling PRI has just lost the presidential election to Fox of the PAN. The Zapatistas warned in a communique in late June that regardless of who becomes president, the state may try to move against them and the autonomous communities which have fueled the movement in Chiapas since 1994.

B. The racist core of capital accumulation—and its opposition

It is not only in Mexico that such repression is showing itself. It is increasingly evident in the U.S., as anyone subjected to police abuse can attest.

The serial murders by police and the state, largely of Blacks and Latinos, reveals the totalitarian dimension of U.S. "democracy" that has become more visible than ever. It is part of an effort to suppress the rebellious outlook of youth as a whole, white as well as Black. This will reach a frightening new stage if Bush becomes president. Whereas

Gore seems not to have found his voice to articulate much of anything, Bush has folded the Christian Right into his campaign in stealth fashion. Recent Supreme Court decisions—like upholding the Effective Death Penalty Act, which makes it easier for the state to carry out its license to kill, and striking down aspects of the Violence Against Women Act on the basis that it violates "states' rights"—are tailor-made for Bush's agenda.

The movement that has arisen against prison warehousing, the death penalty, and police abuse represents a mass rejection of this repressive apparatus. Yet so far most of the protests against globalization and those against the criminal justice system have not come together. This was evident at the Washington D.C. IMF-World Bank protest, which drew relatively few Black residents of D.C. or other areas. It was even more evident at the protests against the OAS in Windsor, Ontario, in June.

The gap between opposing globalization overseas and connecting with the struggles of Blacks and Latinos against capital here at home is one of the most important contradictions facing today's activists. It cannot be resolved by abstract appeals to Black-white unity or by reducing the problem to tactics and strategy. It can be resolved only by explicitly opposing the racist material and ideological structures of U.S. society and breaking from pragmatist attitudes which skip over the need for a philosophy of liberation to serve as the unifying thread of freedom struggles.

As one prisoner wrote: "Failure to immediately and continuously address the theoretical questions that define a movement not only leads to a false unity, but to a weak identity through which reactionary forces can infiltrate and coopt a movement."⁵

This is not the first time we have faced this problem. In the 1960s a new generation of revolutionaries arose inspired by Black masses in the Freedom Now! movement. By the late 1960s, however, many white New Left activists moved away from the Civil Rights Movement for the sake of focusing solely on the movement against the war in Vietnam. The extent of the resulting separation of white and Black became evident at the high point of the student movement, May 1970. While the killing of four students by the National Guard at Kent State initiated a national outcry, much less was said about the killing of two Black students at Jackson State.

History never repeats itself the same way twice, and today's situation is not the same as the 1960s. Yet just as the revolts of the 1960s were set into motion by the Black dimension, so the first serious challenge to U.S. capital in the post-Cold War era was initiated by Blacks and Latinos. Foremost in this was the Los Angeles rebellion of 1992. It was a direct response to police abuse. It was also a direct challenge to capital. Though derided by the bourgeois press as "looting," the actions of the Black and Latino (and in some cases white youth) in clearing out stores reflected a drive to strip products of labor of their value-form by treating them as objects of use, instead of as exchange. Brief as it was, Los Angeles 1992 opened the

first breach in the seeming invincibility of post-Cold War capitalism.

What can help bridge the gap between today's anti-globalization protests and the legacy of revolt born from the L.A. rebellion is the Marxist-Humanist concept of Black Masses as Vanguard of the American Revolution.⁶ It is crucial to confront, for if the movement against global capital fails to connect to the struggles of the revolutionary Black dimension, it will not be able to clearly distinguish itself from tendencies which oppose "globalization" from a decidedly reactionary standpoint.

C. Contradictions in the movement against global capital

The position of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy in the debate over extending permanent normal trade relations to China is one reflection of how narrow some critics of "globalization" can be. AFL-CIO President Sweeney's opposition to the China trade bill was hardly distinguishable from Teamsters President James Hoffa Jr., who is considering endorsing arch-reactionary and anti-Semite Pat Buchanan for president.

This is not the only example of narrow nationalist and pro-capitalist forces trying to influence the anti-globalization movement. Green Party presidential candidate Ralph Nader has held several friendly meetings with Buchanan over the past year, and Mike Dolan of Public Citizen, one of the organizations which helped organize the Seattle protest, has praised Buchanan for his supposed "passionate defense of the legitimate expectations of working families in the global economy."

The way in which some rightists and leftists are able to come together in the name of opposing "globalization" should come as no surprise to anyone who was attentive to what emerged during the war over Kosovo last year. A significant section of the U.S. Left not only refused to support the struggle of the Kosovars against "ethnic cleansing" but openly allied themselves with reactionary, narrow nationalist elements—on the grounds that they too opposed the U.S. air war against Serbia.⁷

What we called last year a threat of an emerging "red-brown alliance" in the West is not restricted to responses to the war in Kosovo. The response to the crisis in Kosovo reflected a problem confronting all of today's movements—the difficulty being encountered in articulating a revolutionary alternative to capitalism.

This difficulty has everything to do with the legacy of the unfinished and aborted revolutions of the past century. In the 20th century any number of efforts to negate capitalism stopped short at the abolition of private property and the "free" market. Instead of a new society, we ended up with state-capitalist regimes which called themselves "communist" or "socialist." The collapse of many of those regimes in East Europe and the Third World in the 1980s and 1990s could have become a new opening to liberation, that is, to a return to Marx's concept of a "revolution in permanence" that does not stop its development until all alienated human relationships, beginning at the point of production and extending to the whole of society, are fundamentally transformed.

The problem, however, is that revolutionary theoreticians failed to meet the mass revolts with a comprehensive philosophy of liberation. The great divide between Marx's Marxism and established Marxism was not seriously projected.

As a result, it remains very unclear today what the alternative to capital really is. Faced with the enormous difficulty of articulating an alternative, not just to the IMF or WTO, but to the very existence of capitalism, many refrain from raising the issue—preferring instead to focus for now on more tangible and immediate critiques of various forms and manifestations of globalization.

This is reflected in the tendency to critique "corporate greed"—as if it can be eliminated without uprooting capitalism. This leaves the door open for anti-revolutionary elements which oppose aspects of "globalization" from a nationalist and pro-capitalist position to pose themselves as part of the movement.

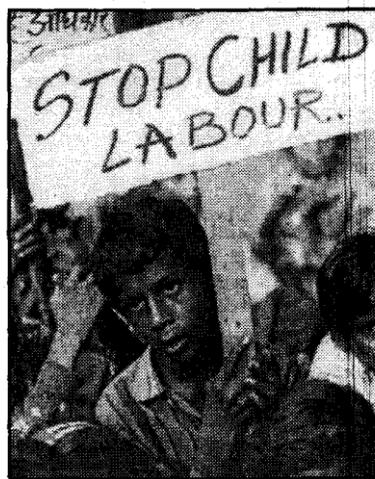
The problem is not resolved simply by issuing abstract critiques of capitalism. The Stalinists and their fellow travelers certainly did plenty of that in years past. But their efforts to oppose capitalism only led to a new form of exploitation, totalitarian state-capitalism, because what remained untouched was the most fundamental problem of all—the existence of forced, alienated labor. Without creating a new kind of labor which dispenses with the separation between mental and manual, it is impossible to uproot either capitalism or its manifestations.

It therefore bears repeating that for Marx capital is not

(Continued on page 7)



March against killings by police in New York.



Children in New Delhi demand an end to exploitation in export industries in India.

4. For more on this, see "Women shake up dominance of global capital," by Maya Jhansi, *News & Letters*, March 2000.

MARXISM AND FREEDOM



"Raya Dunayevskaya's book... shows not only that Marxian economics and politics are throughout philosophy, but that the latter is from the beginning economics and politics."
—Herbert Marcuse

"In *Marxism and Freedom*, Dunayevskaya grapples, in the face of the Stalinist legacy, with the question: 'What happens after? What happens when the old repression has been successfully resisted and overthrown? How do we make the 'continuing revolution,' 'the revolution in permanence' in which this cannot happen? She is passionate about 'the movement from theory to practice and from practice to theory' as living process and about the necessity for new voices speaking for their own freedom to be heard and listened to, if a movement is to keep on moving."
—Adrienne Rich

Special price for News & Letters readers \$20
(Regularly \$24.95; special runs through August)

To order, see literature ad on page 7.

5. For an extensive discussion of this by a prisoner, see "On the movement against global capital," by Todd C. Morrison, *News & Letters*, May 2000.

6. This concept is comprehensively developed in *American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard*, (Chicago: News and Letters, 1984 [orig. ed. 1963]).

7. For our analyses of the war over Kosovo, see our pamphlet *Kosovo: Writings from News & Letters, 1998-99*.

The search for new paths to freedom vs. the destructive drive of global capital

(Continued from page 6)

simply a thing but a social relation mediated through the instrumentality of things. Capital is the expression of a specific social form of labor—of abstract, undifferentiated, alienated labor. So long as the very activity of laboring is reduced to an alienated, thingified activity—that is, so long as human relations take on the form of relations between things—capital will continue to oppress us, with all its destructive consequences. Important as it is to demand “a rejection of neo-liberal politics” and “all forms of oppression and exploitation such as patriarchy, white supremacy, and imperialism,”⁸ to skip over the need to uproot the alienated character of the labor process essentially amounts to assuming the permanence of the capital-relation.

