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WORKSHOP TALKS

Back Charleston 5!

by Htun Lin

The case of the "Charleston Five" (four Blacks and one white, in a predominantly Black union) reveals every bit as much as what protests in Seattle, Quebec and Genoa have highlighted—namely, the anti-human, anti-democratic nature of capital. This case reveals how the state's police and legal system team up with corporate power to attack workers' basic rights, like freedom of association and free speech. The upcoming trial of the Charleston Five reveals the mockery that is made of "constitutional democracy" by the capitalist powers themselves.

According to the *Dispatcher* (newspaper of the west coast International Longshore & Warehouse Union), the trouble began Oct. 1, 1999 when Nordana Lines notified the east coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) locals it was ending its 23-year relationship with the union and would begin using non-union labor to work its ships. The local responded with picket lines.

After peaceful pickets resulted in slight delays to two Nordana ships, South Carolina—which prides itself on being a "right-to-work state" and advertises itself to investors as having the lowest rate of unionization in the country, 4.2%—decided it was going to break the union's power. On Jan. 20 the state sent in some 600 police in riot gear to protect the "right" of some 20 scabs to work the Nordana ship.

Charleston police rode on horses and armored vehicles. Helicopters circled overhead, and police patrol boats cruised the waterside of the terminal. Ken Riley, president of ILA Local 1422, said, "You would think there was going to be a terrorist attack on the State of South Carolina."

It was actually something more fearsome to the capitalists, their absolute fear of the power of workers when they freely associate and express themselves and

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BLACK/RED VIEW

Remembering Fanon

by John Alan

Frantz Fanon: A Biography, David Macey, Granta Books, 2001.

Forty years after Frantz Fanon died in 1961 at the National Institute of Health, in Bethesda, Md., David Macey has written a new biography of him. Macey's, *Frantz Fanon*, at 516 pages, is the most voluminous biography yet of this great revolutionary thinker. The reader is taken on a long journey through Fanon's lifetime of struggle against all forms of human alienation. The issue for Fanon was the unity of humanity, which in the colonial experience had not been positively manifested. This unity could only be achieved by the negation of social conditions that deny the common human essence.

Macey looks at every facet of Fanon's life, from his birth in Martinique to his burial in Algeria. Martinique, Fanon's birthplace, is a Department of France in the Caribbean. Martinique is a part of France, but "not of" France. The "NOT OF" is a crucial distinction which means Fanon is a Black Frenchman with a different historic legacy than the "metropolitan" French. For several centuries his ancestors had worked as slaves in the cane fields and sugar mills of Martinique and had lived through nothing less than "cycles of death." The slave labor system in Martinique created a class division based upon skin color with the *beke*, whites, at the top and Blacks at bottom of the social structure.

Fanon was born in a relatively privileged family. His father was employed by the government and the family spoke French instead of creole. Fanon was an excellent student and a good athlete. When France fell to Germany during WWII, and the Vichy Admiral Robert occupied Martinique, Fanon engaged in a fistfight with the white racist Vichy sailors and left Martinique to join the Free French. He was decorated for bravery but was totally disillusioned finding that he was defending

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DRAFT FOR MARXIST-HUMANIST PERSPECTIVES, 2001-2002

The power of negativity in today's freedom struggles

The protest at the G-8 summit of the major industrial powers in Genoa on July 22 will go down in history as a turning point in the development of the movement against global capital. For the first time a protester was killed by police in an anti-globalization protest in a western nation. The demonstrations only increased in size and militancy after the brutal murder of 23-year old Carlo Giuliani. The demonstrators rejected the rulers' agenda so totally that even the bourgeois press had to admit that the movement against "globalization" has now become a movement aiming to uproot the very existence of capitalism. (See eyewitness report, page 11.)

The G-8 summit was held at a moment when a serious crisis looms over the global economy. For the first time in decades the world's three largest economies are running out of steam at once. Japan is experiencing its tenth year of stagnation; Germany's growth rate has fallen to 1%, and the U.S. is on the brink of recession.

This month we present the draft of the "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives for 2001-2002." We publish these perspectives here to promote as wide a discussion as possible. We look forward to a dialogue with you, our readers, on the role of News and Letters Committees in revolutionary social transformation in the year ahead.

Since January the U.S. has lost 600,000 jobs in manufacturing as layoffs ripple through every industry. Even the much-touted service sector is affected. A simultaneous downturn in the U.S., Germany and Japan will have a serious impact on a world economy that has proven unable to provide the most basic means of subsistence for hundreds of millions—in Asia, Africa and Latin America especially.

The only thing the leaders of the G-8, beginning with Bush, said about all this was to call for lower trade barriers—and attack the demonstrators on the streets of Genoa for not really caring about poverty in the Third World!

In fact, the protesters know that global capital has imposed a horrendous debt burden on Africa, prevents it from obtaining the drugs needed to alleviate the ravages of AIDS, and is responsible for the capitalist-fostered wars now ripping at Africa's innards. They know that global capital is responsible for exacerbating the divisions between rich and poor in Latin America where it has armed ruling cliques like Colombia's to the teeth in its war against the populace. And they know that global capital has had a disastrous impact on the Middle East where U.S.-imposed sanctions continue to kill thousands in Iraq while Israel's Sharon is being given a free hand to intensify his war against the Palestinians.

The utter callousness of the world's leaders is seen in the failure of the G-8 summit to say anything about the escalating crisis between Israel and the Palestinians. A day before Carlo Giuliani was murdered in Genoa, settlers in the West Bank killed three more Palestinians, including a three-month old infant. Yet while Bush pontificated against the "violence" of the demonstrators in

Genoa he had nothing to say about Israel's state-sanctioned violence which, with U.S. aid, continues to inflame a conflict that could spill over any moment into full-scale war.

Clearly the battles will escalate over the globalization of capital. As the protests expand, the multiplicity of struggles and concerns contained within them expands as well. Environmentalists and farmers, trade unionists and feminists, anti-racist activists and gays and lesbians have all come together in them. It is not just



June labor rally in Columbia, S.C. in solidarity with embattled Longshoremen in Charleston, above. Longshoremen battled state troopers called in to crush their strike in January last year, right.



the size, but the content of the protests that is striking. More and more the refrain heard is, as one woman said, "The capitalist system is a way of living that I don't agree with at all."

The extent of the challenge to existing society is seen from the protests' "own working existence." Instead of a centralized leadership, the emphasis is on decentralization; instead of focusing on a single issue, the emphasis is on bringing together a multiplicity of forces. The more capital subjects all relations to its need for self-expansion, the more the struggles against it seek out diverse, creative, and non-hierarchical forms of association. In this sense the movement is in the process of defining for itself an organization of society opposed to capital.

This exciting development does not free revolutionaries from the need to dig anew into dialectical philosophy. It only makes it more imperative. Dialectics is "the algebra of revolution"; it expresses the dual rhythm of tearing down the old and creating the new. The more the struggles move to directly oppose capitalism, and the more they seek to envision new human relations freed from its dominance, the more the importance of the dialectic of negativity will make itself felt.

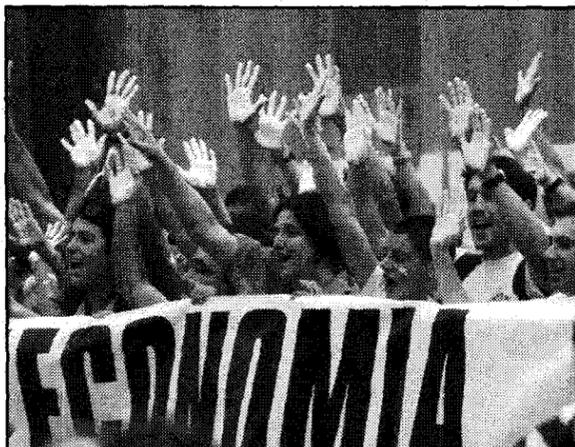
The imminent publication of a new Marxist-Humanist work—*The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx* by Raya Dunayevskaya (Lexington Books: Lanham, Md., forthcoming)—could not be appearing at a better time. Its internalization and projection will determine all our perspectives for 2001-2002.

I. Bush's stealth presidency and its impact on world politics

Bush's acts since he took office explode any illusion that he is a "moderate" out to tame the far Right. The unprecedented degree of deceit and manipulation, which allowed him to steal the White House in one of the most closely contested elections in U.S. history, has aided his attempts to turn the clock back on everything from civil rights to women's rights, from labor conditions to the environment. He is following Reagan's approach of rushing to set into place an array of reactionary policies that will far outlast his hold on power.

While some claim that the decline of the white militia movement shows that the far Right is receding in impor-

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Genoa, Italy, protest against G8 meeting and globalization.

ON THE INSIDE

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Woman as Reason bell hooks circumscribed by capitalism

by Terry Moon

"The socialistic bourgeois want all the advantages of modern social conditions without the struggles and dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. They desire the existing state of society minus its revolutionary and disintegrating elements. They wish for a bourgeoisie without a proletariat.... [I]t but requires in reality, that the proletariat should remain within the bounds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie."

Karl Marx, *Communist Manifesto*, 1848

Last year, African-American feminist and cultural critic bell hooks felt called to write a book on class: *Where We Stand: Class Matters* (New York: Routledge, 2000). In the 14 chapters of this work, hooks relies on her own personal experience growing up in a working-class Black family in rural Kentucky, making her way through academia, renting and buying housing, and experiencing affluence herself. This is the most compelling aspect of the book.

But what mars her attempt to interrogate class in the U.S. is that she misunderstands the nature of capitalist society. To hooks, what drives capitalism is greed, rather than what Marx projected: capitalism's "werewolf hunger" for production and more production.

hooks doesn't understand that it's not a question of whether the capitalist has a good heart or a greedy one. In either case he must look for ever cheaper labor, drive his workers ever harder, and invest in the most productive machinery, throwing his workers into the growing ranks of the unemployed in order to cut the cost of living labor and compete on the world market. If he doesn't—kind or greedy—he will fail, crushed under the juggernaut of capitalism's relentless drive for value and more value.

Because hooks starts from a misunderstanding, her solution to greed is that all must learn to live simply so that those with wealth can share it. It is not only the rich who must live simply, but the poor too, by learning to manage the money they have. They can be happy, despite their poverty: The poor "offer a vision of a good life despite poverty.... They survive by living simply" (p. 128).

There is no dialectic here. It doesn't seem to dawn on her that in her vision of the future the poor will always have to live a lot more simply than the rich. Her aim is not a class-free society, but one where the poor remain poor, the workers remain workers, but everyone "lives simply" and shares.

FEMINISM AND CLASS

One would expect bell hooks' chapter on "Feminism and Class Power" to transcend some of these problems. She does make a distinction between revolutionary feminism and "the reformist model"—something many writers fail to do—and praises revolutionary feminists who did raise the issue of class. But then the chapter goes downhill, ascribing to radical feminism the goal of calling for "models of mutuality and equality [to] replace old paradigms" (p. 101). But revolutionary feminism was about more than equality or replacing "old paradigms." It was about a total transformation of society.

Most troubling is what she leaves out in this book.

Mothers fight criminal injustice

Civil rights activists and drug law reformers protested in the small Texas town of Tulia demanding justice on July 22 for the Tulia 46. It marked the second anniversary of the Tulia "raid" when a large proportion of the entire Black population of the town was accused of cocaine trafficking by one corrupt (white) informer and convicted with no physical evidence whatsoever. Forty-three of the town's 250 Black residents got dragged into the criminal injustice system. Families of prisoners, calling themselves "Mothers of the Disappeared" kicked off a national campaign showing how the drug war affects families.

One of the organizers, Mattie White, is a 50-year-old grandmother who is now holding down two jobs and raising her grandchildren. Three of her children were arrested two years ago during the infamous "raid." The ACLU and NAACP have filed lawsuits which helped keep about half of the accused out of prison. The mothers' organizing also caused Texas to pass a law that makes convictions require corroborating evidence.

"Mothers of the Disappeared" is the latest in a long tradition of families of prisoners organizing. In the early 1990s Mothers' ROC (Mothers Reclaiming Our Children) organized in Los Angeles, followed by LA 4+ committee. Families Against California's Three Strikes has had an explosive growth.

The very name, "Mothers of the Disappeared," draws attention to the international struggle of mothers who lose their children in political wars like the Madres de Plaza de Mayo who drew the world's attention to the disappeared in Argentina's dirty war of assassination against leftist opposition.

Other prison activists, including the California Coalition for Women Prisoners, are having events in August to demand an end to the unjust drug war.

—Urszula Wislanka

There is not one word about socialist feminism, a movement that arose specifically to bring together a class and feminist analysis. She singles out Rita Mae Brown: "Class is much more than Marx's definition of relationship to the means of production. Class involves your behavior, your basic assumptions, how you are taught to behave, what you expect from yourself and from oth-

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey



Korean women who were forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese during World War II joined other protesters in a rally, July 9, at the Japanese Embassy in Seoul, South Korea. Riot police pushed back the angry demonstrators who were demanding the recall of Japanese history textbooks that gloss over wartime atrocities and omit any mention of the enslavement of tens of thousands of women in Japan's occupied territories.

In the July issue of *News & Letters*, we inadvertently omitted one of the six recipients of the new UN Millennium Peace Prize for women. Women in Black is a worldwide network of courageous women demonstrating against war, violence and militarism, often under great danger to themselves. It was started in Israel in 1988 by American, Israeli and Palestinian women to protest against Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and now operates internationally.

More than 300 activists from all over the United States came to Washington, D.C. in May to participate in the first national Conference on Gender. Representing different ages, races, economic status, gender identity and sexual orientation, they met to discuss a united movement focusing on fighting against gender-based discrimination widely defined. Calling gender a civil rights issue, they supported a "revolution of the obvious" to liberate women, gays and lesbians, transgender and intersex persons, and all people whose gender does not conform to society's norms.

We mourn the death of Charisse Shumate on August 4,

a victim of prison medical neglect. She fought courageously for the rights of women prisoners. She was the lead plaintiff in a class action suit charging medical neglect and abuse of women prisoners by the California Department of Corrections. A full memorial will be published in the next issue.

Phoolan Devi: outlaw, lawmaker, rebel

On July 25, Phoolan Devi, known the world over as the "Bandit Queen," was brutally gunned down in broad daylight in front of her home in the highest security zone in India's capital, New Delhi. She was only 37.

Phoolan Devi struck terror in the hearts of the ruling class. Born into the lowest caste, she was married off at the age of 11 to a man who raped and abused her. She ran away, was brutalized by both bandits and upper-caste men, and eventually rose to become one of the most feared and revered outlaws in India.

She was accused of ordering a massacre of 22 men in the village of Behmai, where she was gang-raped and paraded naked. In 1983, she surrendered and was imprisoned for 13 years, though she always denied ordering the massacre. In 1996, with dozens of cases still pending, Phoolan Devi became a Member of Parliament as a representative of the Samajwadi Party, a moderate socialist party.

The police have arrested several men who claim to have killed her in revenge for the massacre in Behmai,

ers, your concept of a future, how you understand problems and solve them, how you think, feel, act" (p. 103). At first I thought she liked Brown's dismissal of Marx, but it is really the second part that appeals to hooks because she can't deal with the economics of class, rather she wants to deal with the "culture" of class.

