

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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WORKSHOP TALKS

Managed noncare

by Htun Lin

As more companies are forcing their employees to pay for the rising cost of health care, workers are increasingly striking over this issue as in the recent strike at Hershey's. Frontline health workers at HMOs are also in the middle of this raging conflict over "cost shifting."

For we who started working at HMOs before the decade of restructuring, our primary mission used to be to get as patient as a bed and attended to by a caregiver as soon as possible. Thanks to HMO restructuring, "managed care" is all about managing cost, not care. With increased cost shifting we are to become the latest barrier to unprofitable care.

Frontline service workers like us are sent to classes to train us to "achieve revenue enhancement." We are told to dramatically "change our organizational culture" by seeing ourselves not only as a health organization but "as a business."

Toward that end, not only do we learn "proper cash handling procedures," we are also taught methods on how to handle angry patients as they hear the bad news about their increased costs. For us, this "cost shifting" is really about conflict shifting—from the picket line to the shop floor, where a patient is now becomes another opportunity for "cost recovery."

BETWEEN ROCK AND HARD PLACE

During open enrollment, big employer purchasing groups such as AT&T, GM or CalPers purchase HMO insurance for their workers. These capitalists sit across the bargaining table from the managed care money managers on the HMO side and duke it out over the amount of money to be transferred for that healthcare.

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BLACK/RED VIEW

'Racial privacy' fraud

by John Alan

Last April in California, Ward Connerly, a well known African-American ultraconservative who is also a member of the board of advisors of the Ronald Reagan Legacy Project, filed almost a million signatures with the California secretary of state to qualify the so-called "Racial Privacy Initiative" for the ballot.

Some have speculated that Connerly's initiative might go on the California ballot this coming November or in spring 2003. There is still time to make a critical examination of Connerly's concept of "racial privacy," including the source of the large amount of money used to gather signatures to put his initiative on the ballot.

CONNERLY'S RIGHT-WING PAST

Ward Connerly has long been engaged in right-wing politics. He has not been connected—in practice or in theory—with struggles against racism. In 1993 California's Governor Pete Wilson recognized a use for Connerly's reactionary politics and appointed him to the University of California's Board of Regents and together they brought about the repeal of affirmative action at the University of California. However it is only Ward Connerly and not Wilson who is remembered as the father of Proposition 209 which outlawed, in 1996, affirmative action in state hiring and contracting and in college admission policy.

If we review Wilson's political reasons for ending affirmative action we find they are thin and fraudulent. Ward Connerly's ideological reasons are also thin and fraudulent, but they have an appearance of being the truth since they come out of the mouth of a successful African-American middle-class personality.

Of course, Ward Connerly was either totally ignorant of the long history of the African-American freedom struggles in this country or was just hyping wealthy white conservatism by maintaining that affirmative action, by giving preferences to race, gender and ethnic groups, was depriving people of individual liberty.

Connerly carried this idea to an absurdity when he said in a lecture he gave at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library: "President Reagan was not known as a champion of civil rights in the traditional sense of the

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Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 2002-2003

Permanent war or revolution in permanence?

Introduction: India, Pakistan and the risk of nuclear war

The perilous nature of today's objective situation is disclosed by the ongoing threat of nuclear war between India and Pakistan, which places in jeopardy the lives of tens of millions. Though India and Pakistan have for now backed off from a direct confrontation, the seeds have been planted for a conflagration that could still be set off at any time.

India has positioned half a million troops along its border in response to attacks by Pakistan-supported terrorists in Indian-controlled Kashmir. Pakistan has responded by test-firing ballistic missiles and refusing to rule out the first use of nuclear weapons in the event of an Indian attack.

Pakistan's rulers are deeply committed to the Islamic fundamentalists who have used Kashmir as a launching pad for attacks on India, while India is

We present the draft of the "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives for 2002-2003," in order to promote the widest discussion possible. We look forward to a dialogue with you, our readers, as part of the effort to break down the separation between inside and outside, theory and practice, philosophy and organization.

led by a Hindu fundamentalist government that refuse to grant the people of Kashmir any degree of autonomy. The rise of religious fundamentalism on both sides is fueling a conflict that places into question the very survival of South Asia.

The depth of the fundamentalist threat gripping South Asia was evidenced in March, when over 2,000 Muslims were massacred by Hindu fundamentalists in suppressed response to a massacre of Hindus in Godhara, Gujarat. Over 100,000 remain in refugee camps as a result of these attacks. Right-wing fundamentalist groups who have links to the Indian government had been working for months to prepare the conditions for this massacre, such as circulating manuals with instructions on how to engage in the mass murder of Muslims.

Meanwhile, Pakistan, which for years used its links with Al Qaeda and other Islamic fundamentalist groups to hit away at India's occupation of half of Kashmir, is using the conflict to divert attention from its own profound social crises.

The century over Kashmir, which has lingered for half a century, is not going to go away. The crisis there reflects the wound of partition that has never healed.

India and Pakistan are engaging in a game of nuclear brinkmanship, using the threat of war as a way to gain the attention and support of the U.S., which has allied itself with Pakistan's Musharraf while at the same time moving much closer to India as part of its "war against terrorism." As each power uses the threat of war to gain the support of the U.S., the administration finds itself increasingly drawn into a conflict that threatens to divert attention from its aim of extending the "war against terrorism" to states like Iraq, Iran, and North Korea.

The India-Pakistan conflict has global ramifications. China continues to occupy a part of Kashmir and has long been allied with Pakistan. It is not likely to idly stand by while India launches a major attack on Pakistan. China has been building up its own nuclear arsenal in response to the crisis in South Asia. This has in

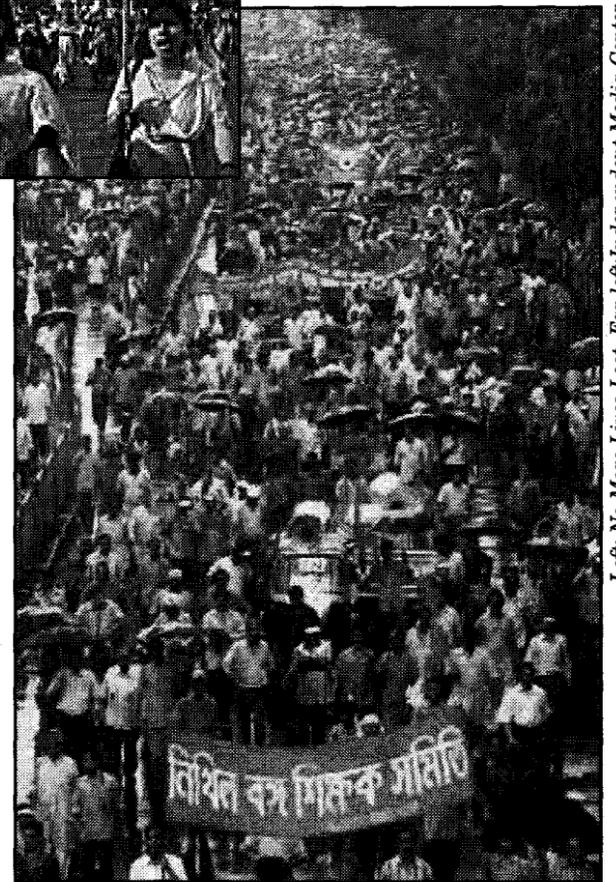
turn led Japan's leaders to begin to openly discuss breaking its 50-year taboo against building nuclear weapons. The means to do so are at hand since Japan possesses one of the largest stockpiles of weapons-grade plutonium in the world.

The conflict between India and Pakistan has exposed the hollowness of Bush's claim that his nuclear arms reduction treaty with Russia, concluded in May, has minimized the risk of nuclear confrontation.

The danger of Bush's policies lies not only in the 2,000 nuclear warheads that the U.S. and Russia each keep under the arms treaty, enough to destroy the world many times over. Nor is it only that the treaty fails to provide for



Demonstrations in Calcutta, India, against preparations for nuclear war between India and Pakistan last fall.



Left: No More Lives Lost. Far left: Independent Media Center

the dismantling of nuclear weapons, allowing them to be stored for potential future use. It's that Bush's unilateral decision six months ago to scuttle the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty with Russia and to commit the U.S. to developing a new generation of high-tech nuclear weapons for possible use against states like Iraq, Iran, and North Korea has already made the unthinkable thinkable for a host of states, India and Pakistan included.

While the Bush administration has decried the development of "weapons of mass destruction" in Iraq and Iran, it has done nothing to stop India and Pakistan from continuing to develop the most destructive mass weapon of all, nuclear missiles. In fact, so consumed is Bush with his "war against terrorism" that he used his visit with Putin to call Russian aid to Iran "the world's foremost weapons-proliferation problem," as if the likelihood of tens of millions dying from a nuclear exchange between India and Pakistan were a secondary matter!

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Women in the Civil Rights Movement

by Terry Moon

In *Deep in Our Hearts* nine women tell of their participation in the Civil Rights Movement including the choices they made after it, as a mass movement for freedom, ended. These stories bring back the passion for freedom, the hope as well as the terror of those times; and how, just the fact of being a white woman in the Southern movement could mean death for her and any Black man she was around. This is a ground-breaking book that reveals how white women were instrumental in founding and running many of the organizations that made the movement possible.

Also shown is how different theories were—and were not—discussed. There is ample discussion about nonviolence vs. violence, and about the decision of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee to purge white members, for example, but the most consistently discussed theory is religious thought and the ideology of The Beloved Community. That many considered their activity revolutionary, didn't lead them to discussions of theories of revolution.

Joan C. Browning is the most detailed about what she calls "largely a spiritual journey." Browning was looking for "a place where I can answer the question... 'What does the Lord require of you?'" (p. 40). Dorothy Dawson Burlage expresses where many of the women ended up in their spiritual quest: "The movement became my new spiritual home" (p. 10).

More common is a separation between theoretical development and activism. Constance Curry, for example, never discusses what called itself "communism," but she must have had some interest as she made trips to Russia, China, Cuba and Chile, and 15 trips to Ireland. In 1959, Burlage was a foreign exchange student to the USSR, which led her "to an extreme dislike of Communism as practiced there." Yet how that influenced her ideas and work in the movement, where Communist supporters of Stalinist Russia were very active, is not discussed. Theory is often falsely counterposed to activism: Casey Hayden writes, "Our radical truth was an experience, not an idea" (p. 351).

This book also offers glimpses into how the Women's Liberation Movement flowed out of the Civil Rights Movement. Many of the writers document sexism they encountered. But, surprisingly, they erect a barrier between women's and Blacks' struggles for freedom. Elaine DeLott Baker writes, "[D]espite the personal anger that I sometimes felt when confronted with sexist situations...it was always the freedom struggle that held me. To shift my identity, commitment, and energy from the freedom struggle to the women's struggle was not something I could do... The freedom struggle was the flame; all else was shadow."

I thought Casey Hayden would have a different view, having been a primary author of the SNCC position

paper "Women in the Movement." But she downplays it, writing: "I recall the group as white," and that, "The paper and its topic seemed an aside" (p. 365). Fortunately, a different view is expressed by Emmie Schrader Adams, who remembers that "many people had contributed to the discussion about women's issues...not just we white women on whom it got blamed" (p. 325).

Hayden is also an apologist for Stokely Carmichael's infamous statement, "The proper position of women in the movement is prone," made as a comment about "Women in the Movement." Hayden says, "It was really funny" (p. 366). That not everyone was laughing is revealed by a Black woman SNCC activist, Cynthia Washington, who wrote: "I was standing next to Muriel Tillinghast, another project director [of SNCC], and we were not pleased. But our relative autonomy as project directors seemed to deny or override his statement."

(*Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left*, by Sara Evans, p. 239.)

WOMAN AS REASON

Was the separation between women's struggle for freedom, and the Black freedom movement—a separation that many Black women refused to make—the reason almost all these nine women (with Curry being a shining exception) "crashed and burned," as Hayden admits she did? Why did women who struggled with male chauvinism, while taking part in this most passionate and dangerous freedom movement, end up separating themselves from other struggles for freedom?

The book documents what happens when the unifying theory of "The Beloved Community" is destroyed and there is a disdain for other theory and philosophy. The powerful Particular of the Civil Rights Movement—a Particular that often reflected the Universal—became their eternal Universal—"the flame"—while other freedom movements were viewed as unobtainable, left up to others, or, as Theresa Del Pozzo naively writes, a solved problem: "Once African American people took on real-life personalities [to whites], the circle was completed" (p. 206).

This book breaks new ground in showing how vital women—Black and white—were to the movement, like Curry writing that it "was three women—Ella [Baker], Jane [Stambridge], and I—albeit behind the scenes, who helped build SNCC in its early days" (p. 16). And while *Deep in Our Hearts* did not set out to show the necessity of being grounded in a philosophy of freedom in order to sustain our involvement in movements for freedom, that is one of its startling messages.

Gays target racism

Chicago—The Chicago Anti-Bashing Network (CABN), a queer direct action group, held a meeting on June 21 to confront anti-Arab and anti-Muslim racism post-September 11. Connections were made by the four speakers about how this new racist climate can be understood by non-Arab and non-Muslim Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered (LGBT) forces who know what it feels like to be hated and brutalized for who they are.

Andy Thayer of CABN stated that the best tradition of the LGBT struggle has been that it understands itself as part of the movement for total human liberation, and as such, it cannot act in isolation or in a narrow fashion, that is, solely along the lines of LGBT liberation.

Mubarak Dahir, a gay Palestinian-American journalist, gave a detailed and moving history of his life growing up as gay, Arab and Muslim in the U.S. He talked about the painful racism he has faced not only from straight people, but from within the LGBT community—the one community where he said he had "felt most at home" before September 11. "Today" he said, "Arabs and Muslims have become the new communists, the ones to fear, to loathe."

Nevertheless, there was no discussion about what human liberation is and how to develop it globally, nor a frank discussion about fundamentalism within the Middle East or in the U.S.

Mubarak said that among Palestinians there is a widely-held view that for now there is only one struggle, the fight for national liberation. Thayer added that because feminist and queer liberation struggles have historically come out of national liberation struggles here and abroad, it is the national liberation struggle that must come first!