Today's realities demand a break from all pragmatist attitudes which consider theoretical questions, and most of all a philosophy of revolution, as “divisive” or of secondary importance. For neither a serious critique of capital nor a notion of its liberating alternative is possible without turning anew to the whole of Marx's new continent of thought and of revolution.

Here is where the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism takes on new importance. Beginning with the development of the theory of state-capitalism as a new world

8. This is from a statement of principles of the Direct Action Network, one of the organizers of the Seattle protest.

stage in the 1940s, Raya Dunayevskaya creatively returned to Marx's Marxism by showing that the abolition of capitalism hinges upon the abolition of alienated labor. As against the tendency of many radicals to get lost in the world of objective things, of property and market relations—as if nationalizing property or abolishing the “free” market constituted “socialism”—she returned to Marx's humanist concept of freely associated labor as the antithesis of value production.

This emphasis on creating new human relations freed from the constraints of value production—beginning with but by no means restricted to transforming relations at the point of production—defined her entire development of Marxist-Humanism. It underlined its view of the four forces of revolution—workers, women, youth, Blacks and other minorities.

Marxist-Humanism pinpointed the content of these forces as lying in a drive to negate all conditions in which human relations take the form of relations between things. In articulating the subjectivity of the “new passions and new forces,” Dunayevskaya showed that they bring to life the Hegelian and Marxian notion of “absolute

negativity.” In showing that the movements from practice bring to life the most abstract philosophic conceptions, she issued a challenge for revolutionary theoreticians to meet them with a philosophy of revolution which makes explicit their drive for a total uprooting. This underlined her restatement over four decades of Marx's thought as a philosophy of “revolution in permanence.”

It is hard to think of a philosophy better situated to speak to the movement against global capital than Marxist-Humanism. It speaks to the desire to abolish capital, to create non-elitist forms of organization, to achieve a coalescence of revolutionary forces, and to break down the hallmark of class society—the division between mental and manual labor—in the course of the struggle for a new society.

The question is whether Marx's philosophy of revolution as restated by Marxist-Humanism will achieve the kind of organizational expression that can enable the concept of “revolution in permanence” to become the beacon of today's struggles. To confront this, we need to turn anew to the problem of revolutionary organization.



III. Beyond capitalism: projecting a new alternative through a unity of philosophy and organization

“The dialectic is revolutionary through and through, no matter what positivistic conclusions Hegel himself tried to foist upon it. Because it is revolutionary through and through, the dialectic demands an organization of people for its realization that are Marxist-Humanists through and through.”

—Raya Dunayevskaya, 1961⁹

One of the most striking developments of the past year is the way many of the new struggles show a clear preference for non-hierarchical and decentralized forms of organization. This was especially evident at the Seattle protest, as well as elsewhere.

This desire for decentralized organizational forms is of tremendous significance. As Dunayevskaya said of the spontaneous emergence of such forms of organization in earlier revolutions and freedom struggles, “The demand for decentralization involves...first, the depth of the necessary uprooting of this exploitative, sexist, racist society. Second, the dual rhythm of revolution; not just the overthrow of the old, but the creation of the new; not just the reorganization of objective, material foundations but the release of subjective personal freedom, creativity, and talents. In a word, there must be such appreciation of the movement from below, from practice, that we never again let theory and practice get separated” (*Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, p. 108).

This does not mean that spontaneous organizational forms by themselves resolve the basic problem confronting efforts at social transformation. This is because those involved in mass struggles “also search for an organization different from their own in the sense that they want to be sure there is a totality of theory and practice” to help ensure the creation of a totally new society.¹⁰ As new forms of organization spring from grassroots struggles, its participants also look for ways to connect with organizations different from their own which can provide them with needed theoretical direction. The problem is that more often than not they encounter organizations which are more interested in controlling them than in offering a comprehensive view on how to transform society.

The fact that spontaneous forms have often been taken over by elitist groups does not negate the need for an organization of revolutionary theoreticians armed with a philosophy which spells out how to continue the struggle for a new society past the conquest of state power. It makes it even more important. It can be seen by the way tendencies from liberals to vanguardist Marxists to anarchists are already trying to claim the mantle of the struggles against global capital. What remains missing on their part is an effort to meet these spontaneous forms with a philosophy of liberation which spells out not only what we are against but what we are for.

To see what is involved in working this out for today, we need to turn to the dialectics of organization and philosophy—beginning with the ground Marx himself provided for it.

A. Marx's concept of organization revisited

Marx remains our founder, not just when it comes to questions of theory, but to organization as well. From the start of his new continent of thought and revolution in the 1840s he did not separate the two.

Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* marked the birth of a philosophy of revolution. Its content

9. We have reprinted the full text of this letter from February 1961 on p. 4 of this issue of *News & Letters*.

10. This is from a series of notes written as part of Dunayevskaya's work on “Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy” in 1987. See *Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, Vol. 13, 10955.

ranged from the concept of alienated labor and its absolute opposite—freely associated labor—to man/woman relations as the “measure” of society to the projection of a “thoroughgoing humanism” which unites materialism with idealism in opposition to both capitalism and “vulgar communism.” The 1844 Manuscripts was also the “philosophic moment” for his concept of organization. At no time was this defined by the elitist notion of a vanguard party. It was rather defined by responsibility for an idea—the idea of a total uprooting of class society. Marx practiced this concept in the organizations he was part of, from the Communist League to the First International.

Yet it was not until 1875, with his *Critique of the Gotha Program*, that Marx reached to fully concretize his philosophic moment of 1844 for organization. Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program* consisted of a sharp critique of his followers for submerging Marxian principles for the sake of organizational unity with the followers of Ferdinand Lassalle, whom he had castigated as “a future workers' dictator.”

Marx's *Critique* was far more than a critique of a political program. It was a critique of an entire attitude towards organization and philosophy. Marx blasted the program's declaration that “labor is the source of all wealth,” which forgets that nature is just as much the source of use-values. He exposed how little his followers understood what capital is, in failing to grasp that the problem lies not in distribution or exchange, but in production. And he attacked their call for workers to “strive for their emancipation within the framework of the present-day national state” as a regression from the internationalism of the First International. Marx was not just critiquing his followers for political opportunism. He was objecting to the way a “Marxist” organization had detached itself from the very idea of “revolution in permanence.”

For Marx, however, critique was never just critique as opposition, but a matter of projecting the absolute opposite in an affirmative way. It's seen in how the 1875 *Critique* contained his fullest projection of what a new

society will be like after the transcendence of value production. He wrote:

“In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual under the division of labor, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labor, has vanished; after labor, from a mere means of life, has itself become the prime necessity of life; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of cooperative wealth flow more abundantly—only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be fully left behind and society inscribe on its banners: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.”

Marx was not putting off for a far-distant future the creation of a new kind of labor which dispenses with value production. Nor was he posing the abstract, alienated kind of labor characteristic of capitalism as the “principle” of a new society. On the contrary, he was posing the uprooting of the “peculiar social form” of labor characteristic of capitalism as the fundamental prerequisite for the abolition of capital.

That this is projected not just “in general,” but in the midst of a critique of an organizational document, shows that for Marx the “historic right to exist” of a Marxist organization is defined by its responsibility for developing the principles of “revolution in permanence.” He was thereby making explicit the concept of organization integral to his work from as early as the 1844 Manuscripts.

The question is, why did it take 30 years for Marx to so sharply project this? The reason may be that by 1875 Marx had experienced a tremendous philosophic development in completing the French edition of Vol. I of *Capital* and creating a comprehensive body of ideas. The question of organization took on new importance once the self-determination of the Idea reached a new stage of development.

Unfortunately, Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program* did not become the ground of organization in post-Marx (Continued on page 8)

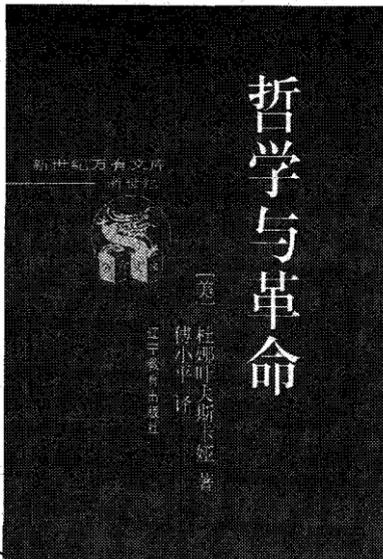
NEWLY TRANSLATED INTO CHINESE

Philosophy and Revolution

by
Raya Dunayevskaya

translated by Fu Xiaoping

ALSO AVAILABLE by Dunayevskaya



Available from
NEWS & LETTERS
\$10 each



Marxism and Freedom

introduction by Wang Ruoshui

Both books published by
Liaoning Education Publishers

The search for new paths to freedom vs. the destructive drive of global capital

(Continued from page 7)

Marxism. Even those who did return to the Critique in terms of the need to smash the bourgeois state, such as Lenin, failed to draw any connection between the Critique and the concept of organization. Instead, Lenin's concept of the vanguard party, which owed much more to Lassalle than to Marx, became a revered fetish. Nor did anti-Leninists return to Marx's Critique as part of reconsidering the question of organization. The inseparability of organization from projecting a vision of a new society rooted in a concept of "revolution in permanence" never became the ground of post-Marxism. It has always been there to do with the failure of post-Marx Marxists of our era to respond to the changes in global capital by projecting a liberating vision of the future.