TRUNCATED VISION

This chapter also suffers from hooks' emphasis on greed. Rather than grapple with the real problems feminism encountered in the 1990s—the discrediting of the idea of revolution, what it meant to live under 20 years of retrogression, and so on—hooks reduces the problem to well-off women wanting class privilege "more than freedom for themselves and their...oppressed sisters" (p. 106).

Nor does this chapter escape the ever present solution of sharing the wealth. In a section about her decision to go to graduate school, she claims that experience proved some could "gain class power" and still claim solidarity with the poor. How? "[B]y living simply, sharing our resources, and refusing to engage in hedonistic consumerism and the politics of greed" (p. 108).

The fact that hooks sees nothing wrong in her truncated view of social change is evident in her last chapter, where she names her ism: "democratic socialism, with a vision of participatory economics within capitalism that aims to challenge and change class hierarchy. I like that the money I make, which places me in an economic upper class, can be used in the service of redistribution of wealth, can be used to enhance the economic well-being of others through vigilant practices of giving and sharing" (pp. 156-157, my emphasis).

Where We Stand seems an unconscious example of a tired intellectual who has given up on genuine revolution because she can't see the real forces and Reason of a fundamental transformation of society—and she rejects the theory that would help her do so.

Case against el-Saadawi dropped

The Islamic fundamentalist legal attack against Egyptian feminist author and activist Nawal el-Saadawi, to have her forcibly divorced from her husband, was dismissed by a Cairo court on July 30. She was alleged to have made comments about the origins of the pilgrimage (hajj) offensive to the fundamentalists, as well as asserting that inheritance laws favoring men should be abolished. If convicted under religious law, Saadawi would have been forced to separate from her husband for "abandoning" Islam.

The attack on Saadawi is part of a wider attack on independent intellectuals in Egypt. In May, sociology professor Saadeddine Ibrahim was sentenced to seven years for discussing electoral fraud and persecution of the Copts. Dramatist Ali Salem was later expelled from the government-controlled Egyptian Writers Union for having published, in 1994, the book *My Journey to Israel*. Salem was defended by Nobel Prize author Naguib Mahfouz, who is also facing expulsion for having his books translated into Hebrew, among many other languages.

Nawal el-Saadawi was the first Arab woman to write condemnations of female genital mutilation, which is still practiced in parts of Egypt. She said the inheritance laws had to be revised since "we have 30% of families in Egypt where the mother is working and paying for the family and the husband is not working." Saadawi said she and her husband, Sharif Hatata, also an intellectual activist, had "survived this ordeal through resistance, firmness and refusal to yield to the mentality of the dark ages." She acknowledged the campaign to support her, both within Egypt and internationally.

—Mary Holmes



but many are skeptical. Some believe her husband, who is now in a bid to take up her political mantle, ordered the hit, while others believe the the murder was motivated by the upcoming assembly elections in the state of Uttar Pradesh. It's clear in any case that the right-wing Bharatiya-Janata-Party-led government did little to provide Phoolan Devi the protection she needed in the face of repeated death threats.

Phoolan Devi's legacy goes well beyond the corrupt Indian government. She shook up the caste structure in India and never separated gender from caste and class in her ongoing struggles to transform the conditions that she braved and survived. "I was discovering piece by piece how my world was put together: the power of men, the power of privileged castes, the power of might. I didn't think of what I was doing as rebellion; it was the only means I had of

getting justice," she wrote in her autobiography, *I, Phoolan Devi*. In her short life, she made an indelible mark on Indian history that will not be forgotten.

—Maya Jhansi

Reformers crash Hoffa's party

Las Vegas—Reformers in Teamsters Local 743 in Chicago went to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters Convention in June to demand democracy, fair representation and accountability from Teamster President James R. Hoffa. The 743 New Leadership Slate had won 11 out of 20 delegate seats and 13 out of 20 alternate seats. They joined reformers from locals around the country and challenged Hoffa's broken promises to root out corruption, increase strike benefits, and revive organizing.

The IBT Convention returned to Las Vegas just as new accusations of corruption broke in the media. The Independent Review Board has filed internal union charges that a former top Hoffa aide and a Chicago Teamster leader, William T. Hogan, set up a sweetheart deal to hire non-union labor for Las Vegas convention work.

The convention was chaired mainly by Hoffa. But the procedures were less than democratic: The agenda was changed daily without discussion, and rules on speaking to the issues were established one day, then reversed the next.

Workshop Talks

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strive to regain control of their own labor. This kind of free speech the capitalists cannot allow. It is no accident that the most vehemently anti-workers' rights states also happen to be the very same states that have had a long history of quashing any uprisings by Black people in search of freedom. This long track record of unfreedom stretches from the days of slavery. Charleston was the major port of entry for human cargo during the slave trade.

That South Carolina is a "right-to-work" state goes with its demagogic assertion of a "right to fly" the Confederate flag in the name of Southern "heritage." Ken Riley and Local 1422 helped lead the fight against flying the Confederate flag over the state capitol building. The South Carolina attorney general, Charles Condon, who chaired the Bush campaign in the state, said electing Bush was the way to make South Carolina union free.

Arrests of the Charleston Five and other attacks on Black labor organizing in the South bear an eerie resemblance to China's attacks on labor activities it deems "illegal." What's "illegal" is any form of free expression by workers of their drive to self-determination and control of their labor. What's "illegal" is a direct confrontation with capital's absolute right to move freely and establish its dominance over living labor. If the Charleston Five lose this case, it would threaten the very heart and essence of the labor-movement—the fundamental right to picket in defense of your job.

Now more than ever, labor's refrain—"an injury to one is an injury to all"—rings true in our rapidly expanding global economy. It was Marx who saw that the Civil War victory over slavery would unleash the birth of a labor movement in this country. Today we need a similar rebirth through a new coalescence between workers everywhere, challenging us to break not just the jurisdictional or professional barriers, but, more crucially, the geographic and color barriers.

The ILWU, Swedish Dockworkers, International Dockworkers' Council, and International Transport Workers Federation have passed resolutions calling for an International Day of Solidarity Action on docks around the world on the very first day of the trial of the Charleston Five, who face the threat of five-year prison sentences for having picketed the port in defense of their jobs against union-busting scab labor.

The ILWU is calling for help:

- Start or join local defense committees—Call (803) 798-8300 for the contact nearest you.
- Participate in the International Day of Action.
- Donate to the defense fund. Please make checks to "Dockers Defense Fund" and send to the Campaign for Workers' Rights in South Carolina, P.O. Box 21777, Charleston, SC 29413.

Prisons won't let go

Chicago—The Prison Action Committee (PAC) held a town meeting July 19 on "C" number prisoners at the Westside Health Authority to bring awareness to their plight. "C" number prisoners were incarcerated before 1976 in the Illinois Department of Corrections.

Imprisonment under the pretense of rehabilitation instead of punishment has led to very long-term incarceration for the 450 prisoners who have this number. The majority of these prisoners, according to Ra Chaka of the PAC as well as former "C" prisoners themselves, have received college degrees and are non-problematic within the prison environment. Some play heavy roles in the operation of the prisons themselves.

One former "C" prisoner said, "Prisoners were held there just because they provided labor in areas which they could not fill with other less educated prisoners. Letting them go, they would have to hire someone from the streets, an expense they would rather forego." Most of the speakers felt that these prisoners are no threat to anyone in society and should be released immediately!

—Ex-prisoner

The reform delegates nominated Tom Leedham, a former UPS worker and current local president in Oregon, to run against Hoffa for IBT president this fall. Pro-Hoffa delegates would stack all mikes to block reform delegates from speaking. Candidate Leedham challenged Hoffa to make good on his promise to revitalize the strike fund without a dues increase and was shouted down and pushed from the mike by a bullying Hoffa supporter. Against overwhelming odds of about 15 to 1, the reformers spoke on important issues.

Resolutions and constitutional amendments addressing fair elections, excessive officer salaries, and unfair contract votes were voted down by a "Thumbs Up/Thumbs Down" signal from Hoffa floor leaders. A Rank and File Bill of Rights guaranteeing the right of members to elect their stewards and to review contract changes in writing before voting on them was voted down.

In a final blow, all references to the Ethical Practices Committee were struck from the constitution. Hoffa cronies even suggested that Leedham drop out of the race to save the union the expense of an election. So much for democracy! Voting on slate nominations was hampered one evening by Hoffa delegates who blocked the hallway to the voting room and harassed Leedham supporters.

On the opening day, 250 Leedham supporters rallied outside Bally's Hotel and marched through the casino to the convention hall chanting "Rank and File Teamster Power." Daily demonstrations and street theater lampooning Hoffa promises and scandals caught everyone's attention. In the end, the Hoffa delegates would still follow the leader and the thumbs down signal to defeat progressive proposals. But labor voices were heard by the more than 2,000 people present—and workers everywhere are stronger for it.

The Teamsters union remains full of inequities, with minority members frequently getting substandard contracts with few benefits. Local 743 is a diverse union, with workers among the lowest paid of Teamster members. Black, white and Latino members work in universities, hospitals, manufacturing and health care. Many of them suddenly found themselves without insurance when the \$16-million 743 Health & Welfare Fund went bankrupt. In elections this fall the New Leadership Slate hopes to oust the do-nothing old guard and elect leaders who will fight for better contracts.

—Sharon M.

Supremo strike rally



Dennis Dixon/News & Letters

Chicago—V&V Supremo workers rallied alongside representatives of a number of Chicago-area Teamster locals downtown here on July 31. The workers have been on strike to assert their right to affiliate with Teamsters Local 703. According to Teamster organizer Pat Bruno, the company has now spent an estimated two million dollars over the last ten weeks on union-busting lawyers as well as on uniformed security to beat back the workers' demands for unionization. They are using about 50 security officers per day, equipped with cars and cameras for intimidation of workers, at their various facilities at a cost of \$280 each. Pickets and rallies at the plant, like the July rally above, are videotaped.

The owners of V&V Supremo have yet to sit down at the table with workers or union officials. They are determined to beat back their efforts in order to preserve a situation in which the mainly immigrant workforce is made to labor six days a week for up to 14-15 hours straight time. The threat of deportation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service is held out against them, as well. If the workers' effort to unionize were successful, the company would first of all have to cut hours and hire a lot more workers.

Workers say they have seen the effect of their strike and boycott of the company in the fact that Brinks trucks have been bringing money into the facilities to pay security expenses, rather than bringing it out. With less drivers, less deliveries of product—as they say, "No justice, no cheese!"

—Gerard Emmett

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GOSATU co-opted

Oakland, Cal.—Recently the Women of Color Resource Center and others organized a meeting for Serenell Benjamin, a South African activist trying to generate international support for those struggling in South Africa. She showed it is mostly poor women who pay for the unprecedented accumulation of wealth in the globalized economy.

When the African National Congress (ANC) won elections seven years ago, there was a promise that all policies would be open to dialogue before they became policies. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was not open to debate before it was announced as the new policy. GATT has meant privatization of basic services such as water and electricity and a sharp decrease in social spending.

Many promises were made about how much better life would be when private companies were allowed to compete for the privilege of providing basic services in South Africa. While running water was always scarce in poor communities, and women had to walk a long way to carry water, once they walked to the water, they could get it. Now water is privatized and no source of water is available for free.

Poor communities like Soweto are showing their disappointment with the privatization of the basic services. Groups have sprung up who take out the electric and water meters. The police repression against them is getting as bad as it was in the 1980s under apartheid.

COSATU, once a powerful trade union, is now part of the government. It permitted a labor relations act that makes it hard for workers to strike. Union activists turned into technocrats to maneuver through the new labor laws. COSATU is now only an incubator for those who want a term in office. Many former trade unionists have become the richest Black men in South Africa.

Businesses now can move across the border to Mozambique, where the minimum wage is one-fourth to one-fifth of that in South Africa. Outsourcing is common for all public works, and contractors are free to hire mostly casual workers, who then pay taxes that the employer would have paid. When casual workers struck three weeks ago, protesting reduction in wages by those taxes, the police came out with tear gas and used live ammunition against the strikers.

It is very hard to criticize the ANC. People are still in awe that it was able to deliver the democracy South Africa now has. All opposition is painted as anti-nationalist. There is no discussion within the ANC.

Benjamin said they had come through a history of extreme exploitation and are now facing exactly the same exploitation. Nothing has happened in the last seven years to reduce the division between rich and poor. When ANC came to power, they did not change the structure of South African society. They just took it over. She said they are trying to start a grassroots movement to support those who are turning off meters.

—Urszula Wislanka and John Alan

FAT and U.S. labor

Allies Across the Border: Mexico's "Authentic Labor Front" and Global Solidarity, by Dale Hathaway, South End Press, 2000

Mexico is no longer a country of small farmers wresting a living from plots of land won for them by the Revolution. Global economic forces have instead transformed Mexico into a nation of factory hands, employed or on the move looking for a job. *Allies Across the Border* is the story of a unique organization that has sought to provide these workers with a means of protecting themselves from exploitation from their employers and the corrupt official unions that seek to subordinate their interests to those of the ruling class and the Mexican state.

The FAT—the Spanish acronym for Authentic Labor Front—emerged in 1960 as a Mexican component of an international current of Catholic trade unionism. Mexico, however, has a long history of anti-clericalism, and as Christian democracy lost credibility around the world through its conservatism and corruption, the FAT developed into an association free from the state, the church and from international labor groupings beholden to either Washington or Moscow.

In fierce battles for independent union recognition at firms like Spicer and Sealed Power, the FAT proved that Mexican workers were hungry for ways to take control of the conditions they were exposed to at the point of production. In these struggles, the FAT developed its most distinguishing characteristic: the organizing principle of autogestion, or the promotion of self-management of the workers' life and labor. Instead of narrowly focusing on wages and contracts, the FAT seeks to develop the individual capacities of the men and women who make up its unions.

Hathaway's account of the FAT's history is strengthened by being unfolded within the context of the maturation of the anti-globalization movement and the efforts at building cross-border worker solidarity that laid the ground for its existence. While the author's analysis of the harsh realities of life confronting Mexican workers is overly focused on the wage as a measure of quality of life, his focus on relationships between groups of North American workers provides a much-needed contribution towards concretizing the slogans of anti-globalization protests.

—Kevin Michaels

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

Many audiences in the 1960s requested that Raya Dunayevskaya speak on "The Theory of Alienation: Marx's Debt to Hegel." Among them were students in Berkeley, California who took the world stage in 1964 by bringing the challenge of the Freedom Now! movement to bear on the alienating nature of U.S. education. The 1965 *News & Letters* pamphlet *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution* featured that lecture along with articles by student leader Mario Savio, civil rights organizer Robert Moses, and young Marxist-Humanist Eugene Walker as well as another essay by Dunayevskaya titled the same as the pamphlet.

The Free Speech Movement Archive in Berkeley recently reprinted *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution* on the internet. For that reason, and because we consider the themes in the essay to be central to our Marxist-Humanist Perspectives for 2001-2002, it is featured here. The original can be found in the *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 3414. To order the collection or guides, see page 12. *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution* is available from N&L as well. —Editor

The topic "Marx's Debt to Hegel" is neither merely academic, nor does it pertain only to the historical period of Marx's lifetime. From the Hungarian revolt to the African revolutions, from the student demonstrators in Japan to the Negro revolution in the U.S., the struggle for freedom has transformed reality and pulled Hegelian dialectics out of the academic halls and philosophy books on to the living stage of history.