This argument is one that feminists have fought against for decades. It is the same argument that feminists in groups like the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan have had to endure in the face of recent alliances between some left tendencies and fundamentalists who have joined together in the name of "fighting U.S. imperialism."

Doesn't it make sense that national liberation, anti-racist and anti-war movements broaden themselves to include LGBT, feminist and other liberatory concepts offered by those subjects of revolution? While it's important to grasp freedom movements as part of the whole, it is equally crucial to see that each particular freedom movement has something unique and necessary to offer humanity.

That said, it was an important meeting in addressing the new racist stage the U.S. has reached. Working out the contradictions within liberatory movements so that a perspective of freedom can develop is the only way to ensure that they succeed.

—Sonia Bergonzi

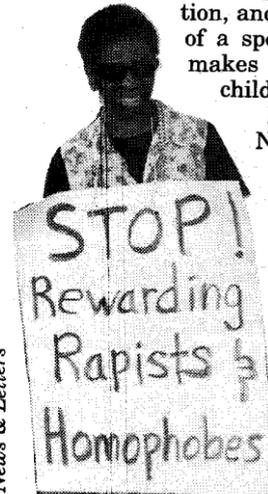
Protest celebrity rapist

Memphis, Tenn.—The prize fight in Memphis between Lennox Lewis and Mike Tyson was not without protest. Our WAC (Women's Action Coalition) leaflet stated in part: "We're here to protest the city's sponsorship of a fight featuring a convicted rapist who happens to also be notoriously anti-woman and anti-gay. The city is profiting from promoting an act of violence...It's wrong to profit from this kind of exploitation, and it's wrong to make a hero out of a sports figure who rapes women, makes homophobic slurs, threatens children and destroys lives."

Representatives from WAC, News & Letters, Memphis Areas Gay Youth, Equality Tennessee, and the Mid-South Peace and Justice Center were joined in our protests by Peter Tatchell, longtime gay rights activist from Britain, who came to Memphis specifically to dog Mike Tyson's footsteps and to castigate him for his homophobic remarks about Lewis and other boxers.

Those of us in WAC and several of the other organizations realize the limitations of a media-only campaign, and were frustrated that despite a few moments on the news, the police, the city and most local media were pretty much successful in keeping our message from getting out to more people in Memphis.

—Memphis WAC-ers



News & Letters

NOW takes on Bush

St. Paul, Minn.—I just got back from the national conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) held in St. Paul, Minn.

We did an action on Saturday, June 22, at a Wal-Mart in Vadnais Heights, which has been named National NOW's latest "Merchant of Shame." It faces allegations of sex discrimination in pay, promotion, and compensation; wage abuses; excluding contraception coverage in insurance plans; violations of child labor laws and the Americans with Disabilities Act; and discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Besides all this, Wal-Mart is also anti-union and also still refuses to distribute the contraceptive Preven.

At the Plenary discussing our resolutions, we voted on 16 and passed on nine for the board to consider. Some issues the body voted on were: 1) "Opposition to the Opportunistic War"—that NOW opposes the use of fighting terrorism as an excuse for massive imperial expansion, for a war on Iraq, and for unilateral policies in violation of international law."

2) "Reduce the Poverty, Not Just the Welfare Rolls"—ending lifetime limitations on TANF (Temporary Assistance to Needy Families) benefits; removing caps on education and training; providing full child care funding; maintaining the 30 hour per week work requirement, which includes education programs; making the family violence option a permanent, mandatory requirement for states; and immediately restoring TANF benefits and food stamps to legal immigrants and their dependents.

I don't have the space to go into the fun things we did, from salsa dancing to hearing actresses read from the book *That Takes Ovaries! Bold Females and Their Brazen Acts* (Three Rivers Press/Random House 2002). Since we face an uphill struggle dealing with the anti-humanistic policies we live under in the U.S. and on the world stage, we must also take the time to celebrate what is creative and joyous within the human spirit.

—Sue from NOW

'Space' for protest

Kyoto, Japan—Over 100 women and men took to the streets downtown here to hold a march for women and girls, and to ultimately create a positive, safe women's space. The feeling was overwhelming upbeat with laughter and dance, accompanied by girl-empowering music blaring into the streets.

It was the first women's march created by these women and girls with the hopes of creating another in the future. They belong to various groups, most claiming a feminist ideology.

Women and a few men took the bullhorn as we marched, condemning Japan's increase in pro-military actions—like the Yugi Hosei Emergency Law—supporting the people of Palestine, condemning war and a law that would segregate disabled people.

The march was organized for women to express themselves about their society, but with surprisingly little said on the state of Japanese girls and women today. Before the march the women and girls held a silent "Women in Black" vigil to show their solidarity with the Palestinian people. We passed out flyers. Most people did not take them but rather looked at us with utter curiosity or some even with contempt. I was the only foreigner in the march.

Over all, the event was successful and much more creative than any other protest I have seen here. There was a great show of women's solidarity. My hope is to see regular occurrences here of girls and women speaking their minds and dancing in the streets.

—Kind Lady



Deep in Our Hearts: Nine White Women in the Freedom Movement edited by Constance Curry
Athens, Ga., University of Georgia Press, 2000.

Date unites host of fights against sexism

New York—The National Organization for Women (NOW-NYC) and the Street Harassment Project rallied in Central Park on June 8 to mark the second year anniversary of the mass assaults on women in the park and the sexist treatment of the women by our "justice" system. About 35 persons attended, mainly white women under the age of 40. Several had arranged to "speak out" about the attacks on 56 women that day, the police who refused to intervene, and other sexist issues.

We also heard from a representative of VOW, the Voices of Women Organizing Project of the Battered Women's Resource Center. VOW represents all New York boroughs and includes African Americans, Latinas, whites, Asians, lesbians and formerly incarcerated women.

"We feel battered again by the system," she said. "The criminal justice, child welfare, and social service systems don't respond adequately to our needs. Our mission is to support battered women through technical assistance, leadership development and political education."

The rally also demanded that Mayor Bloomberg and the City stop fighting to overturn a judge's order issued March 18 in the case of Nicholson v. Williams. The order requires the City to cease prosecuting battered women for child neglect and removing their children simply for reporting domestic violence against the women.

An eloquent African-American man representing New York Men Against Sexism described his work in Brother Peace to end men's violence against women, and called for "a men's pledge of commitment" to this goal.

The rally's diversity of endorsing groups was inspiring, but the small turnout and single issue orientation were depressing. It called out for News and Letters Committees to be out there with our literature and unique Marxist-Humanist philosophic contribution toward working out a new society.

—Sheila G.

Velsicol workers fight toxic poisoning

Memphis, Tenn.—I started working for Velsicol Chemical Company in January 1990 as a utility worker and worked up to a maintenance mechanic. On May 24, 1994, my supervisor, the shift supervisor and the department supervisor met me in the department that makes heptachlor and pentadiene and wanted me to take aluminum insulation off an eight-foot-long vessel that housed chlorine gas.

It was actually an OSHA violation to have me touch the vessel because it was still in operation and they knew that it was a leak. But they don't like to lose the downtime by shutting down production. It takes almost a day for production to come back up.

I started taking the insulation off and the supervisor said he smelled chlorine. Even though I couldn't smell it, I knew I had been chlorinated. It happens all the time at Velsicol. When we get chlorinated they tell us to get peppermint and oxygen. I was gasping for air. I tried some peppermint out of the candy machine, but as I got outside I couldn't move. I was coughing and sweating profusely.

A worker drove me to the nurse's station, where they tried to figure out how to use the oxygen. The nurse was gone for the day. She got back and mixed a breathing solution that didn't do anything for me.

My wife said I was gasping all night. My physician told me the chlorine shocked my body into an asthmatic state, and I didn't have enough oxygen in my blood. From that point on I experienced a snowball effect.

I asked the president of the union, OCAW (now PACE) Local 3-357, what to do about my chest. We went to the nurse, who drove me to my primary physician. The doctor told the plant nurse that the environment at Velsicol was killing me, and she took me off work as of that day. But when we got back to the plant, the personnel manager chastised the nurse until she cried.

Velsicol never wanted me to file for worker's compensation. They would call the house and tell my wife they would take care of things. I was denied worker's comp because Velsicol said the accident never happened—I

have the incident report and the statement of the emergency room doctor. One witness told me that Velsicol wanted him to lie. He told the union local, but the union refused to take a position on my case.

I was denied benefits on the long-term disability insurance that I was paying for because they say I'm still employable. If I couldn't have gone to the VA hospital, there would've been no way for me to receive medical care. I get a shot every week and it takes three days to get back around. Whenever it gets hot I feel like I'm suffocating.

Inhaling carbon tetrachloride when making heptachlor and chlordane did something to me, but it wasn't considered a big deal. My breathing had gone down every year from 1990 to 1994 on a pulmonary function test, but their doctor never said anything.

It's happening to all the workers. One guy who I'd never known to be sick said he was hoarse one day. I never saw him again. He died. There are workers there that I know that are sick, and people are dying in the community (See June N&L). Velsicol never tells workers about the community meetings because they don't want the public to know what they've done to the workers. So why would they be concerned with the people outside that gate?

I would like to see justice for me as well as for the people that work inside the plant, and those who live around it.

—Rodney McCray



UFT

Hip-hop school protest

New York—More than 20,000 public school teachers, other school workers and students in a June 4 demonstration—the first major labor demonstration since September 11 and since a new mayor took office Jan. 1—demanded that New York City stop using the terror attack as an excuse to cut public spending. Thirteen people were arrested, most for pushing and shoving after the cops penned in the demonstrators far from the stage and brought out horses to stop attempts to circumvent the pens.

The cops also arrested singer Wyclef Jean for disorderly conduct, for trying to sing! The union's sound permit only allowed speaking and recorded music, and the cops provocatively enforced it. After trying several times to sing, Jean knelt and put his hands behind his back and refused to move.

The especially large turnout of students, encouraged by the presence of hip-hop performers, added militancy to the union demonstration. The students carried handmade signs demanding "money for schools, not for war" and accused the mayor of racial discrimination for defunding the schools, with mostly minority students.

Not only have teachers been working without a contract for over 18 months, but the city was threatening to cut the school budget by \$356 million. The United Federation of Teachers finally announced they would strike. They got a contract a few days after the demonstration. However they settled for what they had rejected before September 11 when the city budget had a surplus. They also gave in to the mayor's demand to extend the time at school an extra 20 minutes twice a week—not to teach, but just to "work" longer.

One teacher complained that was a ridiculous concession to businessman Mayor Bloomberg's view of education as an industry in which he can increase production. The same teacher particularly regretted that the contract failed to win any changes in the current cult of standardized testing as the framework for education.

—Union supporter

Left: Rally to save New York City education.

WORKSHOP TALKS

(Continued from page 1)

When the HMOs said they were imposing a 11% increase in premiums this year, the employer groups, the HMO's real customers, countered with cost shifting.

This includes forcing workers to pay more of the premiums, deducted from their paychecks, but employers also tell HMO money-managers that they will have to squeeze the extra money, called "co-payments," out of individual worker/patients. That's what has filtered down to the level of us frontline service workers, who are caught between a rock and a hard place—between the angry patient in need versus the needs and dictates of capital, which must cut costs "at all cost."

Our whole reorientation program is designed to get us to focus on extracting more money from the individual patient as efficiently as possible. Our primary goal now is to realize a higher co-payment "recovery rate."

Furthermore, we are told our role in this is going to become more important as projected cost shifting will dramatically increase. New "communications techniques" are meant to "manage" anticipated increases in day-to-day conflicts. Over the years of restructuring the business office mentality took over the nursing supervisors' functions. Their roles were revised to keep staffing levels to a bare minimum. The business office is now working on us frontline workers to internalize their priorities through this re-education.

This new priority is the source of heightened discomfort in our everyday working lives. As one worker said, "Why are we made to put additional stress on the patient, demanding a \$250 co-payment, just when the doctor has delivered the bad news of pancreatic cancer?" Their claim in television ads is that "Nothing gets between you and your doctor."

HMO CLASS WARFARE

The capitalists are transferring the conflict between workers and capitalists from the picket line to the health care shop floor where we are made to nickel-and-dime the patient to death. In turn, we are told to respond to patients upset about their new co-payments by pointing the finger back at their own companies who are responsible for the new terms of their health care package.

For all workers, health care is a precondition of our ability to continue to work. To capitalists it is either a profit producing commodity or a costly overhead to be reduced as much as possible. Whether we are talking about HMO capitalists or industrial capitalists, capital has a singleminded determination to expand. Instead of being able to focus on the simple priority of taking care of those in need, we are put in the middle of contending capitalist interests.

In the past, we health workers at Kaiser have gone on strike demanding contractual guarantees for quality care. Now a labor/management strategic partnership has changed all that. In effect, the union is helping management draft us into being foot soldiers in their inter-capitalist battles, putting workers and patients in the middle. Nothing can get around capital imposing its will unless all workers get together against capital's dominance. We need a workers' movement around "health care as a human right."

Iranian labor reborn on May Day

Toronto—During the last year, Iran has been the scene of hundreds of large-scale workers' demonstrations, of which nearly 250 were officially reported. Some of these demonstrations became battles with guards and government security forces. These actions underlay the conference of Iranian labor activists and scholars from within Iran and abroad who held a conference in Toronto, Canada on June 2 and 3.

In 2002 Iranian workers held the first independent May Day celebrations since the early 1980s. These celebrations in various cities were independent of both the government and its so-called workers' organizations.

Those at the conference who argued that the main obstacle to the creation of an independent labor movement was the lack of political freedom and the oppressive Islamic government included members of the Workers Socialist Unity, Iranian Worker-Communist Party and Labor Left Unity which has broken from them, International Alliance in Support of Workers in Iran and Left Block, as well as independents. Another group argued that the main obstacle was a backward economy, and therefore labor's main task for now is to work for the industrialization of the economy.