This does not mean the task of working out a new relation between philosophy and organization has come to an end. For we have something that no previous generation of Marxists possessed—the ability to grasp the self-determination of the Idea of Marx's Marxism as a totality, now that Marxist-Humanism has unearthed his philosophy of "revolution in permanence" from the Archives.

B. The single dialectic of philosophy/organization

Marxist-Humanism's entire development has consisted of working out what Marx's Marxism means for today. *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today* (1958), established the American roots and world humanist concepts of Marx's Marxism by exploring the development from the 1844 Manuscripts to *Capital* in light of state-capitalism and the struggles against it in our age. *Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973), explored the source of Marx's Marxism—Hegel's dialectic of "absolute negativity"—both in and for itself and in relation to its impact on Marx, Lenin, and the revolutionaries of the 20th century. Its central category—"Absolute Negativity as New Beginning"—in turn became the impetus for a critical reexamination of the greatest post-Marx Marxists, in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982). Its discovery of the "new moments" of Marx's last decade—which include his writings on man/woman relations, technologically underdeveloped societies, and indigenous peoples in the *Ethnological Notebooks*—cast a new illumination on Marx as a whole by revealing that "no concept of his was separate from that of permanent revolution" (p. 192).

This opened new doors on the whole question of organization. The discovery of the whole of Marx's thought and its divide from "post-Marx Marxism, beginning with Engels, as pejorative" showed that achieving continuity with Marx on the level of today's realities calls for a new relation between philosophy and organization.

As Dunayevskaya wrote in 1981: "We have, unfortunately, all too often stopped at the committee-form of organization, rather than philosophy and organization. And it is the philosophy that is new, totally new, not the committee form of organization, crucial as that form is to fight vanguardism" (The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection [RDC], 7126). In 1982 she said the key is "Organizational responsibility for one's philosophic stand for a new society....Philosophy itself does not reach its full articulation until it has reached the right organizational form" (RDC, 7514).

It is not that "on the one hand" there is a need for organization, while "on the other" there is a need for philosophy. Rather, the task is to work out philosophy and organization as a single dialectic.

Dunayevskaya spoke to this in 1984, in commenting on her decision to change the title of the chapter of her Luxemburg book dealing with the *Critique of the Gotha Program*. Originally it was entitled "The Philosopher of

Permanent Revolution and Organization Man" but she changed it to "The Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates New Ground for Organization." She made the change "to reveal that the little word 'and' did not mean that Organization was a separate corollary to Marx's philosophy of 'revolution in permanence.' The difference... is between still keeping the philosophy and organization in separate categories and finally projecting the single dialectic in objective and subjective development" (Supplement to RDC, 17177).

The task of concretizing this single dialectic led her to journey anew into Hegel's philosophy as she worked on a planned book on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy." She explored anew Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind*, *Science of Logic*, and *Smaller Logic*, Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*, Marx's 1844 critique of Hegel and Marxist-Humanism's breakthrough on Hegel's *Absolutes* of 1953. While the 1953 breakthrough had been achieved with the question of organization in mind, the relation between organization and the dialectic in philosophy took on new importance with the projection of "revolution in permanence as ground for organization." As she wrote in 1986, "Unless we work out the dialectic in philosophy itself, the dialectic of organization, whether it be from the vanguard party or that born from spontaneity, would be just different forms of organization, instead of an organization that is so inseparable from its philosophic ground that form and content are one" (Supplement to RDC, 10789).

Dunayevskaya's work on the "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" was left unfinished with her death in 1987. While it is impossible to know where her work on it would have taken her, it is clear that she was in no way departing from the fundamental principles which have defined us since our origin. On the contrary, in her "Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" of June 1, 1987, she returned to the "philosophic moment" of the birth of Marxist-Humanism, the 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes," seeing it as the ground and roof for working out a new relation between philosophy and organization.¹¹

Assuming organizational responsibility for philosophy does not take away from the need for a decentralized committee form, for working out a new unity between workers and intellectuals, and for having a newspaper in which theoretical projection and voices of subjects of revolt are inseparable. If anything, it only makes them more important.

The point is to develop these and other dimensions of our organizational life through a collective journey into the dialectic of philosophy. Dunayevskaya addressed what this requires after completing *Philosophy and Revolution*: "We can't think that we are meeting that task by just saying, we recognize that it's not Substance but Subject.... Subject isn't all there is to subjectivity, in the universal sense, because subjectivity in the universal sense includes the theory. It cannot be complete until you're just as good in taking down that self-determination of the Idea as taking down the Subject talking" ("Our Original Contribution to the Dialectic of Absolute Idea as New Beginning," RDC, 5628).

Achieving this is how we can ensure that Marx's philosophy of revolution as restated by Marxist-Humanism reaches the kind of organizational expression that will enable the concept of "revolution in permanence" to become the beacon of today's struggles. By doing so we can play a critical role in speaking to the search by a new generation for new concepts and organizational forms with which to challenge capital.

C. Political-philosophic-organizational tasks

Much of our work of the past year speaks to this. It includes securing a new edition of *Marxism and Freedom* in the U.S. and *Philosophy and Revolution* in China. We also issued new pamphlets on Kosovo and on prisoner struggles, intervened in the battle of ideas in outside presses, and analyzed new objective and subjective developments in *News & Letters* newspaper. We have become an important force in the prisoner solidarity movements and, in some areas, in the movement against police abuse. Our British colleagues have made important strides in work with their new publication, *Hobgoblin*. We also tried to speak to the new moment disclosed by Seattle in a series of classes held nationwide on "Beyond Capitalism: The Struggle for a New Society Against Today's Globalized Capital."

Important as such work has been, we cannot be satisfied with our current state of organizational growth and outreach, given the many challenges presented by the

objective situation. We need to undergo a much deeper philosophic-political-organizational self-development, beginning with an all-organizational collective dialogue and discussion on the problem of "the dialectics of organization and philosophy" in light of today's realities. This defines all of our tasks of the coming year.

This begins with undertaking responsibility for keeping the major works of Marxist-Humanism in print and securing a publisher for the collection of writings by Dunayevskaya on the dialectic which we have called "The

Power of Negativity." Since the aim of all our work seeks to manifest the inseparability of theory and practice, the development of *News & Letters* newspaper is of special importance—both in eliciting voices of revolt "unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation" and in generating new outreach and distribution that can truly expand the horizons of our organization.

The unity of theory and practice is especially manifested in two pamphlets which we are now readying for publication—one consisting of selected writings from Felix Martin, who was a writer, columnist and Labor Editor of *N&L* over a period of 27 years until his death last year, the other a pamphlet which will engage in a battle of ideas over Marx's value theory. In different ways, each seeks to demonstrate what a critique of capitalism rooted in a Marxist-Humanist philosophy can mean for projecting the new visions of the future which are inherent in the present.

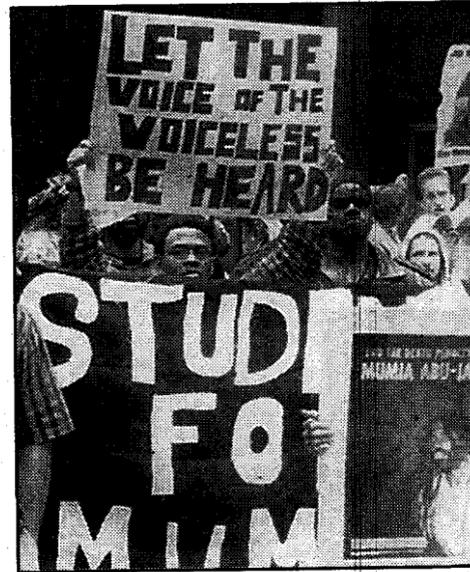
This underlies our perspectives with all the forces of revolt. Nowhere is this more important than with the Black dimension. It is this which has motivated our aim to present a "Marxist-Humanist Statement on the Black Dimension" for today. Of great importance as well is our work with women's liberationists to develop what we consider Marxist-Humanism's unique and specific contributions to the Women's Liberation Movement in the ongoing battle of ideas. We also seek to deepen our activities in the movement against police abuse and the prisoner solidarity movement, as well as in the environmental and queer liberation movements.

The finances demanded to publish *News & Letters* and make the new pamphlets a reality is one way we seek to break down the division of "inside" and "outside." From our beginnings our friends and readers have contributed to the special additional sustaining fund we need to keep going, and this year is no exception.

When *News & Letters* began Dunayevskaya wrote, "The Absolute Idea, or the concept of the new society, means that the totality of crisis is so pervasive that the average person, who might ordinarily have been concerned with but one aspect, such as wages...now searches instead for a totality of outlook...This desire for a new way of life compels a search for 'little groups' or newspapers such as *News & Letters*" (Supplement to RDC, 12130).

This has become even more true today, in light of the emergence of a new generation reaching for ways to combat global capitalism. Our aim is to demonstrate that the self-determination of the Idea is neither abstract or external to reality, but is living proof that revolutionary ideas remain a power in today's world.

—The Resident Editorial Board



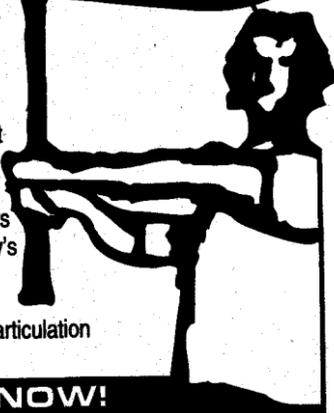
"Students for Mumia" and others march in Chicago in support of freedom for the radical journalist's freedom from Death Row.