It is true that this transformation of Hegel into a contemporary has been via Marx. It is no accident, however, that Russian Communism's attack on Marx has been via Hegel. Because they recognize in the so-called mystical Absolute "the negation of the negation," the revolution against themselves, Hegel remains so alive and worrisome to the Russian rulers today. Ever since Zhdanov in 1947 demanded that the Russian philosophers find nothing short of "a new dialectical law," or rather, declared "criticism and self-criticism" to be that alleged new dialectical law to replace the Hegelian and objective law of development through contradiction, up to the 21st Congress of the Russian Communist Party [1956] where the special philosophic sessions declared Khrushchev to be "the true humanist," the attack on both the young Marx and the mystic Hegel has been continuous. It reached a climax in the 1955 attacks on Marx's Early Essays in theory. In actuality it came to life as the Sino-Soviet Pact to put down the Hungarian Revolution.

One thing these intellectual bureaucrats sense correctly: Hegel's Concept of the Absolute and the international struggle for freedom are not as far apart as would appear on the surface.

I. THE IDEAL AND THE REAL ARE NEVER FAR APART

It is this which Marx gained from Hegel. It is this which enabled the young Marx, once he broke from bourgeois society, to break also with the vulgar communists of his day who thought that one negation—the abolition of private property—would end all the ills of the old society and be the new communal society.

Marx insisted on what is central to Hegelian philosophy, the theory of alienation, from which he concluded that the alienation of man does not end with the abolition of private property—UNLESS what is most alien of all in bourgeois society, the alienation of man's labor from the activity of self-development into an appendage to a machine, is abrogated. In the place of the alienation of labor, Marx placed, not a new property form, but "the full and free development of the individual."

The pluri-dimensional in Hegel, his presupposition of the infinite capacities of man to grasp through to the "Absolute," not as something isolated in heaven, but as a dimension of the human being, reveals what a great distance humanity had traveled from Aristotle's Absolutes.

Because Aristotle lived in a society based on slavery, his Absolutes ended in "Pure Form"—mind of man would meet mind of God and contemplate how wondrous things are.

Because Hegel's Absolutes emerged out of the French Revolution which put an end to serfdom, Hegel's Absolutes breathed the air, the earthly air of freedom. Even when one reads Absolute Mind as God, one cannot escape the earthly quality of the unity of theory and practice and grasp through to the Absolute Reality as man's attainment of total freedom, inner and outer and temporal. The bondsman, having through his labor gained, as Hegel put it, "a mind of his own," becomes part of the struggle between "consciousness-in-itself" and "consciousness-for-itself." Or, more popularly stated, the struggle against alienation becomes the attainment of freedom.

In Hegel's Absolutes there is imbedded, though in abstract form, the full development of what Marx would have called the social individual, and what Hegel called individuality "purified of all that interfered with its universalism, i.e., freedom itself."

Freedom, to Hegel, was not only his point of depar-

ture. It was his point of return. This is what makes him so contemporary. This was the bridge not only to Marx but to our day, and it was built by Hegel himself.

As Lenin was to discover when he returned to the Marxian philosophic foundations in Hegel during World War I, the revolutionary spirit of the dialectic was not superimposed upon Hegel by Marx; it is in Hegel.

II. MARX'S CRITIQUE OF, AND INDEBTEDNESS TO, THE HEGELIAN DIALECTIC

The Communists are not the only ones who try to spirit away the integrality of Marxian and Hegelian philosophy. Academicians also think that Marx is so strange a progeny that he has transformed Hegelian dialectics to the point of non-recognition, if not outright perversion. Whether that Herman Melville called "the shock of recognition" will come upon us at the end of this discussion remains to be seen, but it is clearly discernible in Marx.

Marx's intellectual development reveals two basic stages of internalizing and transcending Hegel. The first took place during the period of his break with the Young Hegelians, and thrusts at them the accusation that they were dehumanizing the Idea. It was the period when he wrote both his criticism of the Hegelian *Philosophy of Right*, and the *Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic*.

There was nothing mechanical about Marx's new materialist outlook. Social existence determines consciousness, but it is not a confining wall that prevents one's sensing and even seeing the elements of the new society.

In Hegel, too, not only continuity as relation between past and present, but as attraction exerted by the future on the present, and by the whole, even when it does not yet exist, on its parts, is the mainspring of the dialectic.

It helped the young Marx to found a new stage of world consciousness of the proletariat, in seeing that the material base was not what Marx called "vulgar," but, on the contrary, released the subject striving to remake the world.

Marx was not one to forget his intellectual indebtedness either to classical political economy or philosophy. Although he had transformed both into a new world outlook, rooted solidly in the actual struggles of the day, the sources remained the law of value of Smith and Ricardo, and Hegelian dialectics. Of course, Marx criticized Hegel sharply for treating objective history as if that were the development of some world-spirit, and analyzing self-development of mind as if ideas floated somewhere between heaven and earth, as if the brain was not in the head of the body of man living in a certain environment and at a specific historic period. Indeed Hegel himself would be incomprehensible if we did not keep in front of our minds the historic period in which he lived—that of the French Revolution and Napoleon. And no matter how abstract the language, Hegel indeed had his finger on the pulse of human history.

Marx's *Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic* is at the same time a critique of the materialist critics of Hegel, including Feuerbach who had treated "the negation of the negation only as the contradiction of philosophy with itself."

Marx reveals, contrariwise, that principle to be the expression of the movement of history itself, albeit in abstract form.

Marx had finished, or rather, broken off his *Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic*, just as he reached Absolute Mind. Marx's rediscovery of the Absolute came out of the concrete development of the class struggles under capitalism, which split the Absolute into two:

1. The unemployed army which Marx called "the general absolute law" of capitalist development, the reserve army of unemployed. That was the negative element that would cause its collapse.

2. "The new forces and passions," the positive element in that negative, which made the workers the "gravediggers" of the old society, and the creators of the new.

It is here—in the second stage of Marx's relation to the Hegelian dialectic—that Marx fully transcended Hegel. The split in the philosophic category of the Absolute into two, like the split of the economic category of labor into labor as activity and labor-power as commodity, forged new weapons of comprehension. It

enabled Marx to make a leap in thought to correspond to the new, the creative activity of the workers in establishing a society on totally new foundations which would, once and for all, abolish the division between mental and manual labor and unfold the full potentialities of man—a truly new human dimension.

III. THE HUMAN DIMENSION

Of course, it is true that Hegel worked out all the contradictions in thought alone while in life all contradictions remained, multiplied, intensified. Of course, where the class struggle did not abolish contradictions, those contradictions plagued not only the economy, but its thinkers. Of course, Marx wrote that beginning with the first capitalist crisis, the ideologists turned into "prizefighters for capitalism."

But, first and foremost, Marx did not separate ideology and economics as if the latter were the only fundamental, and the former nothing but "show." Marx maintains that they are both as real as life. Throughout his greatest theoretic work, *Capital*, Marx castigates "the fetishism of commodities" not only because relations of men at production appear as "things," but especially because human relations under capitalism are so perverse that that is not appearance; that is indeed what they really are: Machine is master of man; not man of machine.

Marx's main point was that the driving force of the dialectic was man himself, not just his thought, but the whole of man, beginning with the alienated man at the point of production; and that, whereas bourgeois ideologists, because of their place in production, have a false consciousness because they must defend the status quo and are "prisoners of the fetishism of commodities," the proletarian, because of his place in production, is the "negative principle" driving to a resolution of contradictions.

In the *History of Philosophy* Hegel wrote, "It is not so much from as through slavery that man acquired freedom." Again we see that "Praxis" was not Marx's discovery, but Hegel's. What Marx did was to designate practice as the class struggle activity of the proletariat. In Hegel's theory, too, praxis stands higher than the "Ideal of Cognition" because it has "not only the dignity of the universal but is the simply actual."

It is true that Hegel himself threw a mystical veil over his philosophy by treating it as a closed ontological system. But it would be a complete misreading of Hegel's philosophy were we to think that his Absolute is either a mere reflection of the separation between philosopher and the world of material production, or that his Absolute is the empty absolute of pure or intellectual intuition of the subjective idealists from Fichte through Jacobi to Schelling, whose type of bare unity of subject and object—as Prof. J.B. Baillie has so brilliantly phrased it—"possessed objectivity at the price of being inarticulate."

Whether, as with Hegel, Christianity is taken as the point of departure, or whether—as with Marx—the point of departure is the material condition for freedom created by the Industrial Revolution, the essential element is self-evident: man has to fight to gain freedom; thereby is revealed "the negative character" of modern society.

Now the principle of negativity was not Marx's discovery; he simply named it "the living worker"; the discovery of the principle was Hegel's. In the end, Spirit itself finds that it no longer is antagonistic to the world, but is indeed the indwelling spirit of the community. As Hegel put it in his early writings, "The absolute moral totality is nothing else than a people... (and) the people who receive such an element as a natural principle have the mission of applying it."

The humanism of Hegel may not be the most obvious characteristic of that most complex philosophy, and, in part, it was hidden even from Marx, although Lenin in his day caught it even in the simple description of the Doctrine of the Notion "as the realm of Subjectivity or freedom." Or man achieving freedom not as a "possession," but a dimension of his being.

It is this dimension of the human personality which Marx saw in the historical struggles of the proletariat that would once and for all put an end to all class divisions and open up the vast potentialities of the human being so alienated in class societies, so degraded by the division of mental and manual labor that not only is the worker made into an appendage of a machine, but the scientist builds on a principle which would lead society to the edge of an abyss.

One hundred years before Hiroshima, Marx wrote, "To have one basis for science and another for life is a priori, a lie." We have lived this lie for so long that the fate of civilization, not merely rhetorically, but literally, is within orbit of a nuclear ICBM. Since the very survival of mankind hangs in the balance between the East's and the West's nuclear terror, we must, this time, under the penalty of death, unite theory and practice in the struggle for freedom, thereby abolishing the division between philosophy and reality and giving ear to the urgency of "realizing" philosophy, i.e., of making freedom a reality.



**The Free Speech Movement
 and the Negro Revolution**
*Raya Dunayevskaya, Mario Savio, Eugene
 Walker, Robert Moses, Joel L. Pimsleur*
 Pamphlet • \$5... Use order form, page 12.
 Online • The Free Speech Archive
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THE POWER OF NEGATIVITY IN TODAY'S FREEDOM STRUGGLES

(Continued from page 1)

tance, the reason it has declined is because its constituency likes who is now in the White House. The extreme Right hasn't disappeared, it just changed addresses. Nothing shows that more than Bush's drive to go full steam ahead with nuclear missile defense.

A. Capital's unrestrained arms buildup

The administration's declaration in July that it will unilaterally void the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty by moving ahead with costly plans for a full-scale nuclear missile "defense" system is wreaking havoc with global politics. The ABM treaty has served as the pillar of arms control treaties for the past 30 years, and its jettisoning by Bush will spark a new arms race.

Bush's push for an even more extensive nuclear missile "defense" system than the one proposed by Clinton isn't a matter of just rejecting the ABM treaty. It is part of an effort to undermine all arms controls treaties, as a signal that the U.S. will now do what it wants, when it wants.

In May the administration rejected a draft agreement to enforce the treaty banning biological warfare. It has also stopped paying fees to the international organization charged with verifying the 1972 treaty banning chemical weapons. Bush is also trying to destroy the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which the Senate rejected two years ago. (It can be brought up again for ratification.) The treaty is supported by 158 of the 161 countries in the UN, but the administration says it is working to "improve test site readiness" in preparation for violating its provisions.

Clearly Bush wants out of any agreement that restricts the U.S.'s arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. And new weapons are being built all the time. The U.S. is now building a nuclear weapon 100 times more powerful than the hydrogen bomb. This "pure fusion weapon" will produce an explosion with relatively little fallout, blurring the distinction between conventional and nuclear explosives.

Bush's extremist rejection of even the most minimal arms control has not been seen since the early days of the Reagan administration.

Given the huge cost of Bush's untested nuclear missile defense system (over \$100 billion) and the conflict it is already producing with Russia and China, one may wonder why he is so relentlessly pursuing it. Yet there is method to the madness. There may be no evidence at the moment that the proposed nuclear missile defense system can actually shield against incoming missiles; but the same technology can be used for a relatively simpler task—shooting down satellites in earth orbit.

As Paul B. Stares of the Center for International Security and Cooperation put it, "Some of the military defense system currently under consideration... would have the inherent capability to attack satellites. A satellite is less challenging to shoot down than a warhead. Satellites are more fragile and harder to disguise and move in predictable paths, making them easier prey. A mediocre anti-missile defense system can still constitute a highly effective anti-satellite weapon" ("Making Enemies in Space," *The New York Times*, May 15, 2001).

The crucial role played by satellites in all aspects of capitalist production and communication today makes them a key military target. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld announced in May that the administration will increase funding for space-based lasers to shoot down satellites—which is also banned by the ABM treaty—as part of preparing for "sustained offensive and defensive space operations."

The groundwork for this was laid by the Clinton administration two years ago, which announced in a then-confidential study that "The ability to perform space force application [of military weapons] in the future could add a new dimension to U.S. military power." (1) Clearly, Bush's drive to kill the 1972 ABM treaty is aimed at enabling the U.S. to freely embark on a new stage of military brinkmanship.

This has Russia deeply worried. Bush's declaration that NATO should expand to Russia's border by including the Baltic states—which U.S. rulers previously refrained from declaring, though Clinton moved in that direction by expanding NATO into East Europe—is stoking serious tensions with Russia. Russia's Putin is responding by playing the China card, just as Nixon did three decades ago. In June Putin signed onto the Shanghai Cooperation Organization which pledges Russia, China, and four Central Asian republics to closer political cooperation. And on July 16 Russia and China signed a "friendship and cooperation pact," the first such treaty between the two nations since the Sino-Soviet split of the early 1960s.

As Russia and China draw closer, the U.S. and China draw further apart, even as U.S. companies continue to

make use of China to pump out untold amounts of unpaid hours of labor from their "globalized" sweatshops. China's rulers know that Bush's missile defense plan will make their nuclear force obsolete. China is therefore planning on a **ten-fold** increase in the size of its nuclear arsenal.

Since North Korea and Iraq (which the U.S. supposedly needs a missile defense system to be protected from) do not have any satellites to speak

of, whereas China has a considerable number, China's rulers see Bush's plans to militarize space as a direct threat. China is therefore more than willing to pursue a "strategic partnership" with Russia to counter-balance the U.S.

This is not to suggest that Russia, even in alliance with China, can directly challenge U.S. global dominance. The fact that no state power is in the position to seriously challenge U.S. imperialism's drive for single world mastery does not, however, minimize the dangers posed by it.

India, for example, has been one of the few countries to openly embrace Bush's nuclear missile defense plan since the plan would make it easier for it to build up its nuclear arsenal. India's rulers now talk of creating a "strategic partnership" with the U.S. This is not rhetoric. Clinton signaled closer ties when he became the first U.S. president to visit India. Bush is building on this by saying he will lift the sanctions imposed by Congress on India after it set off a nuclear device in 1998.