An Iranian woman worker in Canada spoke on women's working conditions in Iran's factories where she had worked. Women in the factory suffered not only from the division of labor but also from gender discrimination. When the Islamic regime tried to separate the women's section from men in the workplace, women workers rejected separation, but male workers in the factory backed it. Men commented that this separation was good for the honor of women workers.

She said women who wanted to live independent of parents would face problems even renting apartments. Many single women have to live on prostitution or as temporary wives. Women are under a microscope.

One speaker from the Iranian journal *Andishah-i Jami'a* (Society's Thought) spoke about the establishment of the first independent Iranian workers' unions (Itahadiah-i Kargari) this May Day as a turning point for workers' independent organizations and the workers' movement. He spoke of a revolt of unemployed workers, now five million, against capital and against all moralities which limit personal relations.

Morteza Mohit, the translator of István Mészáros's *Beyond Capital* and the author of *In Defense of Marx*, emphasized the importance of establishing bourgeois democracy. A leading theoretician of Workers' Socialist Unity argued that Iranian reformists are trying to limit Iran's democratic movements to formal procedures of democracy. Both an oil worker and an ex-textile worker argued that Iran is "already an industrialized country," against advocates of more capitalist development.

I asked what kind of development we were talking about, development of capital or human development? One printshop worker argued that unions should only defend workers' economic demands. A labor scholar from Germany responded that unions are living phenomena that we cannot confine to economic demands.

Marx defended unions but also wrote of workers' struggles against this system and the abolition of the whole capitalist system. One speaker cited Marx's letter to Arnold Ruge and his defense of the Silesian workers' strike in 1844, which showed that the historical role of workers was for political and human freedom.

Nasser Saidi, editor of *Pazhuhash-i Kargari* (Labor Research), focused on the need for the independence of workers' organizations from the government as well as right or left political parties. He argued that political awareness comes from workers' own struggles and not from outside, but it is important that workers and intellectuals work together.

A heated debate followed on what kind of workers' independent organization there should be. What kinds of relations should there be between political parties and workers' organization? Is this a continuation of the past or does it mean new relations? One speaker argued that at a time when capitalist ideologues and even some who used to consider themselves leftists talk about "the death of Marxism," it is crucial to show Marxist views as key to the success of workers' movements.

I spoke about the perspectives of Marxist-Humanists and Anjoman Azadi on these issues. I discussed the publication *The Revolutionary Journalism of Felix Martin* (Isaac Woods): *Worker-Theoretician* and Felix Martin's emphasis on the distinction that Marx drew between forced labor, which is what capitalism is, and creative human labor.

—Ali Reza

'No match' abuses

Chicago—The Social Security Administration used to send out "no match letters" to individuals whose Social Security number and name, as reported by one's employer, did not match. This could be a misspelling or a typo, or involve an undocumented person who crossed the border for work to help her family.

After 1994, SSA began sending letters also to any employer who reported 10% of its workforce, or simply 10 workers, with "wrong" numbers. In 2001, 110,000 of these letters were sent out to employers. Since September 11, 750,000 letters went to employers.

The only responsibility for the employer is to post a notice and to inform the employee to rectify the problem. An employer is not supposed to fire an employee who is a "no match." But many people have been fired, and many more have been intimidated into quitting. There are already cases in Chicago and Milwaukee where these letters are being used to try to beat back successful union organizing drives.

It is not known how far the Bush administration will go, but it seems they will be issuing fines through the IRS, which is unprecedented. Employers would then be forced to police workers' social security numbers and drive hardworking taxpayers out of the U. S.

Capitalists are aware of the treasure trove of labor entering the United States "illegally" from Mexico and elsewhere—capitalism needs labor to exploit! But there has always been the "Buchananite" right wing focused on keeping America white and isolationist—akin to the Know Nothing Party of the 19th century. After September 11, Homeland Security is being used to this effect.

Some neo-liberal theorists have recognized that Karl Marx was correct when he said that capitalism breaks down national boundaries. But allowing workers freedom to cross borders might mean they could organize internationally for a new society, which was not acceptable. So "no match" letters will continue until we organize to stop them.

—D. D.

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

Editor's Note

The current standoff between India and Pakistan can escalate at any moment into nuclear war, the threat of which did not end with the Cold War. Raya Dunayevskaya had discussed the superpower preparations for nuclear war in the capitalist epoch in July 1961, in "Ideas and Organization," the draft of that year's perspectives report for News and Letters Committees. We selected excerpts from that report as a contribution to the discussion about the present nuclear threat and other crises and revolts, in the feature that begins on page 1 of this issue, "Permanent war or revolution in permanence?" We welcome your thoughts on both analyses. Readers can find the original in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 3153.

[July 1961]

The very intensification of war preparations and the urgency of the times compel a return not only to principles of anti-war struggle but to the fundamentals of the new in world production.... We must concretize this new stage of automated production that seems to have made a "discontinuous" leap.

Leaps into space with Sputniks, vanguards, Luniks, orbital and sub-orbital manned flights as well as ICBMs abound; and there are plunges into the depths of the oceans with the Polaris. But yet to be seen is any serious industrialization of the underdeveloped economies or any "newer life" in the technologically advanced lands. On the other hand, just as both the Hungarian Revolution and the African Revolution opened a new stage of **world-consciousness**, so the lateness of the hour must mean the practicing of Marxist-Humanist philosophy in organizational work. Nationally and internationally, the relationship between ideas and organization has ended the near-standstill in the continuity of Marxist thought, compelling regroupment....

I. 'DISCONTINUITY' IN PRODUCTION AND CONDITIONS OF LABOR

As distinct from the Industrial Revolution at the end of the 18th century which produced our machine age, the Scientific Revolution in the mid-20th century got its spurt from the war and is wholly dominated by it. The "new weapons system" is not just a new form of "blitzkrieg." Rather it threatens the extinction of civilization altogether. Between 1949 and 1954, when Russia first broke America's A-bomb monopoly, and then achieved "parity" with her in H-bombs, it has become clear that while such "parity" becomes a minor deterrent to nuclear war today, it is a major stimulus to war tomorrow.

The "tomorrow" has moved ever nearer since October 1957 when Russia shot out front with the launching of the Sputnik. Thereby, however, hangs a tale, the truth of capitalistic production—its exploitation, its "production for production's sake," its contradictory growth while degrading the worker to an appendage of a machine, and its never-ending development of the means of production at the expense of the means of consumption. For while the Sputnik shows indeed an impressive mastery of the techniques of Automation, automated production in Russia has no different class content than it has in the United States. In both the conditions of labor have worsened; speed-ups in production have heightened tensions and increased industrial accidents.

The shortage of labor that continues to characterize Russian production expresses in no uncertain terms the workers' opposition to automated production. Productivity of labor, which remains the decisive factor in the determination of a new social order, spells out Russia's industrial backwardness more definitively than its spectacular space achievements spell out its military "first-edness." To single out ICBMs, or even machine tools in order to claim the opposite is indeed what has been called "misplaced concreteness"—and total blindness to the class content of world production in the age of state-capitalism at the quintessential turning point in history called the Second Industrial Revolution....

The radical who wants to begin arguing on capitalis-

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Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today

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 —Herbert Marcuse

First published in 1958, Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom* was the first book to project the American roots and world humanist concepts of Marx's Marxism. It has undergone six English-language editions and has been translated into numerous foreign languages. The newest 2000 edition has a Preface by Joel Kovel and an Introduction containing one of Dunayevskaya's "Overviews" of the development of Marxist-Humanism. Discover the meaning of Marx's Marxism for today through this classic study.

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Nuclear war and state-capitalism

tically laid ground as the "rate" of industrial development in this or that country should be prepared to laud "the miracle" of West German production on the ruins of World War II. War destruction achieves overnight what the relentless process of technological revolutions and depreciation of existing capital take years to do. And the country that is modern enough to respond in terms of the latest developments in the production process—as Russia, Germany, and Japan were, but China was not—experiences "miracles." German production, Russian science, and Japanese goods are flooding the Western markets now.

On the other hand, in China, where there was no heavy industrial structure, the vastness of the land and the 600 million humans could not produce a modern steel industry, despite the State Plan. Both poles of world capital pour millions, if not to industrialize seriously the underdeveloped economies, then certainly to win the minds of men. But those lands are poorer than ever. After capitalist world domination, two-thirds of the world is still starving! Above all, the atomic age cannot promise either advanced or backward economy any "miracles" of production; a nuclear holocaust can destroy the greatest of all productive forces—humanity itself...

As the African Revolutions showed, no forces on earth can stop humanity's development forward. Where the people in the technologically backward countries dared and won independence against all odds and with the greatest speed, there you have a creative upsurge of millions of people who can easily master the "techniques" of industrialization provided these are available, and they will be available to them, not under capitalism, but when workers control production and thereby give a totally new impulse to its development.

The development from competition through monopoly to state control is only a manifestation of the inner development of capitalist production from cooperation to manufacture through machinofacture or "the automaton." That is why Marx's analysis of capitalist development remains valid for our day. Marx discerned that the dialectic of the concentration and centralization of capital would lead, at one and the same time, to "centralization of capital in the hands of one single capitalist or one single capitalist corporation" and the unemployed army, unless "new forces and new passions" would undermine the system and build a new one.

Lenin summed up the entire difference between the Second and the Third Internationals, between those who talked socialism and those who were building it, by the sole distinction of the conditions of labor. Since old radicals no longer base themselves wholly on the proletariat, they do not stop to ask questions either as to the conditions of labor of the proletariat, or as to the "accumulated wealth" of Russian production. Consequently, they see neither that of all the industrially developed countries Russia is still backward, both in industry and in agriculture. It is the only industrially developed country that still has over 40% of its population working in agriculture. Khrushchev admits that in per capita production, the United States has a 3:1 superiority. The super jets fly above muddy roads, and housing is so scarce that the best a paternalistic Khrushchev could do to reward the first Cosmonaut was to give him a four-room apartment.

In a word, Russia may be superior in the thrust of its rockets and jet bombers and the other paraphernalia of war, but that is distinctly **capitalistic**. Production, continuous or "discontinuous," is following no new path in Russia, much less in China, that differs fundamentally from its development under private capitalism.

The challenge, the greatness, the maturity of our age is due to the fact, and only to the fact, that the masses are so highly developed, so audacious in their challenge of the mighty, so talented in the ability to use the latest technological inventions in the remotest bushes that they need not follow the capitalist path to industrialization, provided power remains in their own hands....

II. THE CONTINUITY OF THOUGHT: PRACTICING MARXIST-HUMANIST PHILOSOPHY

...If the hallmark of our state-capitalist age is that everybody wants to lead, nobody to listen, it is no less true that many who had broken with the concept of "the party to lead" share with the "vanguardists" the disdain for the Hegelian roots of Marxism. It is not only that the inter-relationship of philosophy and politics which gave birth to Marxism as theory and the practice of theory had so long been stored away as a mere "heirloom." It is, above all, that they are blind to "the masses as Reason."

It becomes necessary therefore once again to repeat our ABC's:

Over 100 years ago Marx saw that the very degradation of the laborer to an appendage of the machine would produce in him a "striving for universalism." The

Marxian theory of liberation, which was born out of the actual struggles of the proletariat of his time, was so deeply rooted in Hegelian philosophy—is, in fact, **organically** inseparable from it—because it was that which supplied the "missing link" between history as "accident" and history as a totality of the past and present actions of men which determines their future.

Marx's concept of revolution was likewise "total"—the old torn up by its roots in depth and in breadth and new dimensions created. The "negation of negation" was not merely the abolition of capitalism but the abolition of all that stems from it: the division between mental and manual labor, between science and philosophy, between work and life.

Marx developed his theory of the unity of thought and action, philosophy and revolution, because he held a vision of a new world, or "positive Humanism," which involved the unfolding of the world's greatest historic live drama of human liberation, a self-creation by millions of human beings who would reshape history "not out of whole cloth," but as they found it in fact, in the class struggles, a world they had not created, though they had [produced] all its material goods. To him history was not for contemplation: it was for the knowledgeable building of the future.

It was not a "hereafter"; it was to begin this very day in the struggles which would unite theory and practice, release the untapped creative energies of ever new millions, thus ending the "pre-history" or class history of man, and beginning his true, human history.

The grandeur of this vision was lost by the "Marxists" after Marx of the days of the Socialist

International (1889-1914) which had torn Marx from his Hegelian moorings, stripped him of his humanism, and transformed him into an economic determinist.

The one grain of truth which accounted for this vitiation of Marxism was the fact that Marx could not have discovered "historical materialism" had he not stood Hegel "right side up." The one grain of truth became the Big Lie long before the Russian Communist Party—after the death of Lenin—grabbed hold of it in order to arm vulgar materialism with state power, thereby establishing the counter-revolution within the revolutionary movement itself. The only new element in this post-Marxist

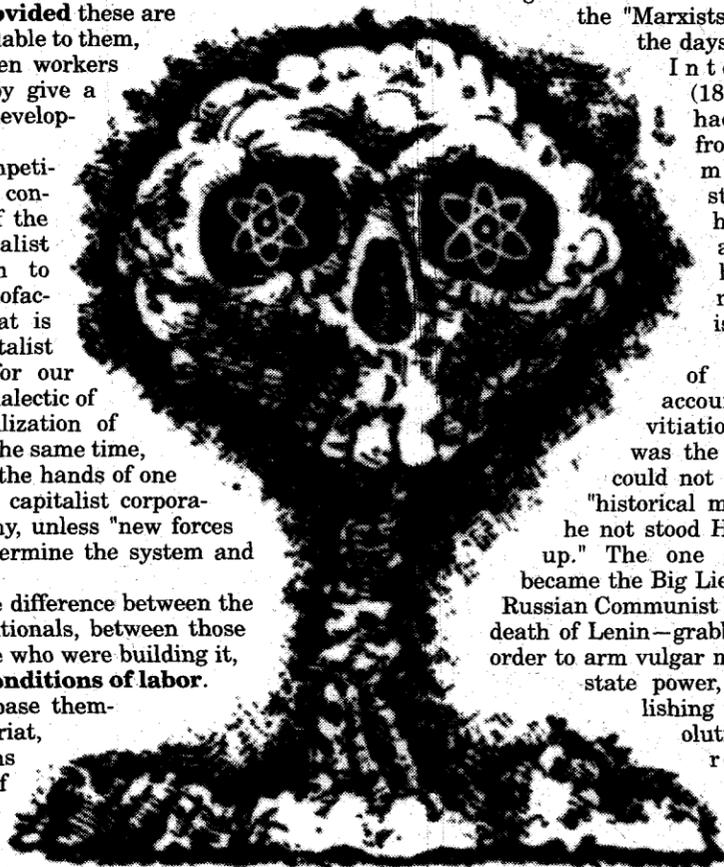
"Marxism" was the manner in which the counter-revolution, having lost its old, private capitalistic foundations, held on like a vampire to the new forms—from the Soviet Power to the State Plan, including the very language of Marxism-Leninism.