Chicago Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Bring the
revolution home...
Subscribe to
News & Letters

You can't miss it. It's on every battle front of today's fight for freedom. It's in every battle of ideas. Discover Marxist-Humanism, and what the fight for a new, human society is all about. *News & Letters*...a unique combination of workers and intellectuals, where today's voices of revolt, from the streets to the prisons, are heard unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation.

SUBSCRIBE NOW!



How to contact NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES	
CHICAGO 36 S. Wabash, Room 1440 Chicago, IL 60603 Phone 312 236-0799 Fax 312 236-0725 MEETINGS Call for Information	NEW YORK P.O. Box 196 Grand Central Station New York, NY 10163 212 663 3631 MEETINGS Sundays, 6:30 p.m. Washington Square Church 133 W. 4th St. (Parish House parlor), Manhattan
DETROIT P.O. Box 27205 Detroit MI 48227 MEETINGS Tuesdays, 6 p.m. Central Methodist Church Woodward and Adams	OAKLAND P.O. Box 3345 Oakland, CA 94609 510 658 1448 MEETINGS Sundays, 6:30 p.m. 2015 Center St. (at Milvia) Berkeley
LOS ANGELES 4475 Sunset Drive-Box 181 Los Angeles, CA 90027 MEETINGS Sundays, 5:30 p.m. Echo Park United Methodist Church 1226 N. Alvarado- (North of Sunset, side door)	MEMPHIS & MISSISSIPPI 1910 Madison Ave, PMB 59 Memphis, TN 38104
FLINT, MI P.O. Box 3384, Flint, MI 48502	INTERNET EMAIL WORD WIDE WEB nandl@igc.org www.newsandletters.org banandl@yahoo.com (Oakland)
INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-HUMANISTS ENGLAND BCM Box 3514, London, England WC1N 3XX http://members.aol.com/THEHOBGOBL/index.html	

11. For the text of the "Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" of June 1, 1953 and the 1987 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes," see *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1989).

**AFTER SEATTLE :
THE DEBATE**

The bourgeoisie has its own way of seeing that there is something new in the movement today. Even Fukuyama sees that socialism will make a comeback, singling out Seattle as signaling a deep opposition to global capitalism and pointing out that "workers of the world unite" has never been more appropriate.

**Seattle veteran
California**

In your article about May Day 2000 in the June issue you stated that anarchists reject theory. This is a flat out lie. Some anarchists may reject theory but most do not. Anarchists have developed theories as complex and varied as Marxist theory. A simple reading of the works of Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Emma Goldman, Murray Bookchin and/or Noam Chomsky will show this to be true.

**Student
DeKalb, Ill.**

There is a theoretical debate going on within the movement that many may wish to forego in order to first establish a greater "unity" within the movement. To them, such issues seem distant and abstract. But failure to immediately and continuously address the theoretical questions that define a movement not only leads to a false unity, but a weak identity through which reactionary forces can infiltrate and corrupt. None of us involved in the struggle for human liberation can forget that the Pat Buchanans of the Establishment are lurking in the crowds looking for a weakness to exploit.

**Todd M.
Connecticut**



**A VOICE
FROM
WITHIN**

Greetings from America's new slave colony, the federal prison system. Here in Greenville a third of our cells are housing three men in a space barely big enough for two. Now they are converting the TV rooms into ten-man cells and moving the TVs to the common areas. This is justified as "temporary" housing and clearly violates their own policy, which stipulates that half the cells are to be single-man and half may be two-man. Of course, the local communities love this approach as the deadline for the census count looms near, because each of the 1,225 inmates here are counted as residents of the small town of Greenville (pop. 7,000). We can't vote, the local congressman ignores us, we use no city services, and yet we are citizens?

**Incarcerated
Illinois**

PUERTO RICAN RIGHTS

You should know that the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights issued a very strong statement calling the Central Park attackers "enemies of the Latino and Black communities." They gave three powerful reasons for their denunciation of the young men who carried out the sexual assaults in East Harlem on Saturday and Central Park on Sunday, June 10 and 11.

The first was that anyone who forces himself on women in any way is an oppressor and that no form of abuse or disrespect that reduces the participation of women in the community would be tolerated. The second was that anyone who adds to the fear and instability of the community is an enemy and will be fought just like racist politicians, greedy slum landlords, uncaring educators, and brutal cops. The third was that this year's National Puerto Rican Parade and celebration were telling the world that the Puerto Rican people are united in their demand that the U.S. government stop the bombing of Vieques, but the sex attacks by mobs of young men was the only story the media considered newsworthy.

At the same time, they made it clear that condemning this group of sexist men was not meant to imply that all men in the Black and Latino community are criminals. Given the NYPD's history

Readers' Views

THE CHALLENGE OF AFRICA IN CRISIS

Lou Turner's report on "The Challenge of Africa in Crisis" in the June issue was a daunting task to undertake. It seemed to present so many disparate forces and factors as to defy coherent analysis. But his report not only described the various internal and external influences at work, but also disclosed the vital importance of Marx's analysis of capitalism, which is necessary to reveal the various relationships. What was important was that Turner not only forcefully critiqued the horrors generated by the imperialist powers that carved Africa into a hodgepodge of separate colonies, but revealed the catastrophic conditions that the present rulers are responsible for, as well as the growing revolutionary discontent of the African masses who keep striving to transform their conditions.

**Retiree
Detroit**

It was good to remind us that calling 1960 the "Year of Africa" was a joke because capitalism couldn't develop even one impoverished country. Lou Turner's point about Western aid was right on. Egypt gets the most aid, and most of it is tanks and other weapons. Egypt remains full of poverty.

**John G.
Berkeley, Cal.**

I was glad the Lead on Africa talked about "a new ecological danger created by capitalist globalization." Global warming is projected to have a far more devastating impact on poor countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, for sev-

eral reasons. One aspect of capitalist production is that Third World farmers have been forced by competition on the world market to use water-intensive and chemical-intensive methods that maximize agricultural output. When there is a disruption in the climate or in the market, these methods are more vulnerable than traditional farming methods adapted to local conditions.

**Revolutionary environmentalist
Memphis**

While the size of the AIDS epidemic in Africa well illustrates the disastrous long-term effects of colonialism and Africa's impoverished status, it might get inflated because of poor and vague diagnostic criteria. Silvia Federici argues that this amounts to a medicalization of what are actually states of poverty brought about by Structural Adjustment Programs and that an exaggeration of the AIDS problem in Africa diverts attention from the political policy issues.

**Eli Messinger
New York**

There is a great deal to criticize in the capitalist development of medicine, like taking malaria drugs off the shelf because they're not profitable. But Mbeki's criticism of AIDS treatment is thoroughly based on his patriarchal perspectives. In his criticisms it's not only the class line but the whole gender line that seems to be obliterated.

**Htun Lin
Oakland, Cal.**

in regard to young men of color, the statement called for vigilance against the mayor using the attack to justify increased police harassment.

**Women's liberationist
Illinois**

FOR SHAKA SANKOFA

Shaka Sankofa's insistence that he be remembered by that name instead of Gary Graham, and his insistence right up until the moment of his execution that he would die fighting for what he believed in, reverberate far beyond the issue of George W. Bush's presidential campaign that dominates the media. "Sankofa" refers to an African spirit who represents the idea of looking back into history to go forward into the future. I learned this from a recent independent film about a slave revolt and from Cassandra Wilson's jazz piece, both by the same title. Shaka Sankofa's declaration that the death penalty is a modern form of lynching is one we need to take very seriously.

**Laurie Cashdan
Chicago**

We have written to foreign Secretary Robin Cook on the British government to make representations to Clinton and Bush on human rights grounds. We welcomed Cook's call for Abdullah Ocalan not to be executed and called on him to do the same for Shaka Sankofa. We also pointed out that the International Convention of the Rights of the Child should apply, as Shaka was only 17 at the time of his alleged crime, and the Convention bans the death penalty in such cases. It has been ratified by every country in the world except the USA and Somalia.

**Richard Bunting
Oxford**

That Bush is planning one execution a week in Texas from now to the November election shows voters exactly what they will be voting for when they go into those booths. As the number of Americans opposed to the death penalty continues to grow, it remains to be seen whether this strategy serves him well or backfires.

**Erica Rae
Illinois**

1921 TULSA REVISITED

In the May 2000 issue, Lou Turner writes that "there is no separation between past, present, and future." In that vein I offer some comments con-

cerning "1921 Tulsa race riot revisited."

In 1921 any "native" Tulsans would have been 14 years old or less. The "elite" were all outsiders (immigrants, if you will). Until Oklahoma became a state in 1907 Eastern Oklahoma was "Indian territory." Turner is exactly right to point out that during that time (1921) there were race riots in a variety of places. It was a time of substantial KKK power and influence in much of America. But the immediate past of this particular area is a serious factor. Many tribes had been induced by hook, crook, bribe, or force to leave their native homes and settle in Indian territory. I agree with Turner that "when it comes to the Black dimension there is no separation between past, present and future." So why is that not true about Native Americans? Those who came to Indian territory were, in writing, promised that land "in perpetuity." It should be cause for pause and consideration that over the past 150 years Marxists as well as the Catholic Church have made almost zero influence among Native Americans. I am not being critical. I am thinking aloud.