This is being watched not only by Pakistan, India's longtime adversary, but also by China. As one analyst put it, "A significant warming of U.S.-Indian ties, powered by conceptual agreement on missile defense, could cause the Chinese to expand and accelerate their nuclear upgrades, to poke at India through help to Pakistan and to take risks that have not been well-calculated.... The chances of serious conflict between India and China may now outrank the more obvious antagonisms between China and Taiwan as a threat to global stability" ("China eyes U.S.-India relations," Jim Hoagland, *The Washington Post*, July 2, 2001).

Meanwhile the U.S. has 7,000 deployed strategic nuclear warheads and Russia 6,000. The French, British and Chinese arsenals are much smaller. There are now about 14,000 warheads among the five countries combined—enough to destroy the world 500

times over.

B. Capital's unrestrained war on the environment

One does not have to wait for the next regional war or global confrontation to be aware of the destructive nature of the global capitalist system. That is clear from its impact on the environment.

When it comes to carbon dioxide emissions and global warming, the crisis is already upon us. Study after study has concluded that rising sea levels, thinning ice caps, and the spread of new strains of virulent diseases are caused directly or indirectly by the global warming produced by the emission of greenhouse gases. The Pacific island country of Tuvalu has already appealed to Australia and New Zealand to help relocate its 50,000 residents, since it will be totally under water in a few decades.

A conference of climatologists in Amsterdam in July warned that even small shifts in global temperature due to increased greenhouse gas emissions can lead to sudden and abrupt climate changes. Earth's climate, it said, is nonlinear—even small increases in temperature built up over time can have a cascading effect, triggering abrupt changes like the melting of the Arctic Sea ice cap, which would be disastrous.

Another report, issued by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, concluded that those who will suffer most from global warming will be poorer countries in Africa and Asia and the poorest people in the richest countries, increasing the North-South divide and the poverty gap.

"Africa is the continent most vulnerable to the impacts of projected changes because widespread poverty limits adaptation capabilities," the report stated. "Agriculture is the economic mainstay in most African countries, contributing 30-35% of GDP in sub-Saharan Africa and 55% of the total value of African exports. In most African countries, farming depends entirely on the quality of the rainy season—a situation that makes Africa particularly vulnerable to climatic change." (2) To the ravages of AIDS, poverty, and underdevelopment, Africa now faces the dangers associated with global warming—even though with relatively little capitalist development it produces the least greenhouse gas emissions of any continent.

The U.S., with 5% of the world's population, produces 25% of its greenhouse gases. Yet Bush is trying to kill the Kyoto accord on global warming and is pushing, as are politicians across the country, for accelerated burning of fossil fuels. All limits are being removed to the expansion of the oil industry, natural gas industry, and coal industry—as well as the nuclear power industry—with only token efforts to spur conservation and energy efficiency. Estimates are that these policies will increase the emissions that cause global warming by 35% over the next decade.

The 1997 Kyoto accord was criticized at the time by environmentalists for setting standards that were too weak. And yet even that is too much for Bush!

What drives these self-destructive policies? The greed of Bush's corporate sponsors in the military and energy industries plays a role. But more is involved than just the lust for short-term profit. Corporate greed and the lust for profit are but the phenomenal expressions of capital's inherently destructive drive for self-expansion.

Capital's destructive drive for self-expansion is rooted in the nature of the labor process in capitalism. As long as the labor process is not controlled by the workers, as long as the very act of laboring is alienating, the product of labor, capital, takes on a life of its own. Society will be subjected to capital's drive to produce for the sake of production, which oppresses the worker and despoils the environment, so long as the process of labor is not controlled by workers through their own free association.

The ongoing effort to "free up" the movement of capital through "free trade," "privatization," and sweatshop labor—often referred to as "the globalization of capital"—is integral to capitalism's very nature. But the effort to remove restrictions to capital's self-expansion does not mean the nation-state is becoming uncoupled from the world economy. While the welfare state has been severely undermined over the past two decades, the state is not withering away. It remains an important conduit for capital accumulation, as the \$63 billion spent since 1985 on nuclear missile defense alone indicates. State-directed military expenditure has long been integral to capitalism, and the end of the Cold War has not changed that.

This needs to be reiterated in light of the claims made by Tony Negri and Michael Hardt in *Empire*, that globalization presents us with a totally new reality in which economic power is "decentered" and beyond the control of any single person, corporation, or country. They argue that the nation state is becoming an anomaly as its powers are being supplanted by supranational institutions like the WTO, IMF, and so on.

Yet capital has never been controlled by a single person, corporation, or country. It is true that the restructuring of the past two decades has made it harder than ever to control capital. But this isn't creating a "decentered" world in which the nation state takes a back seat. The U.S. drive for single world mastery, which has accompanied each step of globalization, should make that clear. The market and the state are not absolute opposites. Capital is driven to cast off all barriers which limit its self-movement; and the state often plays an important role in facilitating that.

As Marx wrote in *Capital*:

"After me the deluge!" is the watchword of every capitalist and of every capitalist nation. Capital therefore takes no account of the health and the length of life of the worker, unless society forces it to do so. Its answer to the outcry about the physical and mental degradation, the premature death,

(Continued on page 6)



London protest against Bush's attacks on the environment.

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DRAFT FOR MARXIST-HUMANIST PERSPECTIVES, 2001-2002

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the torture of overwork, is this: Should that pain trouble us, since it increases our pleasure (profits)? But looking at things as a whole, it is evident that this does not depend on the will, either good or bad, of the individual capitalist. Under free competition, the immanent laws of capitalist production confront the individual capitalist as a coercive force external to him" (*Capital*, Vol. I, p. 381).

II. Challenges facing the movements against global capital

A. The Black dimension's response to capitalist restructuring

It is no secret to African Americans that today's economic restructuring goes hand in hand with the heavy-handed use of state power. It is evidenced in the daily reality of police abuse, racial profiling, and the prison warehousing of a generation of Black and Latino youth. Resistance to this statist repression reached a new stage in April with the revolt of the Black community in Cincinnati.

As we showed in the May *News & Letters*, the Cincinnati rebellion was a spontaneous uprising against what is called "the globalization of capital." Just as the gutting of jobs, public housing, welfare, and the growth of homelessness, prison construction, and police abuse flow from the strategy employed by U.S. capital, so the revolt against it in Cincinnati posed a challenge to its very dominance.

This is hardly the first time this has occurred. Racism is the Achilles heel of U.S. "civilization" and has been integral to each stage of capital accumulation in U.S. history. The revolt against racism by African Americans has therefore posed the sharpest and most persistent challenge to capitalist oppression of any sector of the working class. From the inception of this country Africans and African Americans sought to negate through their self-activity the most vicious forms of capitalist primitive accumulation—beginning with the barbarisms of the slave trade and slavery, followed by a century-long struggle to vanquish sharecropping and farm tenancy and the form of American apartheid known as segregation, and continuing with the fight against the contemporary forms of capitalist oppression today.

The urban revolts from Watts 1965 to Los Angeles 1992 especially exposed the class and racial inequities of U.S. capitalism. This is no less true of the Cincinnati rebellion of 2001. This poses a key challenge to the activists engaged in protests against global capital. The racial divide remains very real in this country, and not only between rulers and ruled. The movement against global capital will not be able to move from opposing phenomenal expressions of capital, like "free trade," to fully opposing capital itself, unless it grasps the vanguard nature of the Black dimension.

The truncated way in which "globalization" is often understood stands in the way of recognizing this. The phrase "globalization of capital" does not really capture what is new today. Capital, after all, has been a global system since the birth of the transatlantic slave trade in the 16th century. It has undergone many stages and forms of globalization since then. It is more accurate to call what many refer to as "globalization" the radical restructuring of the world economy set into motion by capital's response to the global economic recession of the mid-1970s.

The 1974-75 global recession was pivotal since it showed that capitalism was suffering from a steep decline in its rate of profit. As Raya Dunayevskaya noted at the time in *Marx's 'Capital' and Today's Global Crisis*, the 1974-75 recession was not a mere passing stage; it instead revealed a structural crisis in capitalism as a whole. Capital responded by embarking on a massive restructuring, centering on an assault on the gains workers had made from decades of class struggles. Cutbacks in wages, benefits, and public spending in order to "free up" capital for investments in new technology and labor-saving devices; closing even profitable plants and enterprises or moving them to areas with cheaper labor and raw materials; lifting barriers to the movement of capital between national borders; and reorganizing work processes to maximize output in shorter units of socially necessary labor time, all became integral parts of capital's restructuring.

The resulting redistribution of value from workers' consumption (wages for U.S. workers fell 20% from 1975-95) to consumption by capital—reflected in new labor-saving devices, computerization, and high-tech—went hand in hand with the growth of sweatshop labor, and not just overseas. In the 1980s the number of sweatshops employing children in New York City increased by 500%.

The displacement of Black labor through deindustrial-

ization and layoffs in the late 1970s and 1980s produced a disproportionately Black permanent army of the unemployed which scars today's inner cities. Capital's ability to migrate overseas in search of higher profits was predicated upon its ability to stripmine the productive assets of the Black community at home. By the 1980s, in places like South Central Los Angeles there were no factories left at all; and in the Southeast side of Chicago the few plants still open were so automated that the number of jobs was tiny.

As plants picked up and left, what they left behind was pollution—the toxic residue of production that has been poisoning residents for years.

The dialectic of history is such that each new stage of capitalism, no matter how much it sets back revolutionary forces, is met by its dialectical opposite—the emergence of "new passions and new forces." This is no less true of the present stage of capitalism. In the late 1970s grassroots struggles began around the environmental impact of capitalist production on community health.

The best known is Love Canal, N.Y. Lesser known are two Black communities where grassroots anti-toxic struggles began at about the same time: the Altgeld Gardens housing project in Chicago, which was built on a toxic waste dump and is surrounded by polluting factories, and Longview Heights in Memphis, Tenn. where a chemical plant was located next to a residential neighborhood.

In rural Warren County, N.C. in 1982 the first nationally supported protests against environmental racism took place, with 500 jailed for blocking trucks taking toxic PCB-laden soil to a landfill. By now such environmental organizing from below has become widespread. Although it is not always recognized as environmental, even by the participants, it proves that not only have the destructive threats of synthetic chemicals become universal; a new environmental consciousness has become universal as well.

To understand its significance, we have to grasp the environmental movement in the broad sense as a component of humanity's many-sided reaching for liberation.

It is only as an integral part of realizing that total human liberation that we can truly achieve environmental justice and the new kind of relationship between

humanity and nature that we are hungering for.

Three out of four grassroots leaders in the environmental justice movement are women. The usual explanation is that these struggles are motivated by health effects of toxic substances and that women take responsibility for the health of the family, especially children. True as this is, it is also true that the grassroots struggles took off after the rise of the Women's Liberation Movement. Along with the legacy of the Civil Rights Movement, the awareness of the existence of a women's movement and the spread of ideas of women's liberation are part of the ground from which the community environmental struggles grow. These struggles in turn become a beginning of development for the women involved who often say they are different people than they were before joining them. They develop broadly critical views of society. They question all sorts of things, from the lack of democracy seen in the government's bowing to corporate interests, to the relations of domination within the family.

As a recent statement of the Defense Depot Memphis, Tennessee—Concerned Citizens Committee put it, "Gone are the days when people of color can sit back and leave the decision-making process that relates to environmental racism to elected officials and unelected bureaucrats. Trusting in these people to protect you and your family is not only crazy, it is deadly. Recognize environmental racism for what it is—a legally sanctioned genocide."

Black America's response to the economic restructuring of the past two decades has been multidimensional—as the ongoing struggle of dockworkers in South Carolina, largely led by Black workers, shows. South Carolina is trying to railroad five workers for their part in a protest last year against the ideology of "right to work," which 600 riot police had viciously attacked. In response, a widespread campaign of solidarity with the dockworkers has arisen. (See "Workshop Talks," page 1.)

The persistence of such protests does not mean that a coalescence between the Black dimension and predominantly white youth and labor engaged in anti-globalization protests will automatically emerge. To begin to overcome that divide, today's activists need to grasp the concept of **Black masses as vanguard of the American revolution**(3) as well as broaden their critique of "globalization" by addressing its impact on the lives of working people and minorities inside the U.S.

B. Dialectics of national liberation

No less critical is the need to solidarize with national liberation struggles overseas. That this remains an unfinished task is seen from the response of some leftists to

the arrest of Serbia's Milosevic by the International War Crimes Tribunal.

The overthrow of Milosevic in Serbia and his arrest by The Hague Tribunal was long overdue. It is therefore all the more disturbing to hear some on the Left condemn his arrest on the grounds that Milosevic was a "victim" of U.S. aggression.

The failure to grasp the reality of state-capitalism explains, in part, why so many on the Left were disoriented by Milosevic's regime and failed to support the struggles for national liberation against it in Bosnia and Kosova.

The attitude underlying this is not new. Many leftists remained silent about Milosevic's genocide against Bosnia and refused to support the movements for national liberation in Bosnia and Kosova, on the grounds that Milosevic was opposed for a time by the U.S. Some even argued that the U.S. bombed Serbia over Kosova because it stood outside the system

of globalized capitalism.

Such a view ignores the global stage of state-capitalism. State-capitalism emerged as a new world stage in the 1930s. In Russia, state-capitalism emerged through a transformation into opposite of a proletarian revolution into a totalitarian society under Stalin. In the West, state-capitalism emerged during the New Deal as part of the effort of western capital to stave off revolution and economic collapse in the Great Depression. Yugoslavia was not outside the global state-capitalist system; it was a state-capitalist society from the inception of Tito's reign in the 1940s.

By the 1980s, the impact of the 1974-75 world recession had caught up with Yugoslavia as output plummeted and unemployment skyrocketed. Milosevic, who had served as a state-capitalist apparatchik for years, recognized that the reigning ideology was coming apart at the seams. He jumped on the nationalist bandwagon and became the architect of Serbian reactionary nationalism, initiating the genocidal wars that murdered over 200,000 in Bosnia and Kosova.

Milosevic was not "victimized" by the U.S. because he stood outside the global capitalist system. The U.S. colluded with Milosevic for years and allowed him to get away with outright genocide in Bosnia. It moved against him in Kosova only when his genocidal attacks threatened to make NATO look like a helpless giant on the eve of its expansion into Eastern Europe.

The failure to grasp the reality of state-capitalism explains, in part, why so many on the Left were disoriented by Milosevic's regime and failed to support the struggles for national liberation against it in Bosnia and Kosova. It is true that those struggles did not speak in explicitly revolutionary language. But as we showed in our writings on Bosnia and Kosova in the 1990s, that did not mean they were purely "nationalist" movements lacking a liberatory dimension. New questions and demands arose from them; yet for the most part, their voices were not heard.(4)

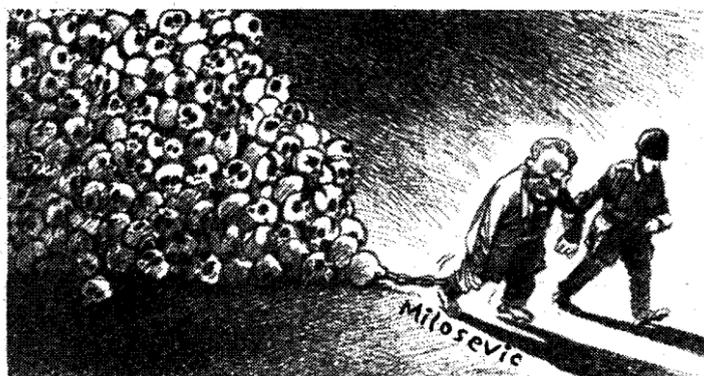
This revealed a void in thought that continues today. Struggles for national liberation continue to emerge, from Indonesia to Sudan, but they are being ignored.