Theoretically a valuable contribution was made by us when we made public what Lenin had kept private—his *Philosophic Notebooks*—written at the time he broke with established Marxism and returned instead to the origins in Hegelian philosophy, especially Hegel's *Science of Logic*.

As we showed in *Marxism and Freedom*, all of Lenin's works and actions from then on were permeated with the new sense of contemporaneity of "the dialectic"—the self-movement, the self-activity, the self-organization, the self-development of those who would reconstruct society on new beginnings through a unity of thought and action.

This never meant to us that there was nothing left for our generation to do but to repeat Lenin. Our own return to the dialectic, though based on Marx and Lenin, had entirely new foundations: 1) the American workers, who, in their battle with Automation, raised the questions of alienated labor and the question of a new relationship between thinking and doing; 2) the East European revolts, beginning in East Germany in 1953, going through the ferment in Poland, and coming to a climax in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Since the publication of *Marxism and Freedom* we added the third new foundation opened by the African Revolutions....

Our generation has witnessed a total transformation into opposite of the Soviet state (into a state-capitalist society). But at the opposite pole, we witness at the same time the complete maturity of the masses even in the most underdeveloped countries—Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, Africa above all. When the African Freedom Fighters made themselves heard, they did so not only as fighters against oppression, but as builders of a totally new philosophic foundation—the universalism of technology becoming the basis for a new humanism which will embrace the whole world....



Permanent War or Revolution in Permanence?

(Continued from page 1)

The conflict between India and Pakistan shows that U.S. imperialism is not the only regressive force facing us today. No less threatening are the perils posed by reactionary religious fundamentalism, whether of an Islamic, Hindu, Christian or Jewish variety. Just as the September 11 terrorist attacks revealed the dead-

ly threat posed by reactionary religious fundamentalism, the conflict between India and Pakistan shows that it can set off a chain reaction leading to an outright nuclear holocaust.

In light of this, it is futile to consume all our time and energy on simply opposing only the regressive acts of U.S. rulers. To effectively oppose capitalism-imperialism we must unfurl a banner of liberation that

is absolutely opposed to **both** fundamentalist terrorism and imperialist war.

We continue to live in an age of absolutes, in which we confront a struggle for absolute freedom against capital's drive for total destruction. Marxist-Humanists have a key role to play in helping today's freedom struggles develop a much-needed **total** view.

I. The objective crises of war and terrorism

"Every beginning must be made from the Absolute, while every progress is merely the exhibition of the Absolute....The progress is therefore not a kind of overflow."

—G.W.F. Hegel

A. The U.S. drive for single world mastery

What predominates over everything today is the counter-revolutionary power of U.S. imperialism. The September 11 terrorist attacks clearly played into the U.S.'s hands, by providing the Bush administration with an opportunity to embark on an unprecedented drive to extend U.S. dominance overseas.

Since forcing the Taliban from power in Afghanistan, the U.S. has secured military bases and troop depots in over a dozen countries, from Pakistan to Uzbekistan and from Tajikistan to Georgia. U.S. forces are active in the largest array of countries since World War II. One example is the new U.S. base in Kyrgyzstan, which will house 3,000 U.S. military personnel. The U.S. has also sent troops and "advisors" to Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia. There is even talk of the U.S. sending military aid to Nepal.

Meanwhile, U.S. military forces are in the Philippines and Bush is readying new arms shipments to Indonesia. The U.S. is also sending hundreds of millions of dollars in extra military aid to Colombia, which is locked in a brutal civil war into which the U.S. is increasingly being drawn.

Even this is the tip of the iceberg. The U.S. now has 70 military "advisor" missions operating around the globe. The administration has even declared that it will launch a pre-emptive strike against any nation with the capacity for developing weapons of mass destruction.

There seems no lack of arrogance on the part of the Bush administration—whether it be its scuttling of the Kyoto Accords on global warming; undermining the treaty banning land mines; rejecting the biological weapons convention; or repudiating the statute creating a world court to try war criminals.

The U.S. recently threatened to pull out its "peacekeepers" from the newly independent nation of East Timor because of a clash with its allies over whether U.S. troops could be turned over to the international criminal court in the Hague. The U.S. rejects its authority and insists on "the principle of immunity" for any future acts committed by its forces anywhere—just when the Hague tribunal has finally put Milosevic on trial for some of his crimes in Bosnia and Kosovo.

It isn't that the U.S. has completely succeeded in dominating every aspect of world politics. It is often forced to make compromises in its drive for single world mastery. No doubt the administration would have preferred to forego even the limited nuclear arms reduction treaty with Russia, since it had earlier denounced such agreements as "unnecessary." The fear of Islamic fundamentalism since September 11, however, forced Bush to promise Russia a role (however symbolic) in NATO and to sign onto the nuclear arms reduction treaty, in exchange for getting Russian assent for its greater military role in Central and South Asia. This fear of Islamic fundamentalism has for the first time drawn all the major state powers together—the U.S., West Europe, Russia and China.

But while the U.S. may not everywhere have a clear field before it, it is reaching for single world domination. The U.S. is the gendarme of globalized capitalism, ready at an instant to use its military force to defend capital anywhere.

This drive for single world mastery has economic as well as political implications. It is brought into focus by the recently-passed farm bill. Bush pushed through (with the support of the Democrats) a \$190 billion agriculture bill that dramatically increases farm subsidies to U.S. agribusiness. This means that no matter how far the price falls for products like wheat, corn, rice and cotton, agribusiness has no incentive to reduce production.

This will have a devastating effect not only on family farms in the U.S. but on farmers throughout the world. The ones to suffer most will be those in sub-Saharan Africa, where farm production accounts for close to 20% of total economic activity. African farms will be unable to compete with the state-subsidized low prices of commodities produced by U.S. agribusiness. As one report put it, "This farm bill, I think it's fair to say, will put millions of small farmers out of business in Africa" (see "U.S. Exports Misery to Africa with Farm Bill," by Warren Vieh, *Los Angeles Times*, May 27, 2002). Coming on top of an array of social crises afflicting sub-Saharan Africa, from deepening poverty to the ravages of AIDS, this is sure to have a serious impact, especially in Mali, Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad and Malawi.

The farm bill is instructive because it helps show that we are not witnessing a **withdrawal** of the state from economic activity but rather a **restructuring** of a state-capitalist global economic system. Neoliberalism does not eliminate the state from the economy; it utilizes the state

to meet the specific demands posed by capital's drive for self-expansion.

The role of the state has changed in many respects. No longer does the state directly own the bulk of the means of production, as it did in the Soviet Union. And less and less does the state maintain the social safety net through New Deal-type legislation, at least in the U.S. The particular agents of capital have become less tied to the dictates of specific national states, as capital scours the world for ever-cheaper wages and raw materials in the face of the tendency for the rate of profit to decline.

But capital as a whole, as a **global** system, remains tied to the state. This is most of all seen in the vast increments in military spending that Bush has pushed through, with virtually no Congressional opposition. At the apex of the state-capitalist world system lies the U.S. military which ensures the stability and functioning of global capital.

B. The war at home

The U.S.'s drive for permanent war is subsuming any and all discussion of the real social crises brewing inside the U.S.

Though the recession has been declared over, unemployment is rising. Wages are stagnant and workers are paying higher premiums for health insurance—where they can obtain it at all. Over 47 million are without health insurance. Medicare—the largest and most regulated piece of the social medical pie—is being purposively underfunded because of Bush's budget priorities. Increasingly doctors are turning down Medicare patients.

Meanwhile federal and state budgets were based on the expectations arising from the "bubble economy" of the 1990s, and the bubble has now burst. California alone faces a \$25 billion deficit—which it is using to push through a 60% cut in an already ravaged health care budget. Across the country budgets for health, education, and welfare are being severely cut back, with little or no public discussion.

The gutting of the federal welfare system, which started under Clinton and has accelerated under Bush, has further exacerbated these problems. Recent studies show that half of former welfare recipients who were forced into "workfare" programs are unable to buy food or pay rent or utility bills. Another study showed mothers who were pushed from welfare to workfare were just as likely to be depressed as they were before being forced into jobs, and that they spent less time with their children.

Most crucially, 10 years after the Los Angeles rebellion, all the social ills which produced it continue to confront Blacks and Latinos. The gap between whites and the rest of America in income, education, and health care continues to widen.

South Central Los Angeles, the epicenter of the 1992 rebellion, has the largest percentage of people without health coverage in Los Angeles County, which itself has the largest rate of uninsured residents in the U.S. Almost 50% of adults in South Central L.A. have no health insurance. Some 20% of mothers who give birth have no access to prenatal care. Black and Latino residents of South Central have the highest numbers of deaths due to diabetes, heart disease, and lung cancer in the country.

Meanwhile the issue which set off the rebellion—rampant police abuse—has only increased. Chicagoans were shocked at the recent decision of Federal and local prosecutors not to file charges against Chicago police officers who murdered, in two separate instances, LaTanya Haggerty and Robert Russ after high speed chases through the Black community in 1999. In another recent case, five white Cook County sheriff's deputies who shot at a Black couple were cleared of wrongdoing, even though they were caught on tape laughing and saying, "Let's go kill 'em" while chasing them for miles. Clearly, the post-September 11 climate has made it harder than ever to bring killer police to justice.

One year after the Cincinnati rebellion refocused the nation's attention on the endemic problems of racism and police abuse, even the most minimal efforts to bring

racist cops to justice are being undermined.

In Cincinnati itself, the police have responded to last year's rebellion by engaging in a job slowdown against the Black community. Over the past year 77 people, most of them Black, have been victims of shootings, compared with nine the previous year. In response to this unbenign neglect by the police, civil rights groups organized an economic boycott of Cincinnati, but September 11 largely pushed it into the background. Mayor Luken—who has done nothing to halt the racist climate pervading the police department—has referred to the boycotters as "economic terrorists."

Throughout the country racial profiling has been extended to Muslims and Arab-Americans. This has been given "legal" sanction by Attorney General Ashcroft's announcement of a "domestic espionage program" which will require over 100,000 immigrants, mainly from the Middle East and Africa, to register with the justice department. The administration has also lifted the restrictions on spying against political organizations that were imposed in the mid-1970s in response to the exposés about the FBI's COINTELPRO and repression meted out against civil rights, anti-war, and Black liberation activists.

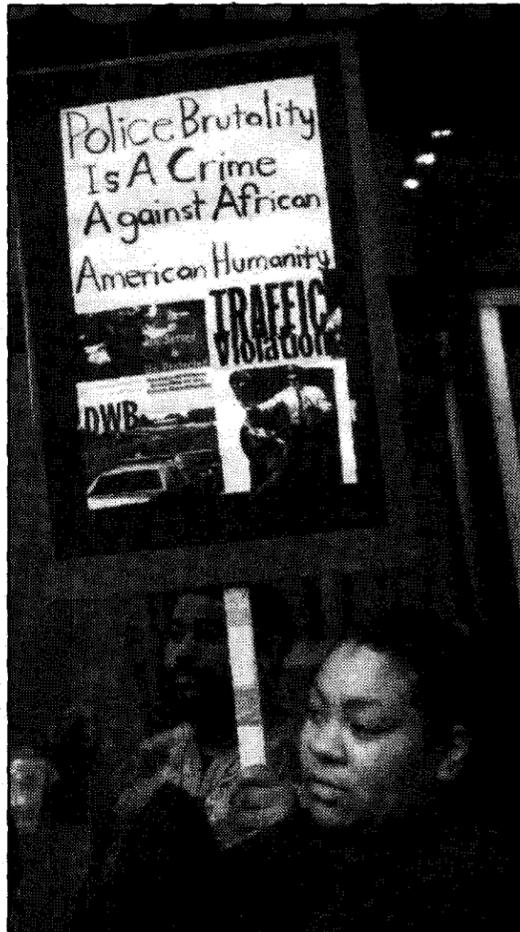
News & Letters

The rulers may think that they can get away with their effort to subsume the realities facing Black America through the "war against terrorism." What they do not realize is that the class and social divisions of this country have always been placed into focus most sharply by the struggles of Black Americans. New stages of imperialist intervention overseas have always been met by new forms of opposition by the Black dimension at home.(1) The seeds are being planted for yet another social explosion.

We must oppose the way Bush-Ashcroft are using their "war against terrorism" to roll back the most basic human rights and civil liberties. We must oppose their effort to subsume any discussion of the real problems afflicting the U.S. But to do so we need a **total** view that opposes the inhumanity of their deeds and of the reactionary tendencies which carried out the September 11 attacks.

These terrorist attacks strengthened Bush by enabling him to garner widespread support for his reactionary policies. Islamic fundamentalism has again and again strengthened U.S. imperialism by taking actions which have undermined revolutionary forces and solidified counter-revolutionary policies. Khomeini's saber-rattling and the taking of hostages at the U.S. embassy in Iran by Islamic fundamentalists in 1979 helped Reagan achieve political ascendancy. Today, an anti-

feminist, homophobic fundamentalism of an even more reactionary bent is enabling the inheritors of Reaganism to impose their regressive agenda upon this country.



Chicago expression of outrage, in June, over clearing of police killers of LaTanya Haggerty and Robert Russ.

C. The challenge of September 11

The way in which reactionary fundamentalist tendencies have helped strengthen the power of U.S. imperialism poses a serious **conceptual** challenge to the movements against war and global capital.