**Prisoner
Texas**

MARX'S ANGER

I appreciated Charles Herr's critique, in his review of *Marx on Suicide*, of the way Eric Plaut, one of the editors, talked about Marx's anger, since it is a common perspective. At one point in the play "Marx in Soho" his anger is attributed to his carbuncles—to which Marx in the play replies, "What about all those revolutionaries who don't have carbuncles?" The point is that there is an objective reason for that anger that transcends psychology.

**David
Oakland, Cal.**

**INVITATION TO A MARXIST
SUMMER SCHOOL**

Join us at the New York Marxist School for our 22nd Annual Marxist Summer School on "Global Cities/Urban Crisis: Marxism in the Age of E-Commerce," which will run from Sunday, July 9 through Friday, July 21. Along with the basic works of Marx and Engels, this two-week study will examine the work of contemporary urban theorists. Teachers include Sam Anderson, Mary Boger, Ellen Braune, Steve Brier, Hector Figueroa, Gina Neff, Maisha Perez, Annette T. Rubinstein, Neil Smith and Brenda Stokely. The cost for

the entire program is \$95 and pre-registration is advised. Those interested can call the Brecht Forum, 212-242-4201 or visit us at www.brechtforum.org.

**Outreach coordinator
New York**

VIETNAM 30 YEARS AFTER

Thank you for the editorial setting straight the legacy of the anti-Vietnam war movement in the June issue. Here in the South it's not acceptable to say out loud that it was a war to destroy a people's movement for liberation from imperialism. Our ears ring with the shouts of those who want to rewrite history to justify that imperialist war just as they want to rewrite history to justify the South's war to preserve slavery.

**From the 1970s anti-war generation
Tennessee**



**LABOR'S
ISSUES
TODAY**

Ralph Nader may be a real factor in the coming national elections. No one thinks he can win but he has hit on the key issues of the irresponsibility of corporate and global capitalism and the close ties that bind corporate board rooms to the White House and Congress. The Labor Party's constitution prohibits endorsing anyone but many members are openly talking about supporting Nader. Add to that the way UAW President Stephen Yokich has said he is under consideration for union support and the way both the UAW and Teamsters union have withheld their support for Gore, and you have a picture of some serious divisions ahead in the AFL-CIO. Despite that leadership's support for Gore, many rank-and-file members oppose him because of his support of "free trade policies" that have hit workers hard in many industries.

**Labor Party member
Detroit**

The article on the janitors' strike (May N&L) did not quite capture the spirit of that month-long movement where each day large numbers marched and rallied in different parts of the city, attracting the police and media and making themselves visible. Although many local and national political and religious figures helped to gain the public's support it was the janitors who created the movement and won that victory.

**Basho
Los Angeles**

SURVIVING TV

The alienated nature of mainstream TV has reached a new level this summer with the creation of "Survivor," a program that shows dehumanization and survival-of-the-fittest to win large sums of money. Taking survival as its focus is perfect for this period in history. The most alarming aspect for me isn't that it was created by television moguls, but that millions are now regular viewers. This "idea" was based on a prototype from another country in which the first man "voted off the island" committed suicide. It is hard to imagine anything worse they could have in store for us unless it is the program that will round out the summer line-up—"Big Brother," in which George Orwell's 1984 is no longer fiction but fact.

**Disgusted
Illinois**

A CORRECTION

As several readers have pointed out, there was a mistake in the article in the June issue on "Mothers on the move." The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo are in Argentina, of course, not in Chile. The mothers in Chile have also been trying for many years to find out what happened to their children after Pinochet's coup and have been trying to bring their children's torturers and murderers to justice. Their creative opposition is to the new government's blanket amnesty for all political murders committed during that time.

Black/Red View Criminalized for being Black

by John Alan

Recently I went to Sacramento, Cal. to protest with thousands of others against the racial profiling of African-American drivers by California police, "driving while Black." It is amazing that this practice of criminalizing people for merely being Black occurs 36 years after a mass movement achieved seminal civil rights victories.

Three decades ago the militant mass action of the Civil Rights Movement during the administrations of presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson forced Congress to enact a number of civil rights laws that ended racial segregation in public places and restored political rights taken from Southern African Americans during the post-Reconstruction era. However, this great victory, this second political emancipation of African Americans, like the first one during the Civil War in 1863, did not uproot racism, the social division of this nation along racial lines.

Racism is quite different today from the way it was practiced some 50 years ago. Now it is not a practice of refusing to serve Black people at a food counter in a five-and-dime store or forcing Blacks to sit in the back of the bus. Prevailing over those racist practices was undeniably a significant victory. A mass act of revolt challenged and vanquished a social segment of the old white master/Black social slave relationship.

However, the victories of the Civil Rights Movement seemed to suffer the fateful prediction of Alexis de Tocqueville. He wrote in the early 19th century that "...in the United States the prejudice which repels the Negroes seems to increase in proportion as they are emancipated, and inequality is sanctioned by the manners while it is effaced from the laws of the country."

REACTIONARY POLITICAL TRENDS

De Tocqueville's prediction, whether or not it was an accidental insight, certainly applies to what has happened in this country since 1964 when the U.S. Senate, after 83 days of debate, passed the most sweeping civil rights act in the history of this nation. White middle-class Americans were convinced this act was a threat to their families, homes, social lives, schools and jobs, and set in motion a "white backlash." This "white backlash" frightened the liberal politicians and gave birth to powerful reactionary racist trends in both of the capitalist parties.

Hence, over the last 36 years the social and political gains made by the Civil Rights Movement were cancelled or sharply cut. At the same time as the idea and the practice of African-American equality and freedom was pushed off the stage of history, this nation has moved continuously toward the practice of aggressive racism in politics and in the judiciary system.

For example, New York City's mayor, Rudolph Giuliani, in a racially motivated drive to cut the crime rate, created a special squad of police officers to roam the streets of the city to apprehend and disarm any suspicious individuals. According to *The New York Times*, almost all of the people these officers stopped and frisked were African Americans. Hundreds of African Americans were stopped and humiliated by white policemen wearing T-shirts stamped with a quote from Ernest Hemingway: "Those who have hunted armed men long enough and like it, never care for any-

Health care runaround

Memphis, Tenn.—My daughter was diagnosed almost two years ago when she was 14 years old with a rare cancer. The doctor from the University of Tennessee said the chemotherapy she was given for a year was an experimental treatment. At the end of the year they said she didn't have the cancer anymore.

My daughter went to Florida to stay with her sister and go to school there. I knew she would have to be checked by a doctor, so I had the insurance transferred to Florida. As soon as she came home, I took her to the doctor in Memphis. That is when they said that the cancer had come back. Getting the insurance transferred back here was the problem; it was "lost in the system." From January to May the doctors were saying my daughter needed treatment and wouldn't give it to her:

As soon as I got the insurance, they were ready to inject her. Seeing the difference in the way she was treated when she got the insurance back made me so angry. I understand health care is a business, but they knew I had TennCare and all I needed was to get this paperwork straightened out. The doctor was telling me it was a life or death situation, and yet my daughter's treatment was held up due to paperwork.

When the insurance came through, the doctor tried to schedule her the very next morning for chemo shots. They couldn't do it because they have to make up the serum, so they scheduled her for lab tests—anything to get her in there now that they would get money. We went the next day, but the insurance hadn't shown up in the hospital's system, and they wouldn't give her the tests even though I showed the forms proving I had the insurance! It has been weeks and my daughter still hasn't started the chemo, and now the doctor has left town.

The hospital gave her an appointment for next month with a new oncologist. My daughter asked, "You mean I'm going to have to go through all this again?" She is depressed and doesn't have anybody to talk to. Sometimes she says, "I'm dying." That is why I was looking for a support group for teenage cancer patients.

I asked the first doctor we saw if my daughter's cancer could be the result of environmental pollution. I lived within blocks of the Memphis Defense Depot, which is a Superfund site. The doctor couldn't confirm it, but after my daughter was diagnosed, I moved as soon as I could.

—Black working mom

thing else."

Giuliani's hunters had a license to kill Black men, and they did kill Amadou Diallo, an unarmed African immigrant, as he was about to enter his own apartment in the Bronx. They were acquitted by a jury for doing it.

IN THE GUISE OF LEGAL EQUALITY

Another area of racism is the courts. A recently released survey by the National Corrections Reporting Program (1996) and Bureau of Census data reveal that the nation's war on drugs has had a disproportionate impact on African Americans who are far more likely than whites to be sent to prison. According to this survey, African Americans are 62% of the drug offenders sent to prison, while whites make up only 32%.

These percentages are startling, but African Americans long have known that racism permeates the halls of justice. They also have known that race is not the special property of conservatives and reactionaries. For instance, liberal President Clinton made Black crime a major issue of his first administration.

This retrogression into the practice of racism under the legal formalism of equal rights points to the need to heed the warning Karl Marx issued a long time ago. Liberation is cut short if social movements stop with victories on the political stage instead of going deeper to work out liberation in social relations in our everyday lives.

Black World

(Continued from page 1)

must take it to the nation. We must keep our faith. We must go forward. We recognize that many leaders have died: Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and others who stood up for what was right. They stood up for what was just. We must, you must, brothers; that's why I have called you today. You must carry on that tradition.