A massive national liberation movement has arisen in Aceh, in northwest Indonesia, where over 1,000 have been killed this year by government security forces. Yet virtually the only support for Aceh in the West has come from environmentalists opposing ExxonMobil's links with the government. Whatever happened to the idea of relations between national movements and international ones? Is the right of a nation to self-determination going to be ignored even if it faces genocidal slaughter?

The tendency to skip over the dialectic of national liberation struggles today flows from limitations in the Left's historic attitude to imperialism and anti-imperialism. In the post-World War II era many leftists uncritically supported various nationalist struggles and regimes, even when led by reactionary forces, on the grounds that they opposed U.S. imperialism. Whether it was uncritically supporting the PLO or IRA, or tailing Libya's Kadafi or Iraq's Hussein, it meant "canonizing nationalism though void of working class character, as national liberation."(5)

This approach has led to a dead-end. Narrow nationalist regimes and struggles have not only failed to pose an alternative to global capitalism, they have helped strengthen it. Yet many on the Left are now responding to this reality by simply rejecting national liberation struggles—as if there is no difference between narrow nationalism and struggles for national self-determination.

Whereas in the past many leftists uncritically support-



Palestinian woman in the Intifada

(Continued on page 7)

THE POWER OF NEGATIVITY IN TODAY'S FREEDOM STRUGGLES

(Continued from page 6)

ed nationalist regimes and movements simply because they claimed to oppose U.S. imperialism, many now withhold support for national liberation movements simply because (in Bosnia and Kosovo, at least) the U.S. claims to support them. In this, we are witnessing the ultimate ramifications of the narrow concept of anti-imperialism which defined much of the Left. The actual content of mass struggles continues to be overlooked, in favor of focusing everything on a narrow ground of opposition to "imperialism."

In light of this, it needs to be emphasized that Dunayevskaya's theory of state-capitalism was never simply an economic analysis. It also led to the rediscovery of Marx's humanism. She recognized that the rise of totalitarian state-capitalism from out of actual revolutions, and the way the state-capitalist rulers in Russia, China and elsewhere continued to use "Marxist" language, had seriously disoriented revolutionaries. Radicals lost their capacity to keep their fingers on the pulse of human relations as they confined the struggle for liberation in a statist framework. In response, she reached not simply for an economic or political critique of state-capitalism, but for a philosophy of liberation that would express not just what we oppose, but what we are for. This led to the development of Marxist-Humanism.

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of "Communism" has made it more important than ever to have a philosophy of liberation to keep one's finger on the pulse of human relations. The need to solidarize with newly emerging national liberation struggles confirms it. Support for such struggles comes from a philosophy of liberation and it dies without one.

C. Why philosophy? Why now?

A philosophy of liberation is not an ideology, a "party line," or something that "excludes" a diversity of voices. A philosophy of liberation is instead what can broaden the view of forces of revolt and show how deep the uprooting of class society must be.

History shows that the mere opposition to capitalism does not by itself produce revolutionary new beginnings. Again and again organizations calling themselves revolutionary have arisen which ended up reproducing the most fundamental division of class society—the separation between mental and manual labor. It is seen in top-down, hierarchical organizational forms, with intellectuals in the lead and workers as "followers." Today's activists are reaching for something very different, as seen in the emphasis on decentralization and diversity and an attraction to anarchism.

Yet the separation between mental and manual labor doesn't show itself only in hierarchical forms of organization. It also shows itself in separating ideas from action, in counterposing theory to spontaneous struggle. This is a false division, which itself expresses the alienations of class society.

Every new struggle raises theoretical questions, whether or not everyone in it is aware of it. Grappling with theory is crucial if a movement is to become fully conscious of its goal. Without making space for the discussion and development of revolutionary ideas and philosophy, the movement will end up reproducing the most capitalist relation of all—the separation of mental from manual labor.

That is the lesson from the movements of the 1960s, which failed to reach a revolutionary transformation because they were weighted down with the notion that theory can be picked up "en route." The view held by many today that philosophy is just another form of ideology will get the movement no further. The more new struggles emerge, the more theoretical questions will be raised which cannot be answered without grappling with a revolutionary body of ideas. That is why we emphasize the need to carve out a space in today's movements for a discussion and debate on what Marx's Marxism means for today.

That this is not a question of imposing an "alien agenda" on the movement is shown by our work in eliciting the views of those opposing today's racist criminal justice system. As one prisoner recently wrote us in response to an essay which appeared in *News & Letters*, "Speculative philosophy is as essential to the struggle for human liberation as individual and collective action in the streets. It is, in fact, a melding of these things that is the essence of a permanent revolution."

III. Experiencing absolute negativity—in theory, practice, and organization

The task of working out a comprehensive critique of capital makes it crucial to discover what Marx's Marxism means for today. No thinker had a more comprehensive critique of capital than Marx; and no thinker had a more expansive vision of what human relations can be when freed from its confines.

Even some mainstream pundits are beginning to sense this. One new book states:

"Marx was a remarkably astute analyst of globalization...one of the things that he would recognize immediately about this particular global era is

a paradox he spotted in the last one: The more successful globalization becomes, the more it seems to whip up its own backlash...There is even a suspicion that globalization's psychic energy may have a natural stall point, a moment when people can take no more" (John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, *A Future Perfect*).

Needless to say, such pundits tend to ignore Marx's concept of the **alternative** to capital. One would hardly know from them that Marx had a profoundly revolutionary and humanist concept of freedom, rooted in the transformation of human relations at the point of production, between men and women and between the races, and in society as a whole. It is not surprising that the mainstream press would ignore this part of Marx. The movements against global capital, however, cannot afford to skip over Marx's concept of a new society. Marx was not simply another socialist theorist; he had a distinct concept of a new society, born from a transformation of Hegel's revolution in philosophy into a philosophy of revolution. Grasping the **absolute opposite** of capital calls on us to grapple with the **totality** of Marx's philosophy of revolution, which centers on the notion of "revolution in permanence."

How are revolutionaries contributing to the effort to meet this challenge? Are they meeting today's struggles with a creative projection and development of ideas?

Some are responding to the present moment by reverting to outdated ideas and forms. One expression is the reversion to the notion of a "vanguard party." This is not restricted to small groups which have long fetishized the elitist "party to lead." As the discussion around the publication of a previously unknown work by Georg Lukács defending his *History and Class Consciousness* indicates, some independent thinkers and activists are emphasizing the need for "a party" to serve as the "mediator" between the consciousness of the masses and the goal of a new society.(6)

This return to vanguardist concepts is, though, far from being predominant. Far more common is the tendency to reject vanguardism in the name of spontaneous forms of organization—without, however, specifying the role that can be played by groups of revolutionary theoreticians.

It isn't that spontaneous forms of organization are not crucial in developing an alternative. The Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico, for instance, has enabled many autonomous communities to develop alternative forms of production, distribution of goods, and social interaction in face of the authoritarian Mexican state. Traditional hierarchical relations between community leaders and the rank and file have been broken down, as have, in some cases, oppressive relations between men and women.

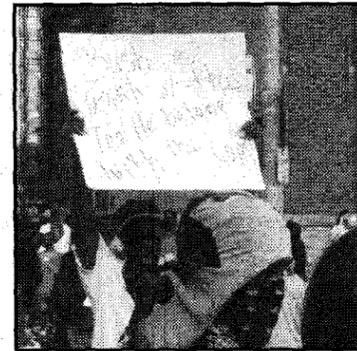
Though a development on the level of Chiapas is not evident in the U.S., efforts to reach for a different future are discernible beneath the surface here as well. The Cincinnati rebellion gave birth to new organizations aimed at enabling Black youth to speak for themselves in the face of the failure of the established Black political leadership to address their concerns. This search for new forms of organization can also be seen in the protests

against global capital.

History, however, shows that the task of working out an alternative to capital cannot be left to spontaneous forms alone. When the "party" is rejected in favor of spontaneous forms of organization, without working out the **relationship** between spontaneous struggles and a grouping of revolutionary theoreticians, what happens to the ideas, theories, and philosophies needed in any movement? Even the greatest **form** of organization, left to itself, can lead to a dead end if the **ideas** at stake in any revolutionary transformation are not seriously grappled with.

The need to go beyond getting stuck in "first negation"—focusing on what we are against—by projecting a concept of the new human relations we are for—which in Hegelian language is called "the negation of the negation"—calls for a whole new relationship between philosophy and organization.

A new book will soon be off the press which speaks directly to this—*The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx* by Raya Dunayevskaya. This collection of essays, letters, and speeches shows how Marxist-Humanism restated Marx's philosophy of revolution through a four-decade encounter with "the source of all dialectic"—Hegel's dialectic of **absolute** negativity.



After the April uprising, the struggle continues in Cincinnati.

News & Letters / Darryl M. Sanders

The Power of Negativity brings together a wide range of Dunayevskaya's writings on dialectics—from her philosophic correspondence with C.L.R. James and Grace Lee in the late 1940s and 1950s to her letters on Hegel's *Absolutes* in the early 1950s, and from speeches and essays on Marx's Humanism and

Hegel's dialectic in the 1960s and 1970s to her work in progress on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" in the 1980s. This book discloses how Hegel's *Absolutes* impacted Marx's vision of a new society and remains of critical importance in light of the contributions of today's movements from practice.

The Power of Negativity is not a substitute for the three major works of Marxist-Humanism—*Marxism and Freedom* (1958), *Philosophy and Revolution* (1973), and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982). Rather, it illuminates their philosophic contributions. It shows how Marxist-Humanism developed an alternative to both vanguardists and those who emphasize spontaneity but stop short of a new relation of theory to practice.

As Dunayevskaya wrote in 1987,

(Continued on page 8)

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THE POWER OF NEGATIVITY IN TODAY'S FREEDOM STRUGGLES

(Continued from page 7)

"We are the only ones who speak of philosophy not merely in general, **not** as if it were only theoretical rather than inseparable from practice, **not** as something that has no relationship to 'program,' but as Dialectics 'in and for itself,' so that we can work it out as dialectics of revolution and dialectics of organization as a single dialectic rather than as 'the Party, the Party, the Party.' In a word, as opposed to the Party, we put forth a body of ideas that spells out the second negativity which continues the revolution in permanence after victory. The principle of revolution in permanence doesn't stop with a victory over capitalism; indeed, it doesn't stop until the full abolition of any division between mental and manual labor. Full self-development of man/woman that leads to truly new human relationships remains the goal." (7)

This is the total opposite of the vanguardist notion that "the party" serves as "the mediator" between the immediate struggles of the masses and the goal of a new society. As Dunayevskaya wrote in an essay that appears in *The Power of Negativity*, "dialectical mediation is the middle that first creates from itself the whole." It is not an outside force, like "the party," which serves as mediator between the immediate struggle and the ultimate goal. It is rather an inner force, the subjects of revolt, which are mediation when they fully manifest their Reason, when they become inseparable from philosophy, from the dialectic of negativity. Achieving that entails working out the integrality of the movements from practice and from theory on a continuous basis. When the masses become theoreticians, when they "master the principles of the dialectic," a path opens to breaking down the barriers that separate the immediate struggle from the ultimate goal of a new society.

In a word, the role of a revolutionary organization such as News and Letters Committees is not to "lead," it is not to substitute itself for the masses, it is rather to hear and answer the questions arising from mass practice, to probe into the Hegelian and Marxian dialectic, and to practice new relations between the subjects of revolt and philosophy in its publications, its activities, and its organizational life. That is how those reaching for a new society can become "practitioners" of the dialectic. That is how they can "experience" the dialectic of absolute negativity.

As Dunayevskaya wrote in her "Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," which is also in *The Power of Negativity*,

"Though committee-form and 'party-to-lead' are opposites, they are not **absolute** opposites. At the point when the theoretic-form reaches philosophy, the challenge demands that we synthesize not only the new relations of theory to practice, and all the forces of revolution, but philosophy's 'suffering, patience and labor of the negative,' i.e. experiencing absolute negativity. **Then and only then** will we succeed in a revolution that will achieve a classless, non-racist, non-sexist, truly human, truly new society. That which Hegel judged to be the synthesis of the 'Self-Thinking Idea' and the 'Self-Bringing-Forth of Liberty,' Marxist-Humanism holds, is what Marx had called the new society. The many paths to get there are not easy to work out."

The challenge that the founder of Marxist-Humanism left us was to work out the **direct** relation between dialectics and organization, on the basis of the "philosophic moment of Marxist-Humanism," her 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." Only by meeting this challenge could we claim to be transcending the legacy of "post-Marx Marxism" as pejorative, beginning with Engels.

The category of "post-Marx Marxism," first developed in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, does not imply a wholesale rejection of the contributions of the greatest Marxists. Each generation, including our own, has a responsibility to

absorb the contributions of past revolutionaries. Rosa Luxemburg in particular made many important contributions, such as her theory of spontaneity and her concept of the need for revolutionary democracy after, as well as before, the revolutionary seizure of power. As Dunayevskaya wrote in an essay in *The Power of Negativity*, "The totally new question that Luxemburg posed—socialist democracy after gaining power—pointed to a new aspect of Marxism itself."

Luxemburg put it this way in her famous critique of Lenin in 1918: "Socialist democracy is not something which begins only in the promised land after the foundations of socialist economy are created." Luxemburg's theory of revolutionary democracy has taken on more importance than ever in light of the many unfinished and aborted revolutions of the past century.

When the masses become theoreticians, when they "master the principles of the dialectic," a path opens to breaking down the barriers that separate the immediate struggle from the ultimate goal of a new society.

Lenin also made a number of critical contributions, especially with his "Abstract of Hegel's *Science of Logic*" of 1914-15. This was not only one of the most important studies of Hegel by a Marxist; it also deeply impacted his view of the revolutionary nature of movements for national liberation. Lenin's dialectical grasp of the struggle for national liberation in his post-1914 writings on the "National Question," especially in Ireland, Asia and Africa, remain of critical importance today.

At the same time, however, Lenin never related his study of Hegelian dialectics to questions of organization; he instead held firmly to the elitist concept of the "party to lead." As Dunayevskaya wrote in an essay in *The Power of Negativity*, "While Lenin rejected any type of 'half-way dialectic' on the National Question, he did not see that same type of 'half-way dialectic' in himself on the question of the vanguard party."

Unlike Lenin, Luxemburg rejected the National Question. Yet she too never fully broke from the concept of the "vanguard party." Nor did she delve into dialectics, either "in itself" or in relation to organization. The category of "post-Marx Marxism" reveals that even the greatest Marxists were not continuators of **Marx's** Marxism, insofar as they did not live up to the inseparability of philosophy and organization which Marx projected in his 1875 *Critique of the Gotha Program*.

Concretizing that inseparability involves more than just breaking from post-Marx Marxists on political grounds. It involves journeying into "the source of all dialectic"—Hegel's dialectic—and making it integral to organization itself.