It became evident after September 11 that those in the Left who limited themselves to opposing Bush, while remaining silent about the threat of counter-revolutionary Islamic fundamentalism, made it easier for the rulers to try to discredit the peace movement. The American public is deeply worried and concerned at the threat posed by fundamentalist terrorism. No anti-war movement will prove viable if it fails to speak to this.

Moreover, by focusing everything on the U.S. as enemy number one, many on the Left have failed to solidarize with the true liberatory forces who have the potential to transform today's realities—such as the women in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria and elsewhere who have been fighting the repressive force of Islamic fundamentalism for years.

(Continued on page 6)

Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 2002-2003

(Continued from page 5)

Nowhere is there a more sane, humane, and revolutionary voice than those of Afghan women. This was made evident in June, when a group of warlords in Afghanistan tried to tell women delegates how to vote at the *loya jirga*, which is trying to create a new Afghan government. "The women told the strongmen to get lost and said they would vote as they pleased" (See "Afghan Women Grab Stage," *Chicago Tribune*, June 13, 2002).

The Left's reluctance to develop a comprehensive critique of fundamentalism has isolated it not just from these voices but also from those of women in the U.S. who are deeply concerned about the mounting threat posed by various kinds of fundamentalism. Women are raising their voices against fundamentalism not only because of what is happening overseas, but because they are feeling the effects of the rise of right-wing Christian fundamentalism in the U.S., as seen in everything from restrictions on the right to abortion to domestic abuse to the overall conditions of family and everyday life.

As we insisted from the moment September 11 happened, the political situation demands a total view rooted in the projection of a comprehensive opposition to both terrorism and war. Without such a total ground of opposition, we argued, the movement would not prove able to project a liberatory alternative. (2)

The need for a total view is not only imperative when it comes to Bush's "war against terrorism." It is needed for all the crises facing us, at home and abroad. That is especially true when it comes to the need to solidarize with the Palestinian struggle against Israel's brutal and illegal occupation.

Bush continues to support Israel's Ariel Sharon acting as he pleases, despite the murder of hundreds of Palestinians by Israel. To the extent that Bush has feigned

interest in restraining Sharon, it is mainly in order to cool off tensions in the region long enough to allow him to extend his permanent war to Iraq. Clearly the lives and suffering of the Palestinian people mean absolutely nothing to Bush.

Growing anger at Bush's Middle East policies brought 100,000 to a protest in Washington, D.C. in April. There are now plans to organize a Freedom Summer in the West Bank and Gaza as a way to further solidarize with the Palestinians, in a direct link to the spirit of the civil rights struggles of the 1960s.

Yet does the likelihood of a U.S. attack on Iraq mean that the anti-war movement should remain silent about the crimes of Saddam Hussein? Can it remain silent about the crimes of Hamas, Islamic Jihad and "left" tendencies like the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, whose use of suicide bombings against Israelis has repeatedly strengthened Sharon? Choosing the "lesser evil" has never been the road to a truly revolutionary pole of opposition.

Many are so overwhelmed by the U.S. as "enemy number one" that they take the non-revolutionary stance of making the issue who is the guiltiest party, rather than projecting the need to change the system as a whole. Yet a truly liberatory politics demand that we project a total view which opposes not only the actions of our rulers but also those of reactionary forces which claim to oppose them.

Over 30 years ago the founder of Marxist-Humanism, Raya Dunayevskaya, insisted during the civil war against the Palestinians in Jordan:

"It is not enough to stop at making clear what we are **against**, to stand opposed to imperialist war, no matter who is the 'aggressor.' It is not enough to hold high the banner of the totally new society, based on human foundations, that we are **for**. It becomes of the essence to

separate ourselves from those who also claim to be for a new society, but think that a social revolution can be achieved through terrorism...

"It becomes more imperative than ever for those who are trying to build a new world to...learn that wild, mindless terrorism—whether of an Arab commando or a self-proclaimed 'revolutionary' of the American New Left—not only does not wreck 'the system.' It provides exactly the fuel needed to stoke the fires of repression....Marxist-Humanists work toward the goals of national liberation and social revolution for a totally new society. 'A plague on both your houses' is a religious, not a human solution. But a **separation from** all plague-ridden houses is the only way at this moment to express the truly independent Marxist stand" ("Middle East Cauldron Explodes," *News & Letters*, October 1970).

This is not just a call to have "correct politics." It is a call to root one's politics in a philosophy of liberation which projects not only what we are against, but what we are **for**. Achieving that means grappling anew with dialectical philosophy.

As we argued this year in our statement "Why the Anti-war Movement Needs a Dialectical Perspective," dialectical philosophy, as developed in the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, has taken on new importance in light of the need to project a liberating alternative to the false opposites of imperialist war and terrorism. Its source remains Hegel's notion that forward movement emerges not just from the negation of obstacles to freedom, but from "the negation of the negation."

In the aftermath of September 11, we can no longer assume that limiting ourselves to the first negation of capitalism will move us toward liberation. Stopping at the first negation increasingly fails to produce even the most minimal advance. The political realities of our time suggest that in fighting the particular injustices of this society we must **begin** from the second negation.

Without a new vision of revolution, of new human relations, of an end to the separation between mental and manual labor, our efforts to oppose the system will prove futile. This makes Marxist-Humanism's central contribution—Absolute Negativity as New Beginning—of critical importance for today's anti-war and anti-globalization movements, and which separates us from all other radical tendencies, including Trotskyists and other anti-Stalinists who stop at first negation.



Protest in solidarity with Palestine, Chicago, April 12.

News & Letters/Dave Vance

II. New challenges from the movement in Argentina

A. A new form of mass self-organization?

Though the movement against global capital which exploded upon the historic stage with the Seattle protest of 1999 was thrown off course by September 11, it has by no means perished. It is seen in the protest of 300,000 in Barcelona in March. It is seen in the large demonstrations that greeted Bush recently in Berlin and Paris and in the millions in France who came into the streets against Jean-Marie Le Pen. And it is seen in efforts to create a European Social Forum, along the lines of the Porto Alegre conference of anti-globalization activists in Brazil.

At the same time, important labor struggles are arising. Though European capital would like to smash the labor movement along the lines of what Reagan and Thatcher achieved, the march of two million in Italy this spring against efforts to restructure the labor laws and the recent strikes in Germany indicate that the rulers will be in for a tough fight.

At the same time, political strikes have broken out in countries ranging from South Korea to South Africa and from Iran to China.

In China, workers in the northeast, in Liaoyang, initiated a massive protest in March against layoffs that will go into effect as a result of China's recent admission to the World Trade Organization, and they are now demanding an independent union. The workers have managed to maintain their independent labor organizations, despite severe repression.

Perhaps most significant is the new movement in Argentina. A protest by the Centro de Trabajadores Argentinos on May 29 led to 1,000 roadblocks as well as demonstrations and marches across the country. Half a million participated in these activities.

The situation in Argentina is of critical importance. Only a few years ago it was heralded as a model of neoliberal economic restructuring, and yet today it faces total bankruptcy and collapse. It has experienced an enormous social explosion over the past several months, marked by large-scale industrial strikes, the spontaneous

formation of neighborhood assemblies, and ongoing street protests by the unemployed, the *piqueteros*. The ranks of this new movement of employed and unemployed workers includes a preponderance of women, who in many cases have assumed its leadership. It is a grassroots, decentralized, anti-hierarchical movement.

The rise of the *piqueteros* predates the current crisis; they appeared five years ago in the impoverished communities of the provinces. Since December, when Argentina's default on its foreign debt led to the collapse of four governments in a matter of weeks, they have become an engine of an expanding social movement.

A key development that has arisen since December is the neighborhood assemblies. These sprang up in January as groups of neighbors began meeting on street corners to discuss and plan alternatives to the present system. There are now over 300 assemblies throughout the country. These neighborhood organizations meet once a week to organize protests (*cacerolas*), defend those who are being thrown out of their apartments or who are having their utilities shut off, coordinate soup kitchens to feed themselves, etc.

Asambleistas are aware that their form of organization and principles can potentially constitute a decentralized form of government to replace the ruling class.

What is remarkable is how ferociously opposed the *asambleas* are to being controlled, and to any hint of a vertical, top down hierarchy. They insist on independence, autonomy, self-determination, encouraging all to learn how to voice their opinions and rotating responsibilities. They are explicitly for individual, personal self-development at the same time as they are for fighting the powers that be with everything they've got at their disposal.

Their insistence on autonomy does not mean they all remain isolated. Once a week there are *asambleas interbarrales*, or mass meetings of the various *asambleas*, and so far there's been one national gathering as well, in March. At these larger meetings each local assembly elects one or two delegates to speak and vote on the issues raised. The delegate is also rotating and subject to recall.

The assemblies have not only proclaimed their autonomy but have had to fight for it. In the past couple of months Trotskyist and Maoist parties have attempted to exert control over some of the assemblies and have been severely rebuked. Some say the participation in the assemblies has dwindled as a result of this fight, while others contend it has only strengthened them.

One report from Buenos Aires declares: "Ordinary people are seriously discussing self-management, spontaneously understanding direct democracy...you have the makings of an irresistible popular rebellion, a grassroots uprising which is rejecting centralized political power...For many, the idea of the assemblies is to build power from the bottom up. Some have compared themselves to existing movements like the Zapatistas, who have no intention of 'taking over' the state. It's a young movement, with as yet a lot of questions still being asked." (3)

Most important of all is the occupation by workers of a number of factories and worksites. Brukman, Zanon, and Panificadora Cinco are factories that have been taken over by workers over the past year.

Brukman is a textile plant in Buenos Aires that used to employ 400, nearly all women. The workers have been running the plant on their own for seven months, and defended themselves against an attempt by the police in March to throw them out.

Zanon is a ceramics factory in Neuque, one of Latin America's largest ceramics producers. When the company stopped production on the grounds that it was no longer profitable, rather than join the growing ranks of Argentina's unemployed, the workers decided to occupy the factory and keep the production line running themselves. "We showed that with two day's worth of production, we were able to pay the wages of all the workers for that month," one of the workers involved in the occupation stated. "This fight has opened our eyes to a lot of things. Now we have no full-time officials. The officials work eight hours like everyone else and we do our union activity after hours. The decisions are all made at general assemblies of workers, not behind closed doors." (4)

Workers have also occupied a mine in Río Turbio and a textile factory in Buenos Aires which opened its doors to an International Women's Day festival. These worker-run endeavors are setting examples for factories around the country.

B. Struggles search for theory

While the developments in Argentina show much promise, they raise many questions. Peronism remains a factor in Argentinean politics. Moreover, the neighborhood assemblies contain an array of different classes and political interests. Many in the assemblies consist of middle class people who are primarily concerned about their inability to make withdrawals from the banks. Some of their demands are far from revolutionary.

(Continued on page 7)

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Permanent War or Revolution in Permanence?

(Continued from page 6)

Yet many of the *asambleas* consider the occupied plants to be the highpoint in their struggle; they call for the population to defend the workers there to the death. Many *asambleistas* see in workers' control a mirror of their own defense of autonomy.

In light of this and the battles against the vanguardist leftist groups, one might assume that the *asambleistas* would question the merits of statifying property as an economic solution, since that is what defines the vanguardists' concept of socialism. Yet so far this does not appear to be the case. All of the *asambleas* hold re-statifying the recently privatized industries as a high priority.

This is a serious problem, for it obscures the real issue—the need to abolish the domination of labor by capital. Capital has no problem existing in nationalized as well as privatized form, as the tragic history of the state-capitalist regimes that called themselves "socialist" in Russia, China and East Europe showed. To make nationalization vs. privatization the key issue detracts attention from the real problem—the creation of capital and the need to uproot it through the creation of new human relations that dispense with value production.

Privatization and neoliberalism must of course be opposed, since private property is the manifestation of the exploitation of person by person through the instrumentality of the machine. Yet history shows that unless the negation of private property immediately moves to breaking down the separation between manual and manual labor, we will still confront exploitative capitalism, even if under a different name.

As Raya Dunayevskaya argued, "What Marx proposed was that, in place of either the profit motive of capitalism or the substitution of state for private ownership, the principle of the new society be the freedom of man, the reconstitution of his wholeness, the development of all his innate talents, the unity of mental and manual labor which exploitative society has fragmented, alienating from man not only the products of his labor but the very activity of labor." (5)

She also maintained, "For Marx the abolition of private property was a means toward the abolition of alienated

labor, not an end in itself. He never tired of stressing that which is of primary importance is not the form of property, but the mode of production....As Marx put it in his earlier writings, as long as there exists 'power over individuals,' 'private property must exist.' To Marx, private property is the power to dispose of the labor of others. That is why he so adamantly insisted that to make 'society' the owner, but to leave the alienated labor alone, is to create 'an abstract capitalist'....Marx insisted that the abolition of private property means a new way of life, a new social order only if 'freely associated individuals' and not abstract 'society' becomes the masters of the socialized means of production." (6)

The Argentine movement has once more placed these questions on the historic agenda through the creative self-activity arising from the neighborhood assemblies,

pens after" cannot be seriously grappled with, let alone answered, outside of the context of the dialectic of second negativity—that is, the kind of negativity which does not just posit opposition to the old, but which moves toward the creation of the new.

The present situation calls not just for an embrace of the spontaneous movements but to raise and work out the philosophical questions being posed by them. That the workers will do what they will do; history shows that at key turning points masses of people will respond to the inhumanity of capital by developing new forms of non-hierarchical, decentralized organization. The question is what do you, as a revolutionary have to offer in terms of ideas, concepts, perspectives that can help answer that most difficult question of all—what happens after? Is a new bureaucracy once again to confront us after the overthrow of the old? Is it possible truly to uproot capital, by bringing to life Marx's concept of "revolution in permanence"?

Mass protest in Argentina.