What is here is just a lynching that is taking place. But they're going to keep on lynching us for the next 100 years, if you do not carry on that tradition and that resistance. We will prevail. We may lose this battle, but we will win the war. This death, this lynching will be avenged. The people must avenge this murder. So my brothers, all of ya'll stay strong, continue to move forward.

Know that I love all of you. I love the people, I love all of you for your blessing, strength, for your courage, for your dignity, the way you have come here tonight, and the way you have protested and kept this nation together. Keep moving forward, my brothers. Slavery couldn't stop us. The lynchings couldn't stop us in the South. This lynching will not stop us tonight. We will go forward. Our destiny in this country is freedom and liberation. We will gain our freedom and liberation by any means necessary. By any means necessary, we keep marching forward.

I love you, Mr. [Jesse] Jackson. Bianca [Jagger], make sure that the state does not get my body. Make sure that we get my name as Shaka Sankofa. My name is not Gary Graham. Make sure that it is properly presented on my grave: Shaka Sankofa.

I want you to take this thing off into international court, Mr. Robert Mohammed and all ya'll. I want you to get my family and take this to international court and file a lawsuit. Get all the videotapes of all the beatings. They have beat me up in the back. They have beat me up at the unit over there. Get all the videotapes supporting that lawsuit. And make the public exposed to the genocide and this brutal world, and let the world see what is really happening here behind closed doors. Let the world see the barbarity and injustice of what is really happening here.

Reverend Jesse Jackson, know that this murder, this lynching will not be forgotten. I love you, too, my brother. This is genocide in America. This is what happens to Black men when they stand up and protest for what is right and just. We refuse to compromise, we refuse to surrender [our] dignity for what we know is right. But we will move on, we have been strong in the past.

We will continue to be strong as a people. You can kill a revolutionary, but you cannot stop the revolution. The revolution will go on. The people will carry the revolution on. You are the people that must carry that revolution on, in order to liberate our children from this genocide and what is happening here in America tonight, what has happened for the last 100 or so years in America.

And know that victory is assured. Victory for the people will be assured. We will gain our freedom and liberation in this country. We will gain it and we will do it by any means necessary. We will keep marching. March on Black people. Keep your heads high. March on. All ya'll leaders. March on. Take your message to the people.

Preach the moratorium for all executions. We're going to end the death penalty in this country. We are going to end it all across this world.

This is nothing more than pure and simple murder happening tonight in America. Nothing more than state sanctioned murder, state sanctioned lynching, right here in America tonight. This is what is happening my brothers. Nothing less. They know I'm innocent. They've got the facts to prove it. But they cannot acknowledge my innocence, because to do so would be to publicly admit their guilt.

This is something these racist people will never do. We must remember, brothers, this is what we're faced with. You must take this endeavor forward. You must stay strong. You must continue to hold your heads up and to be there. All of you who are standing with me in solidarity, we will prevail.

We will keep marching. Keep marching Black people, Black power. Keep marching Black people, Black power. They are killing me tonight. They are murdering me tonight.

War in Horn of Africa

There are historic, ideological and economic reasons for the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia. Eritrea, which for 50 years was under Italian colonial rule, never gained independence after the defeat of Italian forces in World War II, in which Eritrean forces played a vital role. British rule from 1941 to 1952 and Ethiopian colonization from 1952 onward instigated strong nationalist feelings within the Eritrean people, which lay the ground for the national liberation struggle in 1961 under the leadership of the Eritrean Liberation Forces (ELF).

The ELF never developed to face the challenges of the liberation struggle, but found itself more and more involved in sectarian struggle within the movement. Some of the forces involved in this movement had hidden agendas, thus, for example, making it possible for Saudi Arabia to achieve an impasse in the liberation struggle through its relationship with some of the Islamist groups in the alliance.

The overthrow of the Ethiopian regime of Haile Selassie in 1974 following the famine brought to the forefront the pro-Stalinist Workers Party of Ethiopia under the leadership of Mengistu. The Workers Party never saw the national question as a fundamental question, even though it claimed to be Marxist-Leninist. It was determined to crush all liberation struggles within the Ethiopian empire and almost eradicated the ELF forces in 1978 during the Soviet military intervention.

A more serious liberation movement was established by 1970 in Eritrea, the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF), which was ideologically inspired by Chairman Mao and had a national democratic program with a line of struggle independent from the influence of the Soviet Union, China and the USA. It was perhaps the only liberation struggle in Africa able to maintain such independence; none of the superpowers were interested in the liberation struggle or an independent Eritrea.

IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT

The Tigre Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF), dominated by the pro-Albanian Marxist-Leninist League of Tigre, has been the dominant force in the Ethiopian government since the liberation of Ethiopia from the Stalinist regime of Mengistu. The TPLF believed that all national groupings within the Ethiopian empire had a right to national self-determination, and a greater Tigre was a fundamental aim in its liberation struggle.

Though there had been serious ideological conflict between the TPLF and the EPLF, their relationship was of great importance in the struggle against the Stalinist regime and in the marginalization of the reactionary ELF forces. The military forces of the two movements played the decisive role during the final assault against Addis Ababa in 1991.

The Ethiopian government gave support to the independence of Eritrea after the 1993 referendum. This brought about an internal crisis within the governing Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). There are forces within the EPRDF who are against the division of Ethiopia, thus raising questions as to the final intentions of the government of Meles Senawi, who is from the TPLF. The conflict led to the withdrawal of the Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization and the Oromo Peoples Liberation Force from the EPRDF to continue their struggle for the liberation of Oromo.

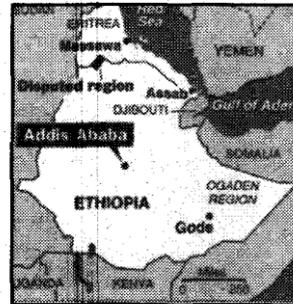
THE WAR'S IMPLICATIONS

Eritrea has insisted that the border conflict with Ethiopia started in July 1997, not May 1998 as the Organization of African Unity indicated. The Ethiopian government's war might be a tactical move to satisfy factions within the TPLF who are still determined to see an independent greater Tigre. Eritrea shares a border with Tigre, which made Eritrean independence a sensitive issue within the TPLF alliance. There is also an economic factor in Ethiopia's interest in having access to the harbor towns of Assab and Massawa. The TPLF not only is in conflict with its former comrade in arms, but openly gives support to the reactionary forces of the ELF, which is now the main opposition party in Eritrea.

The EPLF in Eritrea seems to have given up its Maoist ideological positions, now finding allies away from the revolutionary forces, turning its back on the Eritrean peasants, who have been the main force of the movement, and making the women's liberation struggle a secondary issue. The political degeneration of the EPLF leadership might be an important factor in creating an opening for the reactionary forces of the ELF.

The EPRDF, which launched a military offensive at a time when millions of Ethiopian people face famine, will in the near future find itself in conflict with other liberation struggles within the country. There is great potential, with the experience of the people in both countries, for new forces to bring to the forefront fundamental questions of survival and liberation. The women, especially in Eritrea, played a great role in the liberation struggle, and their marginalization since victory brings to the fore serious political questions coming from within the women's liberation movement. That gives all hope that the situation is not as hopeless as it appears.

—Ba Karang



Philosophic Dialogue

by Cyril Smith

Cyril Smith, author of *Marx at the Millennium* (Pluto Press, 1996), submitted the following piece as a response to the publication of Raya Dunayevskaya's 1961 notes on Hegel's *Smaller Logic* in the April, May and June issues of *News & Letters*. We invite our readers to contribute to this ongoing discussion.

It is nearly half a century since I first saw some of the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya. Alas, I was too narrow minded then to see what she was trying to do. Only recently have I started to study her work seriously and come to appreciate her pioneering work in uncovering Marx's humanism and investigating its relationship to Hegel's philosophy. The publication by *News and Letters* of this work is a great contribution to the task of regenerating the international movement for socialism.

However, as is the fate of all pioneers, history unfolds and overtakes even the most farsighted of thinkers. So I offer some critical comments, occasioned by the 1961 lecture on Hegel's *Smaller Logic* which you have recently published, only with the greatest respect. I believe that, during the quarter of a century which still remained to her after that lecture, Raya herself began to move in some of the directions I point to here. I contend that it is necessary for us to continue this process, rather than leave the subject where she left it at the time of her death.

Like many of her generation and ours, Raya Dunayevskaya started with Lenin's study of Hegel in 1914-15. With the indispensable help of his rough notes and of Marx's 1844 Manuscripts—not, of course, available to Lenin—she began her own independent study of Hegel. Only later did she begin to see the severe limitations of Lenin's struggle to break out of the falsifications of Marx's ideas in the Second International.

That, I think, is the significance of her emphasis on Hegel's opening chapters of the *Smaller Logic*, the three "Attitudes to Objectivity." In my opinion, these pages reveal sides of Hegel's logic which Lenin had no conception. Hegel is not describing a special "method," which can be detached from his notions of reality, or his conception of history and the state. Rather, he is presenting the essential heart of the relations of bourgeois society and the forms of consciousness which reflect these relations. No mere philosophy can do more. What Marx accomplished went beyond any philosophy.