What we found since the founder of Marxist-Humanism's death is that some who were once with us recoiled from meeting this challenge. Instead of trying to work out the direct relation between dialectics and organization they reverted back to the old and tired approach of keeping "voices from below" in a separate compartment from philosophy. The group that calls itself "Freedom Voices" is a striking illustration of how much easier it is to return to some old form of the past rather than embark on the "untrodden path" opened up by the philosophic moment of Marxist-Humanism.

That many are not measuring up to the creativity of today's struggles only confirms how important it is to work out an ongoing engagement with the dialectic of negativity. In bringing together many of Marxist-Humanism's writings on dialectics, *The Power of Negativity* will open new doors to surmounting the stopping point barrier of "post-Marx Marxism." Projecting it is the core of

all of our tasks.

Our aim is for *The Power of Negativity* to become a turning point in our organization. This will demand new theoretical creativity on our part as well as a new determination to build the one organization in the U.S. that is dedicated to the Marxist-Humanist principles formulated by Raya Dunayevskaya.

We are under no illusion that the publication of the book will by itself break through the conspiracy of silence surrounding the philosophic contributions of Marxist-Humanism. Projecting it will take hard labor—in meetings, debates, and dialogues in the revolutionary movement. It entails extending our outreach with those involved in the movements against global capital, in each local News and Letters Committee. Achieving this will test our seriousness about being disciplined by the self-determination of the Idea.

The Power of Negativity can also impact our development of *News & Letters*. This year we added new worker as well as prisoner columnists to *News & Letters* as part of deepening our elicitation of voices from below. This has gone hand in hand with developing new dialogues on philosophy as seen in our section on "Globalization & Dialectics" in the May issue. We aim for this development of theory/practice, as a unit, to further develop in the coming year—which centers upon expanding the circulation and distribution of *News & Letters*.

Our work with *The Power of Negativity* is key for our work in the Black dimension. This year we will issue a new edition of *American Civilization on Trial* and a Marxist-Humanist statement on the Black dimension by the National Editorial Board. "Black masses as vanguard" is not just a **political** category; it is a profound concretization of Marxist-Humanism's breakthrough on Hegel's Absolutes. Demonstrating that in terms of the realities of today will be a major component of our new statement.

We also plan on issuing a pamphlet on Marx's value theory, which will address the relevance of Marx's *Capital* for today's battle of ideas. And we are issuing a pamphlet containing some of the theoretic work done by members of News and Letters Committees in the period in which we worked on *The Power of Negativity*, entitled *Explorations in Dialectical and Critical Theory: From Hegel to Derrida and from Marx to Mészáros*.

Our work last year in creating the new booklet, *The Revolutionary Journalism of Felix Martin: Worker-Philosopher*, testifies to our determination to concretize the unity of worker and intellectual. We have also expanded our internationalization of Marxist-Humanism, as seen in the work of the Marxist-Humanist publication in Britain, *Hobgoblin*, and in the relations forged with new friends in China, Ukraine, and elsewhere.

Just as none of these goals can be separated from *The Power of Negativity*, so to, that concentration cannot be separated from the finances needed to make them real and to keep *News & Letters* alive and growing. The Sustaining Fund we establish every year to assure the publication of *News & Letters* remains a crucial way in which we break down the division between "inside" and "outside" and deepen our outreach.

The many tasks demanded by the internalization and projection of *The Power of Negativity* bring us face-to-face with practicing dialectics. Hegel spoke to that in his *Science of Logic* when he wrote, "Each new stage of exteriorization (that is, of further determination) is also an interiorization, and greater extension is also higher intensity." We invite all our readers to join us in taking the journey of discovery into concretizing this dialectic of negativity.

—The Resident Editorial Board

NOTES

1. For more on this, see *The Defense Monitor*, Vol. 30, No. 2, February 2001.
2. "The Regional Impacts of Climate Change," report of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, 2001.
3. For the full development of this concept, see *American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard* (Detroit: News and Letters, 1983).
4. See *Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western 'Civilization'* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1996) and *Kosovo: Writings from News & Letters, 1998-99* (Chicago: News and Letters, 2000).
5. See Raya Dunayevskaya's political-philosophic letter, "Lebanon: The Test Not Only of the PLO but the Whole Left" (August 1976).
6. See Peter Hudis, "The dialectic of the party: Lukacs' *History and Class Consciousness* reconsidered," *News & Letters*, June 2001.
7. "The Year of Only Eight Months" (January 3, 1987), *Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 10690.

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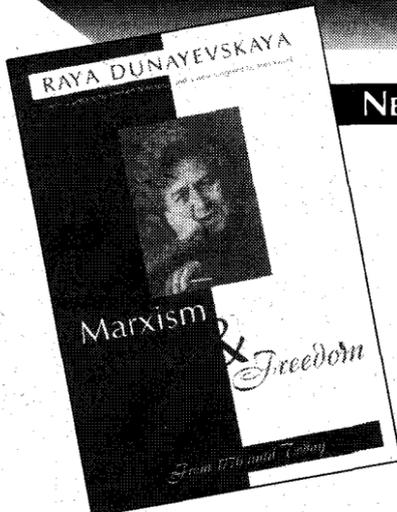
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SCIENCE AND LIFE

Orwell's book *1984* was not far off. The technology he described was almost prophetic. In August, the first chip using biological material bound to silicon is coming out. Later this year, two more companies are going to be producing such chips. The technology is currently available to satellite-track any human on earth, and it is being marketed in cute little bracelets. There is discussion going on as to whether or not to implant similar chips into prisoners. Bio- and nano-technology is not far from being commonplace, and the prison-industrial complex will be the proving ground.

Prisoner, but no guinea pig
Whiteville, Tenn.

The Ecuadoran government, despite its public denial that it is a participant in the notorious Plan Colombia, has shown otherwise through its actions, principally by its concession to the U.S. military of its airbase in Manta in the Province of Manabi. Now, just days before the Minister of the Environment issued categorical denials of the harmful effects on Ecuadorans who live near the Colombian border from the spraying of coca crops, a leaked government report has demonstrated to the contrary. According to the report, over 90% of residents of the border province of Sucumbios are suffering from "rare health afflictions." These include generalized dermatitis resistant to treatment, eye irritation, upper respiratory disease, muscular pains and general malaise.

Just as there are no "smart bombs," there are no "smart chemicals" as we learned in Vietnam from Agent Orange. There are just dumb pseudo-scientists who, in the service of their imperious and militarist rulers, wreak irreparable harm on innocent victims.

Supporter
Ecuador

**IN MEMORIAM FOR
TSITSI TIRIPANO**

Poliyana Mangwiro—also known as Tsitsi Tiripano—died May 12. Tsitsi was a leader of GALZ (Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe). She was known to many in Zimbabwe for her fearless activism, and in the U.S. from a tour last spring sponsored by Amnesty International.

GALZ is a fearless opponent of President Robert Mugabe's hate-filled actions against Zimbabwe's gays and lesbians. Despite severe police repression and a president who compared gays and lesbians to dogs, GALZ has confronted Mugabe at every opportunity, no matter where he has gone, including England. As Zimbabwe slips further into state-sponsored chaos while Mugabe's thugs have free reign, GALZ is more important than ever. Tsitsi will be terribly missed.

Terry Moon
Memphis

THE FAKE ENERGY CRISIS

The lead article on the fake energy crisis in the July issue delineates various forms of activism which stop at calling for public control of power production. The energy crisis has brought out self-appointed public activists preaching about getting rid of the fat cat capitalists. Governor Davis talks big, but doesn't want to do anything to alienate capital markets. Those that advocate public control of power must not have noticed that nothing stopped the public utilities from gouging on the spot market. The real crisis is in the ideology of capitalism, not between the "responsible" capitalists and the greedy ones.

Health care worker
California

Our age of absolutes is reflected in how the power of one idea—the commodity—is driving us to extinction. There are many manifestations of the infinite degradation capital foists on humanity. The so-called energy crisis in the U.S. shows how capital's restructuring comes on the backs of the poor. The extremes of this anti-humanism are found in the politics of oil in places like Sudan and Colombia.

Ron Brokmeyer
California

READERS' VIEWS

WHAT IS GLOBALIZATION ALL ABOUT?

What is globalization all about? They call Memphis the distribution capital of the world and then say that people in Memphis aren't trained to do technical labor so they can send the backbreaking jobs here and get it done for little above minimum wage with no benefits. It means we have families working two and three jobs for \$7 or \$8 an hour with no benefits. That's what globalization means for Black people here.

Black activist
Memphis

When Mexican Industries closed its four plants here in May, Southwest Detroit, which is home to many Mexican and Central Americans, felt the blow psychologically as well as economically. The company, founded by former Detroit Tigers player Hank Aguirre, had provided hundreds of jobs to the community for two decades. In the last few years the UAW had won a campaign there and at least a portion of the workers belong to Local 600, once the largest UAW local in the country. We will send follow-up reports for coming issues.

Subscriber
Detroit

While all the heads of state were expressing shock and dismay at the killing of a young protester in Genoa, they were simultaneously planning further militarization of their own cities during future meetings of world leaders and financial institutions. In the U.S., major cities are already "locked down" in anticipation of Black and Latino revolts. We saw the police come in swinging clubs at Latinos in the Bronx who were having their annual street party following the Puerto Rican Day parade.

Revolutionary lawyer
New York

What the Italian police have done in Genoa on behalf of the G-8 and international capitalism is disgusting, despicable, and depraved. It must never be repeated. The fascist tactics of the police and "special" forces—including beatings, shootings, torture, trapping marchers, silencing free speech, making pacifists and others shout "viva il duce" and more—are terroristic. We can't let our silence be complicity.

Resister
San Francisco

When I think of globalization, I think about Vieques. We have over 1,000 military bases in the U.S. with people suffering the same consequences to their health as do the people in Vieques. But if we can win a victory there and draw attention to the militarism that damaged their health, maybe people can see through the smokescreen.

Environmental justice activist
Memphis

Most of us know that cops will go to any length to discredit our movements. That's why it's easy to throw a few agents into a fringe of people who think the most radical thing to do at a demonstration is to smash windows. Isn't the radical part of the movement the fact that there are workers, environmentalists, feminists, and youth all marching together saying NO to capitalism and YES to a non-exploitative society? It isn't so simple as violence or non-violence. There's an inherent violence in capitalism and it doesn't need window-smashing to bring it out. What is needed is mass power, not the imagined power of a few elitist types who think they know best how to run a demonstration.

Trying to figure it out
Tennessee

AIDS AND CAPITALISM

Maya Jhansi's column on AIDS as revealing capitalism's sickness is well taken. I appreciate her anger that the pandemic is not seen as "dirty capitalist politics." But I don't think the fact that UN-AIDS singled out men as their focus for World AIDS Day, when women are suffering more, can be characterized as "disregard" for women's self-determination, as Jhansi says. Rather, this policy, which will mean many more women will die, is UN-AIDS' way of appeasing the anti-women Holy See as well as member states like Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Iran, etc., who are hostile to any language or action that may even suggest that women have more control over their bodies and lives. It is hostility to women's self-determination, in any form, that is behind the UN-AIDS actions.

Women's Liberationist
Tennessee

HEALTH CARE IN 2001

Htun Lin's article on HMO leeches in the July *N&L* showed how Marx's value theory is experienced on the shop floor. But in health care, value theory is felt not just by the health care workers, but by the patients as well. HMOs are pushing self care and home care. The medical system forces you to think about yourself as a machine that functions like a machine. Doctors are not taught to view you as a person, just a physical description of symptoms. What then, is a human being?

Marxist
California

Stem cell research is touted as helping to cure all kinds of diseases. It is an outgrowth of the fertility research being done for infertile couples. I am not convinced that the benefits of the new technology advances will trickle down. After all, fertility research did not make children a priority for the whole society. So many children still need adoption.

Concerned nurse
California

**STILL
FIGHTING
FOR
JUSTICE**



I told you last month about the poem I wrote after I attended the Chicago Police Board public meeting in June. I attended the public meeting again on July 19 to continue giving support to the 11-year old African-American girl who was brutally beaten by three white male Chicago Police officers. When an adult is mistreated by some form of law enforcement entity, there is a legal remedy. I want to know whether there is any kind of remedy for a child abused by authorities. I've written a second poem for the little girl and I call it "When is Justice Coming?"

Eleven year old girl attacked by three racist cops. When is justice coming?

Her family has been asking for justice for months. When is justice coming?

Police Board and the OPS haven't done a damn thing. When is justice coming?

If you ask me I would answer: In a time called never.

For, you see, she will never be white, which seems to mean she does not deserve any rights, let alone justice according to Police Board and OPS, it seems to me.

George Wilfrid Smith Jr.
Chicago

**ALABAMA'S
DOUBLE STANDARD**

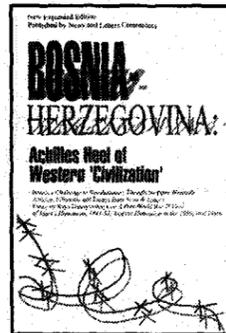
Your readers may want to know about a recent civil rights protest in Birmingham, Alabama. Outraged by a judge's ruling that ex-Ku Klux Klansman Bobby Frank Cherry is mentally unfit to stand trial in the 1963 church bombing that killed four Black girls, protesters pointed out that Alabama has executed six mentally retarded Black men since 1989. The racial double standard in the criminal injustice system is as gaping and obvious as ever.

Observer
South USA

THE INDONESIAN SCENE

Concerning your story in "Our Life and Times" on the unrest in Indonesia (July *N&L*), the "correct" name of Irian Jaya is West Papua. Megawati has said plenty about the movements there and in Aceh and made it clear she is opposed and will crack down. Even *The New York Times* says she will "unleash the military" against them—not that it has ever been leashed. When I spoke with an activist from there, he said Megawati's taking over will mean the restoration to the military of the little power it had lost. It means a counter-revolution without there having been a revolution. Again we see the failure of reform that does not uproot the existing order. I asked him about the students that brought about "reformasi" three years ago, and he said they are so disillusioned with Wahid that they are doing nothing.

Concerned
New York



**BOSNIA
AND THE
ARREST OF
MILOSEVIC**

After hearing the response of many leftists to the arraignment before The Hague Tribunal of Serbia's former ruler, Slobodan Milosevic, I find your pamphlet *Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western Civilization* more important than ever. Both Stalinist-style apologists for Milosevic and "independent" left critics like Edward Herman are condemning the arrest of Milosevic as an example of "great power hypocrisy." Supposedly, since The Hague tribunal is a "bourgeois" court, leftists should oppose its effort to convict Milosevic for his genocidal actions. I would like to ask these gentlemen why they didn't object to the "bourgeois" Spanish court which had sought the arrest and arraignment of Pinochet for his crimes against humanity. Or is simple logical consistency too much to ask for?

Balkans activist
Chicago

**IS HEGEL'S ABSOLUTE
HEURISTIC?**

I liked the essay article in the July *N&L* on Hegel's dialectic very much. Tom Jeannot was clear about how the three thinkers, Dunayevskaya, Marx and Hegel differed and shared ideas. He also made clear how Marxist-Humanism differs from every other tendency. However, I have a problem with his use of the word "heuristic" to describe Dunayevskaya's relation to Hegel's Absolute Idea. The definition of heuristic I get from the dictionary says it refers to a device for problem solving. I don't think Dunayevskaya's reading of Absolute Idea as a process was simply heuristic in the sense of making things come out OK.