Raya Dunayevskaya repeatedly explored these issues in her reinterpretation of Hegel's dialectic of second negativity. As she put it in her "Rough Notes on Hegel's Science of Logic" in 1961, which is found in the new book *The Power of Negativity*:

"In reaching the final chapter [of the *Science of Logic* on], the Absolute Idea, [Hegel] is through with all which we would

politically describe as 'taking over'; that is to say, capitalism will develop all technology so perfectly for us that all the proletariat will have to do will be to 'take over.' As we reject this concept politically, Hegel rejects it philosophically. He has now so absorbed all the other systems that, far from taking over, he is first going back to a TOTALLY NEW BEGINNING....

"The whole *Logic* (both *logic* and *Logic*) is a logic of self-determination and never more so than at the very end when you have reached an Absolute—say, the very internationalization of capital. You then go not to taking over, but breaking it down to the new beginning in the self-determination of nations; or when the state had reached the high stage of centralization, you most certainly do not go to taking over, but rather to the destruction of the state." (9)

There are many aspects of Marxist-Humanism's philosophical legacy which speak to the questions arising from today's movements from practice. Now is the time to engage them with the full philosophical ground that is available to us. Working out a new level of dialogue with revolutionary forces becomes central to our effort to work out organizational responsibility for the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism.



Independent Media Center—Argentina

the factory occupations, and struggles of the *piqueteros*. (7) Their emergence places new urgency on working out the question of "what happens after," of how to ensure that the struggle against the system does not reproduce the hierarchies and alienations of capitalist society in the effort to overthrow it.

How are revolutionaries responding to this situation? The autonomist Marxist theorist Tony Negri spoke to this in a recent interview on Argentina when he stated, in response to those who have "a nationalist discourse [that] leans to the state": "The point is [instead] to find a new form of management for the present period. An experiment of new forms of common management, public and private." (8)

Is that all that Negri has to project in light of the present situation, a mixture of private and state management? What about the projection of a concept of socialism that transcends the limitations that were encountered over the past century? Is anyone seriously addressing the question of "what happens after" the revolution?

Negri seems to have little to offer along those lines because he rejects dialectical philosophy. Dialectics is the very basis for projecting new visions of the future which are inherent in the present. The question of "what hap-

III. The power of negativity in today's changed world

Assuming organizational responsibility for the dialectic of second or absolute negativity is the challenge that the founder of Marxist-Humanism projected as she "rounded out" Marxist-Humanism in the 1980s. As part of our effort to meet this challenge we have issued a new collection of her writings on dialectics, *The Power of Negativity*. This work provides us with a new opening for developing national and international relations on the ground of Marxist-Humanism's unique philosophical contributions.

The Power of Negativity brings together a range of

Dunayevskaya's writings on dialectics—from her philosophical correspondence with C.L.R. James and Grace Lee in the 1940s and 1950s, to her breakthrough on Hegel's *Absolutes* in the 1950s, and from speeches and essays on Marx's Humanism and Hegel's dialectic in the 1960s and 1970s to her work on the problem of dialectics of organization in the 1980s. The book discloses how Hegel's *Absolutes* impacted Marx's vision of a new society and remains of key importance in light of today's movements from practice.

The Power of Negativity greatly illuminates the contributions in the free world of Marxism—Marxism and Freedom (1958), *Philosophy and Revolution* (1973), and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982). It shows how Marxist-Humanism developed an alternative spontaneity but stop short of a new relation between philosophy and practice.

As Dunayevskaya wrote in 1987, "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." (10)

The Power of Negativity shows, from the beginning of Part I, how deeply rooted was Marx's dialectic of second negativity. As Dunayevskaya wrote in her "Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy" of June 1, 1987 in reference to Marx's 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic": "Marx articulates the great merit of Hegel in discovering the 'negation of the negation,' and the great demerit of this same Hegel in enveloping it in such mysticism by dealing with it as various stages of consciousness, rather than as

(Continued on page 8)

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Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 2002-2003

(Continued from page 7)

men and women thinking. Marx, on the other hand, declares himself not only against capitalism and 'vulgar communism,' but proclaims his philosophy to be 'a new Humanism.'" Marx's unchaining of Hegel's dialectic of second negativity, she shows, became the ground for the concept of revolution and of organization that he projected for the rest of his life.

In 1844 Marx broke off his commentary on Hegel just as he began commenting on the *Philosophy of Mind*, the work in which Hegel most fully develops the concept of second negativity. It posed a challenge for future generations to pick up where Marx left off. It was not, however, until the philosophic breakthrough that led to Marxist-Humanism—Dunayevskaya's 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes"—that a direct return to Hegel's concept of absolute negativity was achieved. That 1953 breakthrough became the ground for the entire subsequent development of Marxist-Humanism, including its concept of organization.

With *The Power of Negativity* in hand we can now see how each stage in the development of Marxist-Humanism represented a further exploration and concretization of the dialectic of absolute negativity.

Part II, which focuses on the period of the first work in her "trilogy of revolution," *Marxism and Freedom* (1958),

shows how Dunayevskaya embarked on a direct exploration of Hegel's Absolutes in light of the realities facing the freedom struggles of the post-World War II era. The African Revolutions; the workers' battles against automation; the new youth struggles for a different way of life were all explored in light of Hegel's Absolutes and Marx's Humanism.

RAWA

Part III, which covers the period in which she wrote her second major work, *Philosophy and Revolution* (1964-71), shows how she plunged even deeper into Hegel's Absolutes in light of the freedom struggles of the 1960s and their failure to reach a successful revolution.

Part IV, which covers 1972-81, shows how the development of the category which is central to *Philosophy and Revolution*, "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning," speaks to such figures as Engels, Lenin, Lukács, Fanon, and Adorno.

Part V, on the period of the 1980s, discloses that the concept of "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning" helped lead to the new category of "post-Marx Marxism, beginning with Engels, as pejorative" and to the discovery of Marx's Marxism as a philosophy of "revolution in permanence."

The recognition that Marx's Marxism is a philosophy of "revolution in permanence," discussed in *Rosa Luxemburg*,

Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (1981), came from the discovery of previously unknown writings from Marx's last decade, like his *Ethnological Notebooks*. However, what enabled Dunayevskaya to see these writings disclosed a "new Marx" which no post-Marx Marxist had fully built upon was her 40 years of labor in restating Marx's thought on the basis of the dialectic of absolute negativity. Her journey of discovery into Hegel's Absolutes, including her exploration of parts of Hegel which Marx did not explicitly comment upon, led her to forge the link of continuity with Marx's Marxism.

In a word, our age has something that no other generation had access to—a view of Marx's Marxism as a philosophy of "revolution in permanence." The discovery of the depth and breadth of Marx's Marxism flowed from Marxist-Humanism's original voyage of discovery into Hegel's Absolutes. In bringing together many of her writings on dialectics, *The Power of Negativity* opens new doors to grasping and projecting what Marx's Marxism means for today.

In 1985, as she looked back on 40 years of theoretic development, Dunayevskaya wrote: "Without knowing Marx as a totality through all of his fundamental writings, it was impossible to understand all the ramifications of the very first of Marx's writings in 1843-44 as a historic break in thought." (11)

Much the same could be said about her development of Marxist-Humanism. It was only with the rounding out of Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas in the 1980s that it became possible to begin to understand all the ramifications of the initial breakthrough that led to Marxist-Humanism, the 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." As she summed up her philosophic contribution at the end of her life, Dunayevskaya saw that her exploration of Hegel's concept of "absolute negativity" contained the "ground and roof" for working out a new relation between dialectical philosophy and revolutionary organization.

Our aim is to work out this relation for today. We cannot afford to keep the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism in a separate enclave from our response to ongoing political realities and objective events. The need for a total view compels us to build our organization on the basis of Marxist-Humanism's unique philosophic contributions.



News and Letters Committees and other groups hosted mass events for the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan. Ardent critics of the Taliban, RAWA protested a restoration of repressive rule by the Northern Alliance last fall.

IV. Political, philosophic, and organizational tasks

This year we reached a new point in our effort to overcome the separation between philosophy and organization with an international conference of Marxist-Humanists in Amsterdam. This conference marked the first time that Marxist-Humanists from so many nations had the opportunity to get together, exchange thoughts and experiences, and develop perspectives for further collaboration. The determination of all those present, whether from the U.S. or Ukraine, Britain or The Netherlands, India and West Africa to develop international relations on the basis of *The Power of Negativity*, the trilogy of revolution, and the Archives of Marxist-Humanism represents a critical step forward for our national as well as international relations.

Just as the Amsterdam conference raised the perspective for international relations to flow from the philosophic contributions of Marxist-Humanism, so that is needed when it comes to the tasks facing News and Letters Committees in the U.S.

This year we placed ourselves as part of the contradictions facing the freedom movements by helping to organize a tour, in New York and Chicago, of members of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA). This tour, which impacted thousands of people, was part of our effort to project the voices of genuine human solidarity against the dead ends of terror and war. At the moment when *The Power of Negativity* came off the press we were involved in such diverse activities as projecting a unique position on September 11, building the RAWA tour, continuing our work with revolutionary prisoners, and holding classes on dialectical philosophy.

Because of the urgency to continue and deepen such work, we will issue a pre-Convention discussion bulletin on *The Power of Negativity*. Each report to our national

book. This includes the reports on *News & Letters* newspaper; on revolutionary organization; on Marxist-Humanist Archives; on Women's Liberation; on the Black Dimension; on Youth; and Finances.

The new point reached with *The Power of Negativity* calls on us to place new emphasis on outreach, from distributions of *News & Letters* to lit sales. It points up the need for our projection within the movements to be both concrete about its relationship to where the struggle is and explicit about the universals of Marxist-Humanism. There are plenty of others who are willing to engage in activities and political debates. But only we have accepted organizational responsibility for the new relationship of theory and practice that is at the heart of Marxist-Humanism. Projection is the essence of all our tasks for the year to come.

Achieving this requires not letting go of Marxist-Humanist organizational consciousness. Neither reverting to the elitist party, as do the vanguardists, nor dumping all responsibility on the backs of the masses, as did C.L.R. James (aka J.R. Johnson), can suffice in light of the present moment. Just as organizational consciousness without the dialectic is just another form of vanguardism, so posing "the need for philosophy" without organizational consciousness is another form of Johnsonism. Our task is to project philosophy unseparated from achieving continuity with the Marxist-Humanist concept of organization.

All this underlines the importance of our planned publications, such as the new edition we will be issuing of *American Civilization on Trial*, the Marxist-Humanist Statement on the Black Dimension, and our pamphlet on "Marx's Value Theory and the Struggle Against Global Capital." Perspectives for building the only Marxist-Humanist organization in the U.S. through these and

The central challenge facing us was spelled out by our founder in 1986: "By organization being kept inseparable from philosophy, we see that there is no way for dialectics to be in two different places, one for organization and the other for philosophy. There is a single dialectic of objective/subjective. It is not ended in that relationship. That is where the task first begins. That is the Absolute Method. No other method will do. This is why Hegel, once he criticized the empiric and critical method as one...proved that if any philosopher tried not to go to the Absolute Method, the dialectic, he would regress....And that is why Marx never departed from Hegel's dialectic of thought, even in his discovery of a new continent of thought and of revolution. That is what remains the ground of Marxist-Humanism." (12)

—The Resident Editorial Board

NOTES

1. For a historic-philosophic survey of the U.S. in terms of this, see *American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1984).
2. See "Terrorism, Bush's retaliation show inhumanity of class society," by Peter Hudis (*News & Letters*, October 2001) and "Confronting Permanent War and Terrorism: Why the Anti-War Movement Needs a Dialectical Perspective."
3. Letter from Argentina [Feb. 15, 2002] [<http://argentinanow.tripod.com.ar/lisa2.html>]
4. See "Argentines Speak Out: Voices from the Neighborhood Assemblies" [<http://argentinanow.tripod.com.ar/6.html>].
5. "Humanism and Marxism," by Raya Dunayevskaya, in *The Humanist Alternative*, edited by Paul Kurtz (1971)
6. *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today*, by Raya Dunayevskaya (Amherst, New York: Humanity Books, 2000 [orig. 1958]), pp. 61-62.
7. Marxist-Humanism has deep roots in Argentina, as seen from the correspondence between Dunayevskaya and Silvio Frondizi, the great Argentinean Marxist. See *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* by Raya Dunayevskaya (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), pp.163-71.
8. "Tony Negri habla sobre Argentina," entrevista con Eduardo Sadier [Feb. 25, 2002] [www.eurosur.org/rebellion]
9. "Rough Notes on Hegel's *Science of Logic*" [1961], in *The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx*, by Raya Dunayevskaya (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2002), pp. 71-72.
10. "The Year of Only Eight Months" (Jan. 3, 1987), in *Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, microfilm no. 10690.
11. "Call for Convention" (1986), in *Supplement to RDC*, microfilm no. 16598.
12. "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1986-87," in *Supplement to RDC*, microfilm no. 11026.

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ISRAELIS, PALESTINIANS

June marked 35 years of the Israeli occupation of "the territories." Volumes have already been written about the price paid by Palestinians under occupation — the deaths, lifelong injuries, traumatized youngsters and so much heartache that will not be expunged for generations after the occupation inevitably comes to an end.

But it has been destructive to Israeli society as well, and not only in terms of the tragedy of lives lost through terrorism or military service. There are additional ways it has taken its toll in Israel: The troubled economy with a deep recession, increasing poverty and widening socio-economic gaps; underfunded social and environmental programs; the abrogation of freedom of speech with open expressions of racism against Arabs and dehumanization of the other. Anyone who cherishes Israel or Palestine will do their utmost to bring this tragedy to an end.

**Gila Svirsky
Jerusalem**

If the forefathers of the present Israelis would have thought for a moment that the only way of having a "homeland" would be through the enslavement and subjugation of another people, they would have made a 180 degree turn, and would have remained in the Diaspora.

**Giorgio
Vancouver**

There have been a few relatively large and exciting demonstrations here for Palestinian self-determination. Unfortunately some of them have included slogans such as "Down, down, Israel" and "Zionism is terrorism." They made me appreciate the way the discussion on "Dialectics and the Israel-Palestinian conflict" in the June issue gave us a perspective in the face of such a complicated situation as we see in the Middle East. The warning was not to get stuck in a "first negation" which can sometimes block the path to revolution.