That is why I cannot accept Raya's admonition, following Lenin, that we must "constantly deepen" Hegel's content, "through a materialistic, historical 'translation.'" To try to do this, I think, is to miss the point of Marx's "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic and Philosophy as a Whole," the most important of the 1844 manuscripts. Here Marx shows that Hegel stays within the confines of philosophy, and thus remains at home within what he called "estrangement." He also attacks Hegel because he "posited man as equivalent to self-consciousness."

In the first of his Theses on Feuerbach (1845), Marx praises idealism—here that means Hegel—for "abstractly setting forth the active side," and condemns materialism. However, he also says that idealism "does not know real, sensuous activity," only spiritual, mental activity. No philosophy, whether "materialist" or "idealist," could ever grasp "the significance of 'revolutionary,' of 'practical critical' activity."

Marx's two-sided attitude to Hegel leads me to be cautious about Dunayevskaya's statement about the last section of the *Logic*, which she thinks is "the philosophical framework which most applies to our own age." After all, she quotes quite correctly Hegel's statement that "the truths of philosophy are valueless apart from their interdependence and organic union." But that implies that we can't pick out those bits of Hegel's work which appear to fit in with our own revolutionary ideas. We must take him as a whole. Remember that Hegel clearly situates his massive system of thought within the historical context of his own

Upski strikes again

No More Prisons (Subway & Elevated/Soft Skull Press) is the follow-up to William Upski Wimsatt's 1994 *Bomb the Suburbs*, a remarkable and unconventional account of a white kid from Chicago's affluent Hyde Park neighborhood who chose to challenge everything he knew about himself by enrolling in a public school and immersing himself in hip hop culture. As a result, Upski became one of Chicago's most famous graffiti writers and found himself at the center of a vibrant youth culture which had few avenues of expression open to it.

Upski's latest effort details the story of the impact his book had on his life and his failure to realize his vision of a socially conscious hip hop movement that would unite urban—and suburban—youth across the country. He chose the title *No More Prisons* to tie in with a CD produced by Raptivism Records that benefits the Prison Moratorium Project. While very little of the book is actually about America's expanding prison-industrial complex, Upski makes it clear that the current drive to incarcerate much of the constituency of the culture he thinks can still change society makes us all inmates of a mental prison.

While many of the ideas Upski has moved onto—such as the potential of philanthropy to result in positive developments in society's direction—are less interesting than his original vision, *No More Prisons* is a significant contribution to the ongoing fight against the ceiling of Black and brown America.

Critical comments on notes on the Smaller Logic

time and place, in the aftermath of the French revolution in backward Germany. "Applying" it to the 21st century, it seems to me, is to do it injury, and to blunt Marx's critique.

I believe that Dunayevskaya's refusal to attend to Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*, illustrates this mistaken attitude. Marx actually made this book the startingpoint for his lifelong struggle with Hegel, when he wrote his 1843 "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of the State." I know that the old "Marxist" story about Hegel "upholding the Prussian State" was always nonsense. (Marx and Engels never went along with it.) And I am not excusing Hegel's dreadful racism and sexism. But this, his last book, plays a vital part in the Hegelian system. Look at his summary of it in the *Philosophy of Mind*, the section called "Objective Spirit."

As I see it, we should see Raya's work on Hegel as one stage of the struggle of revolutionary humanism to emerge from the shadow of the Russian revolution, the Stalinist degeneration and the only partially successful attempt of Trotskyism to grasp its meaning. Almost unanimously, the Second International ignored Hegel, and clung to a positivist falsification of Marx. Lenin and his followers broke with the opportunism of the old International, but in my opinion they remained trapped within its philosophical framework. Their "attitude to objectivity" took the form of an uneasy combination of empiricism and subjectivism.

Above all, they were unable to approach Marx's conception of freedom, of "universal human emancipation." Revolution came to be seen as the work of a "leadership," rather than the self-conscious work of the proletariat as a whole. Dunayevskaya's "Marxist humanism" was a breakthrough precisely because it drew directly on the work of Marx and Hegel. Now we have to take that work further, grasping in particular the critical relationship of these two thinkers.

As the new century opens up, a new generation, free from the effects of past defeats, enters into global struggles. Not surprisingly, these young people start with all kinds of confusion and illusions. In freeing themselves from these problems, will they have to follow the same tortuous path which we had to negotiate? I don't think they will. Instead, I believe that they will find their own way to discover and surpass the liberatory notions of Marx. The priority today is to help them in that task.

Police stifle anti-OAS protests

Detroit—As we "marched" three blocks up Woodward Avenue and three blocks back to Hart Plaza on June 3, downtown Detroit was completely deserted—except for 4,000 police officers with gas masks and batons.

The city was on "high alert" for two weeks around the June 4-6 protests against the Organization of American States meeting in Windsor, Ontario. Organized mainly by local anarchist groupings, the 500 who marched were predominantly young. Puppets and signs were colorful and creative, and representatives from Detroit opposition to the status quo were present. Arnetta Grable, whose son Lamar had been killed by police several years ago, spoke against police brutality at the rally. The locked-out Detroit newspaper workers, who are now five years without a contract, reminded all that "It's not over."

Despite the apparent success of the city's repression, Detroiters are not fooled by the development steamroller that Mayor Archer's administration is using to try to erase Detroit's past and present. People still talk about the "urban renewal" of the 1960s that was simply a code word for "Negro removal" at that time, and they see today's push for development as anything but their community's human development. —Susan Van Gelder

Nicaraguan workers struggle

Chicago—The Nicaragua Solidarity Committee and the Campaign for Labor Rights brought Nicaraguan trade union leader Pedro Ortega to DePaul University on June 18. Ortega, general secretary of the Federation of Textile, Garment, Leather and Shoe Workers, is touring the U.S. to raise awareness of the fierce anti-union offensive being waged by garment manufacturers in Nicaragua's Las Mercedes free trade zone.

Ortega described the 26,000-strong labor force of the free trade zone—an area near Managua in which manufacturers are exempt from taxes—as being 85% female. Most of these women are under 26 years of age. "The workers face 12-to-14 hour days with no access to medical care and no social security being paid to the government," he said. "The workers want to organize, but they are afraid. A blacklist of names of workers fired

Student denounces punishment of Iraq

The following is excerpted from an impromptu address delivered by Fadia Rafeedie, winner of the 2000 University Medal, at the University of California Berkeley's commencement address. Rafeedie delivered her remarks immediately after the invited commencement speaker, U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, finished her speech.

I was hoping to speak before Secretary Albright, but that was a reflection of the power structure, I think, to sort of change things around and make it difficult for people who are ready to articulate their voice in ways they don't usually get a chance to.

So I'm going to improvise, and I'm going to mention some things that she didn't mention at all in her speech. I think sometimes not saying things is actually lying about them.

What I was going to tell her while she was sitting on the stage with me is that four years ago when we were freshmen, I heard her on "60 Minutes" talking to a reporter who had just returned from Iraq.

The reporter was describing that a million children were dying due to the sanctions that this country was imposing on the people of Iraq. And she told her, listen,

"that's more...children than

have died in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Do you think the price is worth it?" [Albright] looked into the camera and she said, "The price is worth it."

Since that time, three times that number of people have died in Iraq. And I was going to tell her, "Do you really think the price is worth it?"

We are about 5,000 here today, next month, by the time we graduate, that's as many people who are going to die in Iraq because of the sanctions. This is what House Minority Whip David Bonior calls "infanticide masquerading as policy."

Now, I don't want to make the mood somber here because this is our commencement, but commencement means beginning, and I think it's important for us to begin where civilization itself began, and where it's now being destroyed.

Let me talk to you a little bit more about the sanctions because I think it's very important. Now, I'm a Palestinian, I would really love to talk about the struggle for the liberation of my country, and to talk about a whole bunch of other things and I see some people may be rolling their eyes, and other people nodding. These are controversial issues, but I need to speak about Iraq because I think what's happening there is a genocide. It's another holocaust.

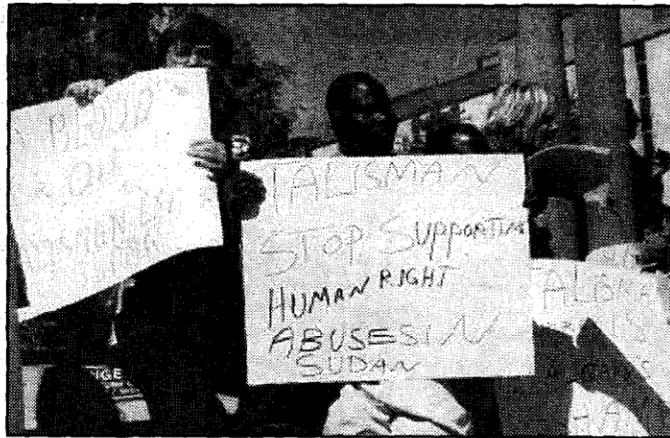
A lot of times you might hear it's because of Saddam Hussein. He's a brutal dictator. But again, I'm a history major, and history means origins. It means beginnings. We need to see who's responsible for how strong Saddam Hussein has gotten.

When he was gassing the Kurds, he was gassing them using chemical weapons that were manufactured in Rochester, New York.

And when he was fighting a long and protracted war with Iran, where one million people died, it was the CIA that was funding him. It was U.S. policy that built this dictator. When they didn't need him, they started imposing sanctions on his people. Sanctions—or any kind of policy—should be directed at people's governments, not at the people.