David
Oakland, CA

REVOLT IN ENGLAND

A drunken attack by racist whites could be partly blamed for the reaction of Asian youth in Oldham. However, much more important in my view is the "rioting" that took place in Leeds, supported by Black, white and Asian youth against the police. This kind of united action cut away at the base of potential fascist organization by issuing a challenge to the state across racial barriers.

Patrick
England

A GOOD IDEA!

Some may be wondering what to do with their tax "rebate" but I have no trouble deciding. The minute I get mine, I'm sending it off to *News & Letters*. That's where it will do the most good in helping to transform this system.

Retiree
California

Activism in Chicago denounces police brutality

Carrie Kimbrough spoke at the July 19 meeting of the Chicago Police Review Board concerning the recent beating of her niece by three white male officers.

I am the aunt of Timia Williams. I was there after the attack on her. I watched as she bled and they kept her without medical attention.

You have the audacity to only give us two minutes to speak. Did anyone monitor the time they chased her, ran her down, beat, kicked, choked and bad-mouthed her? I was threatened to be taken to jail.

Whenever cops do something so-called good they are praised and put on television and their names are given. But it has taken forever for us to get these three officers' names who did this vicious attack. When this cop was recently shot and killed, [Superintendent] Hillard, you came on television and made your sad comment and did all you could to get the shooter. I haven't seen you show any remorse for my niece or my family.

Once again I say to you: Look in the mirror and realize you were born the same color I am. Because of the position you hold, for now you think you are out of harm's way. But there is still a chance it can happen to you or someone you know. So stop this behavior now and take a stand and punish Mark Lamberg, Chris Trusoukalas, Chris Nitintan and anyone capable of these violent acts.

—Carrie Kimbrough

Vera Love is the mother of Robert Russ, who was killed by a Chicago police officer in 1999. She attends every meeting of the Police Review Board. The Office of Professional Standards has found insufficient evidence to prosecute or dismiss the officer responsible for his death. Robert was known as a football player but Ms.

Love makes it known that "My son was a brilliant scholar, as well."

How can Amnesty International single out Detroit as the worst city in keeping track of police brutality? (See "Readers' Views," July 2001 N&L) In Chicago, the Office of Professional Standards dismisses every case that's brought before it. This needs to be addressed, we have a horrible system.

You complain to OPS and all you get is, "We've investigated and found that there isn't enough evidence to substantiate." It's the same line every time, just like the police officers use the same words. "He fought me for my gun" and so forth. How many times do you have to hear this before you realize the board needs to be dissolved and some kind of citizen's control put in place?

I was just speaking at a school to a group of Black and Latino students. They already knew all this. They asked me who was in charge of the police. Then they asked who was in charge of [Superintendent] Hillard. Then they wanted to know how to get rid of [Mayor] Daley, when is the next election. These kids are the place to start to change things. Go into the schools and talk to young minds. They think, and they are the next generation.

I read about the high school kids in California who wanted to have Mumia Abu-Jamal speak to their graduation. The school refused, of course, but it led one young man to say that he would become a revolutionary. I was moved by that.

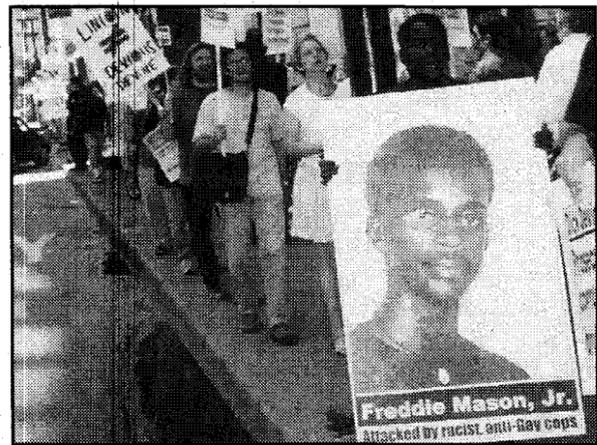
I started late—I can't bring my child back, but I might stop them from killing someone else's children.

I don't want to sign off on any amount of money. I was watching some home videos the other day, and it was alright now seeing my son laugh and smile in them. But then he was singing with his friends, "It's

Hard to Say Goodbye to Yesterday." That was difficult. The next song they sang was "It's Time to Make A Change."

That is true, and we are the people who can make that change.

—Vera Love



The Chicago Anti-Bashing Network, Sangat (a South Asian lgbt organization), and the Comite Exigimos Justicia led a spirited protest July 11 against Cook County States Attorney Dick Devine who was receiving an Abraham Lincoln Award from the Illinois Council Against Handgun Violence.

They called the award "an insult to the memories of all people gunned down by police—Robert Russ, LaTanya Haggerty, Kelsey Hogan, just to name a few. Dick Devine has yet to criminally prosecute a single Chicago police officer for violence against a civilian since he was elected in 1996. This, despite three Amnesty International reports in the last five months documenting gay bashing by the Chicago police in the cases of Freddie Mason Jr., Jeffrey Lyons and Kentin Waits."

The most amusing chant was probably "Who let the pigs off?...Dick Dick Dick Devine!"

—Participant

No to 'Plan Colombia'

San Francisco—A multiethnic band of 150 marched on 24th and Mission Streets to United Nations Plaza on Saturday, July 21, to protest Plan Colombia, the U.S.'s \$7.5 billion assault on Colombian plants, animals and people in the name of fighting drugs. Of course marchers knew better, as indicated by the chant, "Urgente! Urgente! La guerre en Colombia es en contra de la gente."

A woman from JUNTOS, a coalition organizing against U.S. militarism, said the date for the march was chosen because it was Colombian Independence Day. Her focus was on solidarity between movements. She told the crowd, "We can't be sectarian anymore and win anything." An activist representing the American Indian Movement (AIM) concurred as he saw the struggle of indigenous people in Colombia the same as in the U.S. and practically everywhere else in the world. Like many other speakers he called for solidarity between participants of this action and the G8 summit protesters in Genoa, Italy. Indeed many there had marched in Berkeley the previous night to express outrage at the police murder of a young Italian man demonstrating in Genoa.

A Black youth from Revolutionary Anti-authoritarians of Color for Equality (RACE) saw Plan Colombia as an extension of the United States' racist domestic drug policy: "This is not a war against drugs; it's a war against people....Don't talk to us about some anarchist who throws a brick through a Starbucks window when the U.S. government is out killing Black and Brown people in the streets every single day."

The racist nature of the U.S. intervention in Colombia is corroborated by the testimony of Luis Gilberto Murillo, an African Colombian whose term as governor of Choco state was cut short by right-wing forces in state and national government. Murillo was exiled by the paramilitary group Auto-Defensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC) under penalty of death to himself and his family. In a June 4 interview with Pacific News Service he stated, "I would like African Americans to note that their tax money is used to support a U.S. policy, including Plan Colombia, which is detrimental to African Colombians. And not just detrimental to their standard of living, but to their lives. It is a policy that kills them." He told of an Easter Sunday massacre in which 100 were killed in Upper Naya, most of them African Colombians.

Much has been rightly said of the continuing campaign to remove indigenous people from their land, yet 70% of those violently displaced are Black. According to Murillo 82% of African Colombians live under the poverty line. And although they number 11 million of Colombia's 42 million citizens they occupy no seats of real power.

Murillo said he and the coalition of independent liberals that nominated him for governor of Choco "wanted to represent new processes of thought in the Black community." This is not unlike the message delivered by the AIM brother here in San Francisco when he said to marchers, "You wanna talk about arms? Let's talk about arming your mind....You have to commit yourself to a new way of life. This demonstration is a ceremony for a new thought, a new beginning."

—David M.

Mumia Abu-Jamal's fight for freedom

Supporters of Mumia Abu-Jamal will be in Philadelphia on August 17. This will be Mumia's first day in front of a new judge in state court and demonstrations of support are being planned to coincide with his appearance at the Criminal Justice Center.

We encourage all who can attend to show up for the August 17-18 demonstrations. We need to put on the pressure for this innocent man's freedom.

Many new documents are available on-line at www.mumia.org, including long-awaited statements from Mumia and his brother, William Cook, on the facts of the 1981 shooting of officer Daniel Faulkner.

—Chicago Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal



Dear friends and supporters: Ona Move! I have received several queries from many of you asking about how to support this legal battle for life and liberty. Thank you for your kind inquiries.

This is to inform you that the following entity has offered its kind offices to receive donations for the legal defense fund:

Humanitarian Law Project
8124 W. Third Street, Suite 105
Los Angeles, CA 90048

Thank you for your assistance in this effort!

—Mumia

Editor's note: make sure to put "Mumia Abu-Jamal" on check memo.

Black/Red View

(Continued from page 1)

"the interests of farmers who don't give a damn." He learned, as Macey adds, that "freedom was not indivisible. He was a black soldier in a white man's army."

At the end of the war, Fanon studied medicine and psychiatry at the University of Lyon. From a book poor world of Martinique, he moved to a book rich world of a university town. He read Hegel and Merleau-Ponty, met Arab students and Arabs who became his patients. During this period, Fanon wrote *Black Skin White Masks*. In it he developed the theory that over a long period of oppression, some Blacks wanted to become white and for them "whiteness was liberation." Macey states that *Black Skin Whites Masks* was originally written as Fanon's dissertation thesis and was a form of "self analysis." Fanon's approach to psychiatry was to never separate mental illness from the social context as he searched for a self-negation that produces freedom by transcending inhuman social relations. What he criticized was a form of self-negation that reproduced alienation and human divisions.

Fanon became the administrator of the Blida mental hospital in Algeria. During the Algerian struggle to end French colonial domination his concept of mental therapy became united with revolutionary activity. Undoubtedly, no other psychiatrist in the history of psychiatry has brought this kind of unity into being. At Blida, Fanon hid Algerian revolutionaries and treated the tortured victims of police and the military. He even gave psychiatric aid to mentally disturbed French torturers.

His letter of resignation captures his philosophy and his total commitment: "Madness is one of the ways in which man can lose his freedom. And being placed at this intersection, I can say that I have come to realize with horror how alienated the inhabitants of this country are. If psychiatry is a medical technique which aspires to allow man to cease being alienated from his environment, I owe it to myself to assert that the Arab, who is permanently alienated in his own country, lives in a state of absolute depersonalization."

Macey began his biography of Fanon with Fanon's funeral in Algeria at a time when there was a serious factional conflict going on in Algeria. Macey only gives

Remembering Frantz Fanon

the reader a hint of this internal conflict and he never explains extensively why he titles the opening chapter of book, "Forgetting Fanon, Remembering Fanon" other than saying that Algerians can't remember Fanon because he was "Negro" while at the time of his burial all described themselves as "Fanonists." The truth lies in the revolutionary process itself which became the focus of Fanon's greatest work *The Wretched of the Earth* written as he was dying of leukemia.

Fanon saw the future in terms of the revolutionary movement among the deepest layers of the population and put himself in the middle of that process in Algeria. He remained ruthlessly critical from within the revolutionary process, criticizing the prevailing ideas of the Algerian leaders as well as Black intellectuals who looked too much to culture and the past. He said, "we don't want to replace one form of barbarism with another form of barbarism." Fanon was never merely an advocate of violence as some have claimed. As Macey shows, it was the historic and ongoing violence of the brutal French colonial world, which was the context for that revolution.

What informed Fanon's whole life was a commitment to the absolute independence of the deepest subjects of revolution, especially the Black dimension, as a path to a new reciprocity between all peoples—a "new humanism." Political leaders of the dominant party were especially a target of his wrath: he called "the single party...the modern form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, unmasked, unpainted, unscrupulous and cynical."

Macey is too quick to make Fanon's ideas a discontinuity with Marx. It is true that post-Marx-Marxists, unlike Marx, never appreciated the revolutionary subjectivity of peasants nor what we now call the Third World. Long before the African revolutions, for Marx the revolt of slaves in the U.S. was integral to a war of liberation against the capitalist world. Fanon's continuity with Marx has to do with a vision of a new whole mental and manual human being. As Fanon put it: "Let us combine our muscles and our brains in a new direction...This new humanity cannot do otherwise than to define a new humanism both for itself and for others."

VIEWS FROM THE INSIDE OUT

The globalization of apartheid

by Robert Taliaferro

Apartheid. It is a singular word that, for years, defined a policy in South Africa that was indicative of state-supported racism. A system of class and privilege, it disallowed the Black experience from taking root in a country where the majority of its people are Black.

Though people in the U.S. are familiar with the terms: racism, prejudice, disenfranchisement (especially after the 2000 elections), terms like apartheid are defined as elements of sociological factors that are "foreign-born," having no place in the cultural miasma that delineates this country's cultural heritage.

Apartheid, however, is a system that involves minority rule. It is a system where a select group of wealthy individuals, or a select ethnocentric influence, governs all aspects of life of a general majority of people. It is a system that defines a specific set of rights for a select few that are less restrictive and compelling, and another distinctly austere set of rights for "others" that are not only more restrictive, but more universally applied.

APARTHEID RETURNS

Apartheid—the word—is finding its way back into the media spotlight, especially as it pertains to pharmaceutical companies, HIV/AIDS, and the policies of those companies in places like Africa with regard to the distribution of more economical drugs to help combat the spread of that disease throughout the continent.

The phrase "murder by patent" is used to describe the inherent refusal of the large pharmaceutical companies to provide cheap lifesaving medicines to African peoples. Ironically it was South Africa that—in 1997—passed a law that would make it easier for its 4 million citizens currently living with HIV/AIDS to receive those medicines.

The result of that law was a lawsuit filed by pharmaceutical companies aimed at protecting their profits, which was subsequently dropped in April 2001.

Eyewitness report: Protest, tragedy in Genoa

Genoa, Italy—A scene played out on a corner of town in Genoa on the 20th of July. Two men were facing each other—a 23-year-old standing in the street armed with a small fire extinguisher and the other a 20-year-old armed with a pistol inside an armored carabinieri Land Rover. The rest sadly is history. Why the carabinieri went for the head we don't know. He seemed a good shot, got two on target.

Why didn't he aim for a different part of the body, especially when the target's arms were raised either to throw the canister or to shield himself? The magistrate will be asking the same questions, as the case has officially been declared an "unvoluntary homicide." Once he fell the Jeep reversed and ran him over twice. True, the car was jammed against the wall, but its engine was running and could have reversed in full power to pull away from the situation, as it did after the shooting.

Why did the carabinieri shoot then? Confusion or following a policy of "shoot-if-in-doubt-and-we-answer-for-you-later." The carabinieri was declared to be in a state of shock and was treated in a hospital, while Carlo Giuliani was sent to "chill out" in the morgue awaiting official autopsy, forensic tests, and all sorts of time wasting practices.

Tragic as this event was, it is surprising that there were no more deaths around town. Even the scale of destruction around town was far less than the dramatic footage we saw on TV screens. The damage was almost exclusively against big business and those associated with it.

True, some bus shelters and telephone booths were damaged too, but these are common scenes around



after worldwide protests against the international cartels forced their hand. Yet, like the traditional concept of apartheid that we have come to appoint to a specific segment of the world, many in this country have failed to see the globalized impact of apartheid.

AIDS, in the U.S., is a disproportionate killer of minorities. In Africa and in other areas of the world with large populations containing "people of color," it is also a prominent killer. Access to life-saving drugs that would enhance the quality of life of those individuals is often distributed by virtue of race, class, gender, and geographical influences.