**Revolutionary youth
Memphis**



STRUGGLES FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Sima Samar, the former women's affairs minister of Afghanistan, said she was leaving her office because she feared for her safety. It turns out that the powerful conservative religious establishment had even branded her the Afghan Salman Rushdie, accusing her of having questioned a Persiam in an interview she gave to a Persian language magazine in Canada. Although she denies ever making the statement of which she is accused, so many insults and threats were thrown at her from the floor at the *loya jirga*, which she attended as a delegate, that she decided to take a less visible post as head of the human rights commission in Karzai's new government. These were her parting words: "I believe we cannot change the country with only words. We have to change it with our minds, our hearts and our attitudes."

**Women's liberationist
Illinois**

A Roundtable on Black Feminisms at Barnard College featured Black women academics who were groundbreaking writers and activists a generation ago, such as Kathleen Cleaver, a leader in the Black Panther Party in the 1960s, and Michele Wallace, whose 1979 book *Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* exposed sexism among Afro-Americans. Unfortunately, instead of addressing the nature of Black feminism today, they described their individual work and concerns, most of which only faintly echoed women's liberationists of another era.

More interesting were the non-U.S. speakers who offered internationalist perspectives on Black feminism. M. Jacqui Alexander complained that Caribbean women are expelled from their homes by capitalism and then criticized by Afro-Americans in the U.S. for letting themselves be used against native-born Blacks. She suggested Caribbean and

READERS' VIEWS

CONFRONTING PERMANENT WAR AND TERRORISM

The very broad implications of the "Patriot Act" are now becoming manifest and explicit. We are in a state of undeclared war in permanence which can be used against anyone. It potentially includes strikers who interfere with business let alone anyone who belongs to a socialist organization. The Bush Administration is so clearly "pro-business" it doesn't care if the Constitution is subverted. At the same time, the U.S. is in a "create as you go" mode of foreign policy. It rejects and abrogates treaties at will. Since September 11 we are seeing a situation that would have been unbelievable ten years ago, or even one.

**Senior citizen
Detroit**

The perilous nature of today's objective situation is disclosed not only by the threat of nuclear war but also by the threat of death by poverty in the second and third worlds and the threat of terrorist attack in the U.S. Yet the Israel-Palestine struggle seems to be all that the Left here is talking about now. What is left of the New York anti-war movement is now fighting over the question of whether to focus on Palestine instead of Bush's more nebulous wars. What really needs to be focused on are the failures of the Left which were spotlighted in the *N&L* statement "Confronting Permanent War and Terrorism: Why the Anti-War Movement needs a Dialectical Perspective."

**Revolutionary activist
New York**

Editor's note: Copies of this statement are available without charge from News & Letters.

How necessary it is to fight not just U.S. imperialism but all the fundamentalisms out to keep us unfree can be seen in the way U.S. Christian fundamentalist groups teamed up with Islamic nations over the past year to restrict the expansion of reproductive rights in recent UN conference documents. Most recently they worked together at a special UN session on children to strike out language that included the right of children and teens to "reproductive health services" which they said could include abortion. While this clear alliance might seem to you and me to put the Bush administra-

U.S. women learn each other's histories of colonialism and slavery, respectively, before considering solidarity politics with others. Oyeronke Oyewumi described herself as a global African who favored feminism if it meant self-determination, but saying that when you add race and class, you change the configuration. She warned against taking white women as the norm for feminism or Afro-Americans as the norm for Blacks.

**Women's liberationist
New York**

A PRISON COOKBOOK

I was impressed with your publication because you're not afraid to focus on prison issues. It's why I want to pass on to you information that some of your prison readers might find interesting. There is a book for sale from a company called Bluehorn Publishing, titled *A Prisoner's Cookbook*. The recipes are really very good and so are the rest of the contents. All the cartoons, jokes and stories are very funny. Someone purchased a copy for me and I'm enclosing one of the brochures that came with it. As you will see, a part of the proceeds will go to help abolish the death penalty.

Too many innocent people are put to death in this country. Even one person wrongfully executed makes us all murderers for allowing it to happen.

**Prisoner subscriber
Texas**

Editor's note: To order a copy of A Prisoner's Cookbook send \$10 plus \$2 for shipping by check or money order to Bluehorn Publishing, PO Box 2364, Humble, TX 77347.

tion in an awkward position, the administration simply says it demonstrates that it "shares many social values with Islam."

**Anti all fundamentalisms
Pennsylvania**

Has the idea of nuclear war become acceptable? I can't help but contrast the kind of million-strong demonstration that took place in New York City 20 years ago with the absence of any such mobilizations today, when the only anti-nuke actions you hear about are local people trying to close nuclear power plants near them. Our local plant, Indian Point in Westchester, 40 miles north of midtown Manhattan, has received a lot of attention since September 11, since it's the next obvious target. The government response was to announce that the county will begin giving away 340,000 potassium iodide tablets to help protect people from emergency radiation exposure during an emergency. The seeming acceptance of the danger from plants and war seems like an ideological victory for the capitalists at this moment and makes me wonder what will come of the anti-globalization movement if it also fails to develop some deeper understanding of the unlimited, uncontrollable destruction of which capitalism is capable.

**Longtime antiwar activist
New York**

The additional powers to spy on the people of the U.S. which the Bush administration says the FBI will be seizing is truly frightening. There was no vote in Congress on this and certainly no public referendum. What Bush, Ashcroft and FBI director Robert Mueller are adopting are the tactics of the vicious reign of J. Edgar Hoover. They were used then against unions and any progressive groups. It was only the mass movements of the 1960s and 1970s that finally forced the government to curb the abuse of people's rights. We had all better see how the ultra-right is taking advantage of Bush's so-called "war on terrorism" to attack all our civil liberties.

**Alarmed
Washington, D.C.**

APPEAL FOR ACEHNESE

Although there has been much in the news about East Timor finally winning its independence from Indonesia, there has been nothing about the three workers for the Rehabilitation for Torture Victims in Aceh, who were executed in that Indonesian province nearly a year and a half ago. In January 2001 the Indonesian Human Rights Commission announced that it would establish a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the killings but it has never set up an investigation team. I'd like to ask your readers to write to the Minister for Justice and Human Rights and ask that those suspected of the killings be brought to trial without further delay and that the ongoing grave human rights violations in Aceh be investigated. These appeals should be sent to: Minister of Justice and Human Rights, Prof. Dr. Yusril Ihza Mahendra, Menteri Kehakiman, Jl. H.R. Rasuna Said Kav. 6-7 Kuningan, Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia.

**Solidarity activist
New York**

THE CHINESE SCENE

The split in Chinese society and the ensuing crises have never been as severe as now. It is unimaginable that the Chinese Communist party regime can go on without major changes. The intellectual elite (one of the most important vested interests) played a significant role in supporting the regime, but the situation is very serious. The unemployment rate has risen to new heights. Even college graduates cannot find jobs. Some liberals were inclining to the

left, although due to the bad reputation of the "New Left" which still affirms the "merits" of the Mao era, their ambiguous attitude toward the current leadership makes the liberals somewhat hesitant in their support of Marxism. Wang Liziong, a young writer to whom the Independent Pen of Chinese Writers has decided to give an award, has published an essay, "Capitalism Cannot Save China" in one of the Chinese papers overseas. This is an indication of a leftist trend among liberals. One young Marxist put out a website, "China's Way," and it is amazing that it has attracted so many readers. But among exiles, to talk about Marxism and Socialism is still not welcomed.

**Chinese exile
New York**

FREE JOSÉ SOLÍS



When you reported (June) that Professor José Solís Jordán had been transferred to Puerto Rico on May 21, nobody knew that he was going to be taken while "in transit" and jailed in Atlanta from May 21 to June 3. Then he was put in still another jail while "in transit"—this time in Oklahoma. The conditions in Atlanta were inhuman. He was put in solitary confinement in an area that dated back to 1902, although his papers indicated he was supposed to be going to a minimum security "half-way house" in Puerto Rico. In Oklahoma his conditions improved but he continued to be kept from communicating by phone with his family.

Was he subjected to this treatment because he has remained firm in his convictions and refused to "cooperate" with the FBI in fabricating cases against other innocent people who are pro-independence activists?

**Solis supporter
Chicago**

TWO-TIER HEALTH CARE?

Here in Flint we just had an example of how health care is becoming less and less accessible when a Catholic hospital was bought by a for-profit outfit that is charging such high rates for care that only the rich can possibly afford it. This isn't a "two-tier" system. It's a case of if you're not rich you just don't get any care at all.

**D.B.
Flint, Michigan**

STRUGGLES IN PHILIPPINES

Your June lead by R. Russell on what is happening in the Philippines was wonderfully concise. It is the first time I have seen these issues in an Asian newspaper. Along with a friend in an Asian solidarity group here who is working for better solidarity with Filipino activists, I will be attending the International Solidarity Mission in the Philippines at the end of July and would like to report to you on it.

**Visting feminist
Japan**

The June lead brings home the depth of economic crisis in the Philippines. China, the new "manufacturing super power," greatly undercuts all on costs of labor, including the maquiladoras on the Mexican border. Just as in the Philippines, their growth has collapsed and is in decline as production moves to China.

**Observer
Bay Area, California**

A THANK YOU AND A REMINDER

OUR THANKS TO ALL OUR READERS WHO RESPONDED SO QUICKLY TO OUR APPEAL FOR HELP TO KEEP NEWS & LETTERS GOING. HAVE YOU SENT IN YOUR CONTRIBUTION YET?

Mass protests against privatization, broken promises in Peru

Peru's shoeshine boy-turned-president, the "man of the poor," Alejandro Toledo, imposed a state of emergency on the southern region of Arequipa on June 16, suspending all constitutional rights. The action was taken on the fourth consecutive day of protests in the city of Arequipa, and a day after two people were killed, one of them a 23-year-old university student shot in the head by the police with a tear gas canister. Several hundred were injured.

The protests were called to stop the sale of Egasa and Egesur, two electrical companies "auctioned off" to the sole bidder Tractebel, a Belgian firm (itself controlled by a French company, Suez) for \$167 million on June 14. Peruvians are familiar with the crisis last year in neighboring Bolivia after water rights were sold off to foreigners, and the demise of Argentina's economy following a decade of privatizations.

Toledo was elected last July because he promised Peru's poor that these two electrical firms would not be sold. Now he calls his policy "privatization with a human face."

The current revolt started on June 11-12 when the central province of Pasco struck for 48 hours to protest the sale. An estimated 85% of the population there participated. On June 13, a 24-hour strike took place in four other provinces including Arequipa. Also that day a



Peruvians demonstrate against privatization

large solidarity march took place in the capital, Lima.

Arequipa, the country's second largest city and the location of Egasa and Egesur, has been the center of the rebellion. Marches on June 13 and 14 were originally peaceful. But despite being organized by the city's mayor, Juan Manuel Guillen (until recently a firm supporter of Toledo), they were tear gassed and attacked by the police. Marchers fought back, destroyed government buildings, and still more people joined: workers, campesinos, students. The state of emergency was declared on June 16 and the revolt spread the following day to the city of Tacna, at the very southern tip of Peru, where several hundred were arrested and businesses were looted during a general strike. Large marches in solidarity with Arequipa took place in Cusco, Iquitos, and other cities, effectively spreading the rebellion throughout the country.

Toledo's government looked as if it might be heading for collapse. His interior minister resigned and some legislators called for all of his cabinet to step down. Toledo sent a group headed by Arequipa's Archbishop to work out a compromise, but they arrived on June 18 huddling on the floor of their bus under a hail of rocks thrown by protestors. The next day they were able to work out a deal, "postponing" the privatization, and the same day the state of emergency was lifted.

Independent Media Center

Which way ahead for independent East Timor?

New York—At a recent meeting of the East Timor Action Network, several activists and independent media reporters described the May 20 independence day events in East Timor. That small half an island won freedom from Indonesia after a bloody, quarter-century-long struggle.

A third of its population was killed from the time it was invaded and annexed by Indonesia in 1975 through the devastation of the country by rampaging Indonesian soldiers after it voted for independence in 1999. The U.S. supported the invasion and repression, and the UN stepped in in 1999 only after thousands died or were displaced.

To what extent must East Timor now cooperate with Indonesia for survival? To what extent can a tiny country emerging in the 21st century escape the demands of world capitalism? Although the speakers at the meeting here, who had spent more than a decade in support work for East Timor, did not pose these questions directly, their talks made clear that these questions emerged immediately upon independence.

They reported that the former freedom-fighters now running the new government chose to side-step what the speakers described as a universal demand among the population for "justice," that is, for trials of the perpetrators of the violence against them. Although Indonesia is currently holding some "show trials" of militiamen who participated in the killings, it has no intention of trying the military and government officials who directed it, many of whom remain in power and are

now in charge of similar repression in Aceh and other rebellious provinces.

The new government refuses to press the issue of "justice" or to support independence for Aceh, because Indonesia remains both a threat and an economic partner. At the independence day celebrations attended by many world leaders, President Xanana Gusmao, a former guerilla fighter, actually thanked former Indonesian and U.S. presidents, as if it were not they who caused the slaughter of East Timorese.

Another immediate issue is whether it is possible to rebuild the new country without its becoming enslaved to world capital. East Timor is trying to obtain foreign aid instead of incurring large debt to the World Bank, and ETAN's support work now includes a campaign to keep the country debt-free, as well as trying to prevent the U.S. from restoring military aid to Indonesia, finally cut off in 1999.

The speakers did not directly address whether East Timor might escape economic control by the world market, but Brad Simpson of ETAN found most encouraging the presence of about 200 new organizations within civil society that are discussing what the new country should do. They are attempting to develop an alternative to the neo-liberal model by concentrating on traditional forms of agriculture, crafts and medicine. He quoted people there who spoke of economic independence as "meaningful democracy."