I don't want to take too much of your time, but I want to end my speech with a slogan that hangs over my bed in Arabic. It says, "Fear not the path of truth for the lack of people walking on it." I think our future is going to be the future of truth, and we're going to walk on that path, and we're going to fill it with travelers.

Oil industry protests



Calgary, Alberta—Protesters at the World Petroleum Congress meeting on June 11 denounce the environmental and social impact of the Canadian oil company Talisman's investments in Sudan.

Our Life and Times **Assad's death, Israel's Lebanon pullout**

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The death of Syrian dictator Hafez al-Assad, preceded by Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon, has created a new situation in the Middle East. Assad ruled with an iron hand after taking power in 1970. Just before his death, he installed his son, Bashar al-Assad, as his anointed successor. Assad's power lay in the military and especially the Alawite religious minority, only 15% of the population. Even if Bashar, who has no military background, can survive the jockeying for power of the next months, he will still face the fact that, as some of his rivals have been eliminated, the regime's base of support has become even narrower than before.

According to Amnesty International, Syria has at least 1,500 political prisoners, many of whom have been in jail for over 15 years and quite a few of whom have been tortured. Assad did not stay in power by fear alone, however. In the early years of his rule, some improvements in education, housing and other areas reached the masses.

Anti-nuclear movements

CHERNOBYL—President Kuchma of Ukraine announced that the last operating nuclear reactor in the damaged and radiation-leaking Chernobyl complex would be shut down in December. A 1986 explosion released radioactivity in the area equal to 500 times that of the bomb which destroyed Hiroshima. The number of children stricken with thyroid cancer in Belarus and Ukraine continues to climb. Kuchma had pledged to shut down the reactor as far back as 1995, but has made closure conditional on getting millions of dollars, primarily from the West, partly to bring two new power plants on line.

JAPAN—Following the lethal radiation release at the Tokaimura uranium processing plant last September, when one worker died and hundreds of people were exposed, anti-nuclear opposition has deepened. In March, the governor of Mie prefecture was forced by local opposition to order one of Japan's largest power companies to scrap a controversial project, in planning since 1963, to build two nuclear reactors in Ashihama. The Japanese government also announced it would begin a review aimed at reducing the number of planned new nuclear plants.

GERMANY—In June, the Schroeder Social Democrats and Green Party coalition announced an agreement reached with the German nuclear power industry, fourth largest in the world, to shut down the country's 19 reactors over a period of 21 years. The nuclear industry is permitted to shift output entitlements from its older plants to the newer, more efficient ones. The agreement produced a split in the Green Party. A majority of Green Party legislators approved it, but joint leader Antje Radcke and others rejected it: "It looks to me like the Greens have put themselves onto a long-term peace footing with nuclear power." The right opposition Christian Democrats threaten to reverse the shutdown plan if they win the 2002 election.

Assad also played upon fears of Islamic fundamentalism in the wake of the Iranian Revolution of 1979. He ruthlessly crushed a Sunni Muslim fundamentalist uprising in 1982, telling not only his fellow Alawites, but also the Christian and Druze minorities as well as more secular elements, that he was all that stood behind them and a fundamentalist takeover.

Assad was also remarkably astute at playing the Arab nationalist card to gain at least some popular support both at home and abroad. Many, including leftists whose own co-thinkers languished in his prisons, remained silent about his brutality and betrayals because of his intransigence toward Israel, as well as his verbal support for Arab unity.

This was how Assad gained a foothold in Lebanon in the 1970s, where he played no small role in crushing both the Palestinians and the Lebanese Left, who at the time believed he was an ally in their fight against the right-wing Christian establishment. The long Syrian military presence in Lebanon has stirred resentment there, while its expense has contributed to Syria's dire economic crisis.

Although Assad suppressed fundamentalists from the Sunni majority at home, in Lebanon he worked closely with Shi'ite fundamentalists, most recently the Iranian-funded Hezbollah. Now that Israel has finally pulled out of Lebanon, Hezbollah is claiming that it is the only Arab force that has ever defeated the Israelis on the ground. Today it is riding a wave of popular support throughout the Arab world, where few are questioning its very reactionary political program.

Hezbollah is also riding high because of the extreme brutality and arrogance of the Israelis in Lebanon ever since they invaded in 1982. Year after year, Israel has bombed whole cities in response to minor skirmishes, all designed to cow the Lebanese. It occupied southern Lebanon, installing there a force of brutal and corrupt mercenaries, the South Lebanon Army. Ultimately, Israeli public opinion turned against an endless war, forcing the government to pull out unilaterally.

When Hezbollah and other Lebanese groups "advise" the Palestinians to fight Israel just as they have done,

March in Australia

Over 250,000 people marched in a "Walk for Reconciliation" across the Sydney Harbor Bridge, May 28, to demonstrate solidarity with Aboriginal Australians and support their demands for a formal treaty with the government, and acknowledgement of past injustice and oppression. During the following week, marches were held in other cities, including 50,000 who marched, June 4, in Brisbane.

Since British settlers colonized Australia two centuries ago, indigenous peoples have been removed from their lands and increasingly marginalized. They are demanding government commitments, treaties for stolen land, and greater political influence. Aboriginal organizations pledge to take their protests to the Olympic Games in Sydney this September.

rather than compromise for a few small concessions as has Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat, there is also a subtext involved. They are implying that Lebanon's hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees, many there since 1948, should all leave Lebanon, ostensibly to join that fight. In this way, Lebanese parties including Hezbollah, all of which talk of Arab unity, can cover over the fact they deny Palestinian refugees even the right to attend school or to work, let alone the possibility of citizenship. This policy is unique in the Arab world.

Inside Israel, the pullout from Lebanon has resulted in no respite for the Labor government of Ehud Barak. It faces mounting Palestinian protests against the way it has reneged on earlier agreements to cede most of the West Bank or to release the more than 1,650 Palestinian political prisoners, let alone its refusal even to negotiate over some type of dual status for Jerusalem.

The fractured nature of Israeli domestic politics has made the government dependent upon the votes of religious extremists like the Shas Party. In response, Barak has once again caved in to Shas, expelling from the government members of the secular left Meretz Party. In addition to moving his government to the right, this brings to an end some valuable education reforms.

Argentina general strike

Workers challenged the anti-labor, multimillion-dollar austerity measures of the government of President Fernando de la Rúa by staging a one-day general strike on June 9, which virtually shut the country down. Led by the Peronist CGT (General Workers Federation), the strike was joined by millions of workers including teachers, hospital and transportation workers, refuse collectors, the staff at de la Rúa's presidential office, and



Uncollected garbage in Buenos Aires' banking district was a visible reminder of the country's general strike

many of Argentina's growing number of unemployed. The strike was considerably larger than earlier ones in May and February.

Workers have become fed up with de la Rúa's program to turn around a two-year-long recession. Shortly after coming to office in December 1999, de la Rúa passed a \$2 billion tax increase. In April, he proposed laws to lengthen probationary periods for new workers, end labor contract extensions during bargaining, and shift labor negotiations for specific industries from the national level to the local and company level. Most recently, he introduced legislation to cut public sector pay and reduce pensions. These measures have assured de la Rúa \$7.2 billion in IMF standby loans.

The unemployment rate, 13.8% when de la Rúa was elected and now at 14%, is expected to go up to at least 14.5% this year, over two million jobless workers. Government workers held a one-day strike to protest the pay cuts less than one week after the general strike.

Korean summitry

The June meeting of the two Korean rulers, Kim Dae Jung (South) and Kim Jong Il (North) was historic—the two states are still technically at war. It does not only involve North Korea and South Korea, but also the U.S., Russia and China.

The state-capitalist North Korean economy is nearly moribund. Since the collapse of the former Soviet Union and China's opening to South Korea in 1992, North Korea's outside line of trade and financial support has shrunk. And after a series of disastrous floods and droughts, North Korea has stagnated into a barter economy which continues to contract.

An estimated two million North Koreans have died since 1995 from starvation or its associated diseases. An illegal refugee population of some 200,000 North Koreans have fled over the border into China seeking better living conditions. In contrast to the rotund Kim Jong Il photographed for the summit, well over half of North Korean children have not been able to reach full physical stature due to malnutrition. The bulk of North Korean state capital has been invested in militarization and maintaining control at home.

Kim Dae Jung, who was jailed earlier in his political career for opposing South Korean dictatorship, came to North Korea with a disciplined nationalist agenda, an entourage of business leaders, a pledge of some \$450 million in aid and 200,000 tons of fertilizer. But South Korea doesn't want and can't afford reunification anytime soon.

Selected Publications from News & Letters

Marxist-Humanist Literature Catalog for 200055c postage

BOOKS

By Raya Dunayevskaya

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\$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.\$3 paperback, \$10 hardcover

By Charles Denby

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

PAMPHLETS

American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard. 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

Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis.....\$2

The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya\$2

25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.: A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya.....\$1.50

Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Since World War II by Raya Dunayevskaya\$2

Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western 'Civilization'.....\$5

News and Letters Committees Constitution.33c postage

ARCHIVES

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

NEWSPAPER

News & Letters subscription. Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year.\$5/year

MAIL ORDERS TO:

News & Letters, 36 S. Wabash, Room 1440
Chicago, IL 60603. Phone (312) 236-0799

Enclosed find \$_____ for the literature checked. Please add \$1 for each item for postage. Illinois residents add 7% sales tax.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

7/00