It is not surprising that the U.S. alone abstained from supporting a United Nations resolution that elevated universal access to "medication in the context of pandemics such as HIV/AIDS" as fundamental of a right to health. The Bush administration, like other administrations before, justifies the non-support due to "legal and constitutional reasons."

AIDS, like any pandemic, is enhanced by unequal access to medicines, poverty, and in places like Africa, gender inequality issues. In essence, it is inherently linked to issues of race. The globalized national aspects of apartheid-based policies are in effect genocide of the highest order, led in part by the U.S.

ECONOMIC COLONIALISM

It is true that countries in Africa must take some responsibility in combating AIDS and other poverty-related issues, and it is true that African leaders must be more responsible for the health and economic needs of their people, and in April 2001, African leaders did agree to spend at least 15% of their national budgets on health.

But globalized apartheid takes on various forms, and it is unlikely that many of those goals will be met when African countries are forced to pay questionable foreign debts incurred from some of the same international financial cartels that help to fund pharmaceutical companies.

every big city in the UK after a Saturday night out, every week! Let us keep things in perspective.

Large-scale public protests have a big role in making people aware of the issues, as well as being a vent for

people's anger and helplessness. They can be peaceful, and should be in order to bring maximum support into the street and show the world that the most destructive tools (physical and otherwise) are still in the hands of those who protect property. Such demonstrations are not a substitute, but a complement to other forms of organized and long-term public action

like organizing local groups to bring pressure on the bureaucracy and to initiate change.

That is why Oxfam and Drop the Debt leadership were wrong for not taking part in the march that was organized by the Genoa Social Forum. Jubilee South and others did, to their credit. Hundreds of people who support Drop the Debt and Oxfam and other UK charities took part in the march individually and showed that they were ahead of the leaders of these organizations in seeing the need for showing their anger in public for what is going on in the world.

Curiously, organizations that pulled out of the march at the last minute proved the anarchists right. Take direct action on your own, march under your own steam and peel away if things get rough (as Rickshaw freedom riders did). I wish there were enough of us around when the two young men confronted each other on Friday July 20.

—Dr. Mahmood Messkoub

The author is a Rickshaw freedom rider, and an economist at Leeds University Business School, who cycled with a team to take a rickshaw from Leeds to Genoa as part of the Drop the Debt campaign.

Srebrenica commemoration calls for justice

Oxford, England—Some 50 people, members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina community and British and international supporters, gathered in Whitehall on July 7 for a two hour vigil, marking the sixth anniversary of the massacre at Srebrenica. We put on white smocks, on which were written the names of those who are missing, believed killed, although their remains have not yet been identified. We handed out leaflets with this message in English and Serbo-Croat:

"On the sixth anniversary of the fall of Srebrenica and the genocidal murder of 8,000 men and boys, we support the demands of the Women of Srebrenica by calling upon the UK government, the European Community and the UN:

"To honor their commitment to arrest all indicted war criminals, especially Karadzic and Mladic. We support the chief prosecutor of The Hague Tribunal, Carla del Ponte, in her call for special forces to carry out these arrests. To make publicly available all information on the role of the UN and the international com-

munity in the fall of Srebrenica. We demand the British government comply with the French Parliamentary Enquiry's urgent request to hear evidence from General Rupert Smith, former commander of UN forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"To increase material assistance and provision of security for the courageous survivors of genocide now returning to Srebrenica. To increase assistance to those who are unable to return, by providing women in collective refugee centres with opportunities to support and educate their children and to live with self-respect, dignity and hope for the future.

"To continue and increase financial support and provide expert assistance for exhumation and identification of the missing. To support the survivors of Srebrenica, the Committee for the Sixth Anniversary and the Committee for Implementation of the Project of the Memorial Complex and the Cemetery in Potocari, in their plan to lay the foundation stone of the Memorial Complex at Potocari."

—Richard Bunting

In essence, those cartels invoke the same colonial rule on independent African countries that rivals, if not exceeds, the colonialism of the parent company-at-large. Economic colonialism is the policy of slavery and genocide.

We must be careful when we apply terms of oppression in a singular fashion, for in that attempt to rationalize such concepts and apply them as individual precepts, we also tend to feign ignorance to the collective responsibility that defines us as members of a universal family...humanity. When we do that, another individual term, guilt, becomes a collective premise that is borne by all.

'Biojustice' movement

While the movement against global capital has been portrayed as mainly about free trade and international financial institutions, a June 23-24 teach-in, march and rally in San Diego, Cal., highlighted another important aspect: opposition to the uses of genetic engineering. Over 1,200 came out in the heat to the Biojustice/Beyond Biodevastation V event held to counter the Biotechnology Industry Organization's annual convention. They were protesting what one of the speakers, Brian Tokar, called "the absorption of everything that's alive into the sphere of commercial products."

The movement is not only about food safety but the hold a small group of companies have on the global food supply and agriculture. A wave of mergers has consolidated this group even more, but the driving forces are the blitz of recent patents for genes and organisms, and the ongoing restructuring of world agriculture around biotechnology.

PATENTS CHOKER RESEARCH

Even agricultural research, dominated until the 1980s by government and university projects, is increasingly controlled by private companies holding the patents on genes and plant varieties needed for the research. Most agricultural biotech patents and much of the world's seed business are owned by the big five: Monsanto, DuPont, Dow, Aventis, and Syngenta.

The "biojustice" movement is clearly having an impact. Even so unlikely a forum as the UN Development Program's "Human Development Report 2001" leveled an attack against the "debate in Europe and the U.S. over genetically modified crops" as undermining the ability of poor nations to feed their populations. Never mind that the movement exists in poor countries too, notably India, where groups of farmers have burned fields of genetically engineered crops. Never mind that people go hungry not because there is any shortage of food but because they cannot pay. Never mind that the continuing restructuring of agriculture, of which genetic engineering is part and parcel, is pushing more and more people off the land.

The report holds up the 1960s "green revolution" as a shining example, disregarding its actual consequences described by Vandana Shiva in *The Violence of the Green Revolution*: "Instead of abundance, Punjab has been left with diseased soils, pest-infested crops, waterlogged deserts and indebted and discontented farmers." Where food had been grown for 1,000 years without impairing soil fertility, agriculture became dependent on fertilizer and pesticides. The making of the Green Revolution involved "centralized control of knowledge and genetic resources...not achieved without resistance," and a major shift in "who controlled the production and use of seeds." Community-managed resources were privatized and many small farmers were forced off the land, by bankruptcy, dam-building, or other factors.

A MONOPOLY OVER NATURE

The big corporations aim to infuse every major branch of agriculture with genetic engineering, to transform the inputs—seeds, genes, nutrients, and defenses against insects—from fruits of nature to patented commodities obtained via a market controlled by them. The first priority of corporate genetic engineering has been to produce plants resistant to the herbicides sold by the same capitalist chemical companies.

Part of their strategy is to flood the market with genetically engineered food. In the U.S. it is nearly impossible to avoid them. Altered genes have even tainted organically grown food labeled "G.M. free" because crops are exposed to windblown gene-altered pollen. The fiasco with Starlink corn is an example of how all the safeguards supposedly in place do not stop genetically engineered seeds from cross-breeding, mixing with other seeds in distribution, and falsely being sold as unmodified.

Right now Brazil is one of the biggest battlegrounds, with environmentalists fighting to maintain the existing ban on biotech seeds. Brazil is the only substantial exporter of non-engineered soybeans left.

The increasing integration of the biojustice movement into the broader movement against global capital shows it is not only opposing certain technologies but challenging the social system that develops them in an inhuman direction, and posing the need for a new society where the human relationship to nature is not material for exploitation but rather the basis for freedom and truly human development.

—Franklin Dmitryev

Our Life and Times

Israel's war crimes: then and now

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

On July 31, in yet another war crime, Israeli missiles hit the West Bank town of Nablus. When the dust cleared, eight Palestinians lay dead, two of them small children in the area. Also among those killed were two leaders of the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas movement, whose military wing has taken responsibility for many suicide bombings. The next day, 100,000 Palestinians rallied to mourn the Hamas leaders and to pledge revenge. These assassinations of presumed terrorists serve only to strengthen the hand of the most rejectionist, intolerant elements within the Palestinian movement.

So reactionary has the State of Israel become in the eyes of the world that it has been forced to hire a

War in Chechnya

"G-8, the Summit of Silence?" was the title of an appeal submitted by the dissident Russian journalist Andrei Babitski to the Genoa summit. Also signed by hundreds of prominent intellectuals such as Elie Wiesel, John Le Carré, Daniel Bensaïd, and Elena Bonner, the appeal detailed the horrors of Russia's war in Chechnya: mass executions, roundups of civilians, torture camps, and rape.

The appeal was in fact met by silence, not only by the leaders of the economic summit in Genoa, but also at the individual meeting between George W. Bush and Russian President Vladimir Putin. Was it entirely a coincidence that the two executioners had an especially warm encounter, despite strong Russian opposition to Bush's missile "defense" plan?

Ten days before Genoa, Russian soldiers swept through two Chechen villages, arresting and torturing every single adult male, some 1,500 people. They also ransacked the village. Some Russian soldiers laughed that "freedom" was a "railroad car" to Siberia, a reference to Stalin's deportation of the entire Chechen people in 1944. The Chechen people charge that Putin aims to rule Chechnya at any cost, with or without the population. A month earlier, on June 15, Russia, China, and four Central Asian countries signed a little-noticed "Convention for the Struggle Against Terrorism, Extremism, and Separatism." The first fruits of this sinister agreement were: 1) denial of a visa to Chinese exile Wei Jingsheng, who had been invited to Moscow to speak on Tibet; 2) the arrest of democratic journalist Dodojon Atovullov in Moscow, on a warrant from the government of Tajikistan. Atovullov's return to Tajikistan would endanger his life, in a country where the free press has been totally suppressed and 53 journalists have been killed since 1992. The mere possession of *Charagh-iRouz*, the newspaper he founded (recently published from Moscow), can result in death at the hands of the police.

lawyer to defend its Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, against international charges of war crimes originating in a Western European bourgeois democracy, Belgium. These charges are being made under the same laws that were recently used, to great international acclaim, to prosecute and convict some of the perpetrators of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. In fact, Israel itself used similar legal avenues in 1961 when, in a secret operation, it captured the notorious Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann in Argentina and brought him to trial in Israel.

The Belgian courts are investigating Sharon for his role in the September 1982 massacre of at least 800 Palestinians at the Shatila and Sabra refugee camps near Beirut, Lebanon. Sharon, the overall commander of Israel's invasion of Lebanon that year, allowed virulently anti-Palestinian Christian Phalangist militias to rampage through the camps for two days. An official investigation, headed by the Chief Justice of Israel's Supreme Court, found Sharon personally responsible for the massacre, forcing him to resign as Minister of Defense. However, Sharon was never prosecuted for complicity in murder, as he should have been.

Today, 23 Palestinian survivors are taking legal action in the Belgian courts against Sharon, under the concept of "universal jurisdiction" for war crimes and crimes against humanity. In recent months, Chile's former dictator Augusto Pinochet narrowly escaped extradition to Spain for crimes against humanity under similar laws. Former Nixon administration official Henry Kissinger has also come under investigation in Europe for his role in Chile. While we heartily applaud these efforts to bring these criminals to justice, we also note something odd:

In the Sharon case, no attempt is being made also to

China miners protest

The hype surrounding China's Olympic bid was dispelled by reports from the coal mines. On July 22, an explosion in a privately run "illegal" mine in Jiangsu province killed over 90 miners. Local officials allegedly were ordered to shut down all small coal mines by the end of June, in a government-launched "safety campaign." Officially, 5,300 miners were killed last year, but independent labor rights groups estimate up to 10,000.

Earlier, on July 9, 10,000 miners, along with their families, other workers and retirees, organized a protest in Jilin province, demanding back pay due for 17-30 months. They blocked the main rail line between Harbin and Jilin city for most of the morning, holding up six trains. Officials dispatched riot police but they did not initially attempt to remove the protesters.

According to the Hong Kong Information Center for Human Rights and Democracy, one miner said the government should give more money to help improve the lives of workers and their families instead of spending huge amounts to stage the 2008 Olympics.

prosecute those directly responsible for the 1982 massacre, all of them right-wing Christian Arab militiamen, many of them still living in Lebanon. Nor is it mentioned that the Lebanese Army also "investigated" the 1982 massacre, totally absolving the Phalangists. There is a similar silence around Syria's role in the equally horrific massacre of Palestinian civilians by Lebanese Christian militias at the Al-Zaatar refugee camp in 1976.

Such omissions reinforce a mythic version of Arab history that, like the Israeli one of a heroic Zionism fighting against a much stronger foe, makes the necessary compromises between two nations inhabiting the same land much harder.

Bush's reactionary 'diplomats'

Whether or not Bush can now get all his proposed foreign policy appointments approved, given the razor-thin Senate majority switch from Republican to Democrat, they nonetheless show his imperial mindset, especially in the western hemisphere:

Otto Reich is Bush's choice to be assistant secretary of state for the Western Hemisphere, the main Latin American policy position. Reich ran a major arm of Reagan's domestic propaganda machine, salting U.S.



Workers demonstrated in July in Lima, Peru demanding the return of exiled former President Alberto Fujimori to face corruption charges.

papers with "positive" articles about the CIA-backed contras. Reich also helped in the crafting of the ultra-reactionary Helms-Burton Act tightening the embargo on Cuba.

John Negroponte is Bush's candidate for UN Ambassador. When he was ambassador to Honduras, 1981-85, Negroponte was a major figure in covering up atrocities carried out by the Honduran military, in order to maintain U.S.-contra bases there.

Elliott Abrams was appointed by Bush to be National Security Council director for "democracy, human rights and international operations." When he served Reagan as assistant secretary of state for Latin America, Abrams was infamous for baldly denying atrocities carried out in Central America by U.S.-backed forces, such as the 1982 El Mozote massacre of civilians in El Salvador. Abrams was also convicted in Reagan's Iran-contra conspiracy.

Zimbabwe general strike

A general strike shut down Zimbabwe July 3 and 4. The Zimbabwean Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) called the strike to protest a 70% increase in the price of oil, something that hit the poor the hardest. Although the government of Robert Mugabe declared the strike to be illegal, up to 80% of the working class is said to have participated. Stores, factories and banks had to close.

Most workers followed the ZCTU's call to stay at home and remain calm, rather than risk coming out onto the streets, where they would undoubtedly have encountered the regime's thugs. In one case, however, three trucks that tried to make deliveries during the strike were burned.

The strike had important political dimensions, especially since the ZCTU and its principal leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, are key figures in the opposition. While the government did not back down on the price increase, the whole nation could see the massive support that the ZCTU and the opposition now enjoy.

In an effort to crack down, government thugs recently took over Tsvangirai's village of origin, also threatening businesses that had closed down during the strike. Mugabe has continued his demagogic land takeovers, where, in the name of land reform, regime cronies calling themselves liberation war veterans have been besieging and taking over farms.

Mugabe is focusing on the 2002 elections, which he presumably plans once again to rig. In preparation for this, he has been cracking down on the press. He has shut down the BBC bureau, while also pressuring the local press. In January, a bomb destroyed the printing press of the *Daily News*, the country's only privately owned newspaper.

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