—Anne Jaclard

Vincent Chin murder, remembering it for today

Detroit—Detroit's Asian-American community came together June 21-23 in remembrance of Vincent Chin, murdered in 1982 by two drunk white laid-off autoworkers who thought he was Japanese. The weekend included a screening of "Who Killed Vincent Chin?," a civil rights teach-in, an evening of poetry and performance, and a visit to the Chin family gravesite. At the teach-in the Asian-American Center for Justice recognized the families of hate crime victims Joseph Ito and Won-Joon Yoon, and the daughter of Wen-Ho Lee.

"Who Killed Vincent Chin?" was nominated for an Academy Award. Producer and director Renee Tajima and Christine Choy created a powerful story of life, death, racism and injustice. They blended interviews with Mrs. Lily Chin, Vincent's mother, and Vincent's killers, Ronald Ebens and his son, Michael Nitz, with scenes and archival news coverage of the case.

Vincent Chin and friends began arguing with Ebens and Nitz at a topless bar. One of the dancers testified that Ebens told Chin, "It's because of you little m-f-s that we are out of work." Ebens and Nitz chased Chin outside and drove after him to a nearby McDonalds where, despite the efforts of two police officers, they held him down and beat him with a baseball bat. Vincent died four days later.

The subsequent trial shocked the world when Judge Charles Kaufmann sided with the murderers and gave them three years' probation and \$3,000 in fines each. Mrs. Chin's refusal to accept injustice became the catalyst for protests all over the country in May of 1983. As we wrote in *News & Letters*, June 1983: "No one at the protest made a distinction between the racism surrounding this single case and the general atmosphere of

anti-Asian bigotry, generated by...the UAW and the auto corporations." A new case charging the two with violation of Chin's civil rights was tried in Federal Court and found them guilty. However in 1987, it was overturned on appeal.

Mrs. Chin (who died last month at age 82) refused to give up on her idea of what American justice was supposed to be for her only child. Now, 20 years later, we are witnessing the ruling powers of our society create a similar hate climate against Arab people and Arab-Americans. Vincent Chin and his mother never received justice. But it is encouraging to see that he is not forgotten, especially by so many young people who came out in remembrance and rededication. For more information: (248) 352-1020 or www.rededication.cjb.net.

—Susan Van Gelder

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Toledo seems to have slithered out of this crisis, but only by making an even firmer commitment to further privatizations. He got his cabinet members to stand in front of the media in a big hug, all wrapped in the flag (literally), and said to the country: "We're firm in our commitment to privatizations because we're a country open to dialogue." So with those bizarre words Peru has joined the ranks of the battle against global capital.

—Mitch Weerth

BLACK/RED VIEW

(Continued from page 1)

term. In fact, he has often been accused of being 'anti-civil rights' by the traditional civil rights establishment. But in the fullness of time, we shall see that his accusers were wrong. They are the ones who fail to understand that 'civil rights' are individual rights that attach to every individual, not to a group."

'COLOR BLIND' POLICE STATE?

When Connerly emphasizes Reagan's deep concern for "individual rights" and places it above civil rights, he is saying that Reagan believes that when individuals compete in a marketplace for their livelihood, it is true freedom. This is nothing less than capitalism's old concept that the marketplace is the true realm of freedom. African-American masses in motion, such as in the Civil Rights Movement, have always opposed the oppressive racism in the market, beginning with the creation of the first world market with the Atlantic slave trade.

Six years after he played a major role in destroying affirmative action in California with his infamous Proposition 209, Ward Connerly has emerged from the deep cave of Reagan's retrogression with millions of dollars and a "Racial Privacy Initiative" to stop the government from collecting data on race. This, he claims, will be the first step toward creating a "color blind society."

At first glance, Connerly's initiative appears as a plan to protect people from big government. However we find that Connerly's initiative specifically allows the police to collect racial data. This could end with police being the sole collector of data on race. And then it imposes a ban on releasing to the public all collected data on race. Thus, the essential purpose of Connerly's "Racial Privacy Initiative" is to cover up racism, that is, see no evil and hear no evil and call it a "color blind society."

A POLITICAL TROJAN HORSE

If Connerly's Racial Privacy Initiative is enacted, it will become a serious impediment to African-American civil rights in California. If all data regarding racial disparities were hidden away, this would slow down opposition to racism and eviscerate essential enforcement of civil rights laws. For example, the recent moratorium on the death penalty in Maryland is based on racial disparities in the death sentence (See June 2002 *News & Letters*).

In this respect, the Racial Privacy Initiative is a political Trojan Horse, financed by fat cat Reagan conservatives and brought into politics by Ward Connerly. Prejudging African Americans according to their group cannot be willed away with a false ideology of the isolated individual. The continuing struggle of African Americans to overcome capitalism's racist barriers to the full self-development of the social individual also cannot be willed away. A victory of the "Racial Privacy Initiative" will not end the struggle against American racism. As always, it will go on ceaselessly until it absolutely uproots American civilization.

QUEER NOTES

by Suzanne Rose

Jerusalem's first-ever Gay Pride parade was held this year despite tight security and threatened disruptions. About 2,500 marchers joined the parade which included religious and secular Jews as well as members of the Palestinian community. The many threats of violence did not stop thousands of people from turning out to watch.

A 17-year-old lesbian in Tampa, Fla. sued her school district in federal court after they omitted her picture from the yearbook. The woman refused to be photographed in the "frilly drape" required for graduation photos. She maintains she never wore feminine clothes to school and to wear the drape would not reflect who she is. The school is charged with sex discrimination and violation of her right to free expression.

The British Columbia Court of Appeal has overturned a ruling by the British Columbia Supreme Court that said a local school board had overstepped its authority by banning three books about gay and lesbian families. The books had been brought into a classroom by a teacher in 1997, and a group of parents complained. The school banned the books citing strong religious and moral anti-gay views in the community. The case now goes to the Supreme Court of Canada.

YOUTH

Injustice system grows

Chicago—Five panelists convened to discuss the deeply unfair and flawed nature of the criminal justice system, from the death penalty to surveillance of youth in high schools. They met at the Rolling Thunder Down Home Democracy Tour in Union Park on June 15.

Dr. David O. Stovall, a professor at University of Illinois, Chicago, said that as far back as the Nixon presidency there was a discussion of ways to control the Black population in our country. Everything was in place for a crackdown even before September 11, he said. Now these plans have come to fruition and include South Asian and Arab Americans as well.

Stovall described a Chicago law enforcement "sweep." All people must be out of sight. People can be arrested for sitting on their front porch during the sweep. During the summer months, this goes on twice a month in some neighborhoods. The sweep's purpose is unclear. It results in anger and alienation for the residents (mostly Black and Latino).

A policeman trumps school protocols when a student is a suspect, Stovall said. A lawman can walk into a classroom and remove a student—no academic procedure necessary. Stovall cited the 2001 name change, when the unconstitutional Gang Loitering Ordinance of 1996 was reincarnated as the Gang Terrorism Act. This law allows the arrest of children as young as seven years old. He mentioned that in Michigan a 13-year-old boy is being tried as an adult.

The media is the handmaiden of the criminals who enforce and prosecute unconstitutional laws. According to Edwin Yohnka, ACLU director of communications, the crackdown on youth was accompanied by a 700% increase in media coverage of youth crime during a period when juvenile crime was actually decreasing.

Yohnka explained that the school system has become a feeder for the prison system. Prisons need labor to fulfill contracts with industry. The least powerful socially and economically are targeted for this legal racket.

Pastor Carlos Linnear of the Community Renewal Society said because ex-felons are unable to find jobs and have been taught no skills, their life on the outside is extremely hard, a fact that leads to recidivism. He made it clear that a prison term is merely a payment on a person's "debt" to society because society exacts payment that continues throughout the ex-prisoner's life.

Through the Corrections Corporation of America, businesses—Russell Athletics, for example—take advantage of slave labor at Danville Correctional Center (Illinois), said Linnear. Russell, which has recently discontinued its arrangement at Danville CC, remitted only \$2 per hour for the labor of prisoners. Most of the "salary" went to the correctional center for room and board, he said. The prisoner got 21 cents per hour for other necessities. This transfer of funds to corporations amounts to corporate welfare. U.S. taxpayers foot the bill for a justice system that perpetrates modern slavery.

Japanese militarism

Tokyo—Over 60,000 Japanese rallied against Japan's increase in militarization on June 16. In the largest demonstration in over a decade, union, church, Buddhist, student, Korean, Taiwanese, nurse, and anti-globalist groups all rallied against the government's hope for an end to Article 9 of the Japanese constitution.

The bill, "Yugi Hosei," consists of three laws, which, if passed, would mean that the government can engage in war overseas at will, has the right to censor anything it pleases through total media regulation, and can order all public and private institutions to help in any war effort. This includes individuals like nurses who, if they oppose helping in a war, will be fined or sent to jail.

This comes at a time when U.S. President Bush urges Japan to do more in the fight against terrorism. But, Yugi Hosei doesn't simply give the Japanese people the right to defend themselves; it gives the government the right to do whatever it pleases.

The Japanese Self-Defense Army has become more powerful as more militaristic laws have been passed. In 1992, the Japanese army went to Cambodia for a peace-keeping mission equipped with guns. It was the first time the army was allowed overseas and 50,000 Japanese protested. Now, Japanese troops are in Afghanistan with guns and in a war. Though they are not allowed to fight, this marks the first time since World War II that Japanese soldiers are involved in a war.

Since September 11, the U.S. has been encouraging Koizumi, Japan's prime minister, to do more for the "international effort against terrorism." This translates into more military power for the Japanese army. Many countries, like the Philippines, Taiwan, China, North Korea, Burma, and Indonesia fear this increase in power could turn into more Japanese domination in Asia. These countries and more have never been compensated or apologized to for the Japanese government's crimes against humanity during World War II.

Most people in Japan have no qualms about an army for defense. But knowing their government's history and the details of Yugi Hosei, most oppose the law. Recently, it was found that the Dept. of Defense was creating a blacklist of NGOs and liberal/radical groups, many against Yugi Hosei. The scandal made the bill so controversial that it was shot down. But it is likely to return and, with a largely conservative Diet, it could pass.

—Jennifer

His colleague at Community Renewal Society, Don Washington affirmed Linnear's opinion saying, "We've created a prison-industrial complex that is anti-democratic and driven by market forces. So it consumes those who have been historically discriminated against, namely, Blacks, Latinos, women and all the poor."

Joanne Archibald of the Chicago Legal Advocacy for Incarcerated Mothers and former prisoner discussed the effect of imprisonment on family development and coherence. And Rachel Dietkus from the Illinois Coalition Against the Death Penalty discussed efforts to change the death penalty moratorium to abolition.

All the panelists, in one way or another, made it clear that the system favors money, not masses, and profit, not people. Linnear quoted a politician saying, "There are no votes in justice, but you can run and win forever on crime."

Politics is not the place where people will learn that new human relationships are necessary if we are going to make a better society.

—January

Police child abuse

I attended the police board meeting held June 13, 2002 at police headquarters. After 435 days came and went the police board decided on the Chicago police officers who beat Timia Williams (who was 11 years old at the time). Fifteen days suspension without pay!

The Williams family did not accept the decision. A police officer drinking a can of beer received 30 days suspension and three police officers who beat an 11-year-old (African-American) girl received 15 days each. What is wrong with this decision? The Chicago police officers (Mark Lamberg, Chris Trusoukalas and Chris Nitintah) should have all been drunk! Maybe they would have received more than 15 days suspension. Better yet, they would have been fired.

Of course, the officers would not spend one day or hour in jail, let alone time in prison. At the thought of one sheriff's officer shooting 22 times at the African-American couple in a moving vehicle for 12 miles, the not-honorable Judge Crane essentially said let the bullets rain down on non-whites, for it is the law enforcement way in the United States. The African-American community is going to boycott all the City of Chicago festivals, including the Taste of Chicago!

—George Wilfrid Smith Jr.

10-year-old detained for nothing

Chicago—On Friday May 10 at approximately 5:15 p.m. my son Milton Melvin Rodgers, a minor, ten years of age, was standing at the corner from our place of residence, across the street from his baby-sitter's house (Mrs. Caldwell) waiting for the van, to go to church activities. She pointed to Milton and falsely accused him of trespassing. Then the story changed to Milton trying to break into her backyard to play basketball. The police, Officer Mendoza, stepped out of the car, grabbed Milton by his arm and threw him into the police vehicle.

Mrs. Caldwell phoned my house and told me to hurry and get outside. I approached Officer Mendoza to inform him that I was Milton's mother. I told him that Milton had just walked out of our house. Officer Mendoza was in a rage, yelling and screaming at me and he stated, "You are a liar. I just got him from 54th out of the lady's yard. You don't know nothing, you are a stupid mother." I then asked Officer Mendoza, "Where are you taking my son? I also told him that Milton is only ten years old. Officer Mendoza, in a rage, yelling and screaming stated to me, "You are a dumb mother, you don't know nothing." The other officers had their hands on their guns as if they wanted to shoot me.

The police left with Milton and took him to the unknown woman's house, where she was dropped off. I had to take a bus to the 29th and Prairie police station, because the police would not allow me to go with them.

Milton was then handcuffed when he was removed from the vehicle. Milton stated that the policemen told him, "You better say you did it, or else you will never see your mother again and we are going to get her too."

I repeatedly stated to the officers at the police station that Milton was only ten years old. Milton and I were then taken to 51st and Wentworth police station. A female officer told me that I would not be able to get my son and that he would be sent to the Juvenile Center if I did not sign for him to have counseling. I asked her what it was that they were accusing my son of doing? She then stated to me that she did not know and that I must sign this form for him to take counseling. I then told the female officer that I was going to go and call my lawyer. She quickly stated that I could sign for Milton to go to Court and that he would be released.

Milton and I went to Juvenile Division Court on May 31, 2002. Upon arrival at Court, a Black unknown man came over to Milton and me and informed us that the case had been dismissed and that we should leave right away. I stated to him that I never to see the Judge. The man stated to me that he never heard of the Court just letting someone go without seeing the Judge. He stated that it was best for us to leave. I was not given any paperwork informing me as to what the Judge's decision was or anything. To this day, I have no idea of what is held in judicial files regarding the arrest of my son. No one has ever given me a clear story of what has happened to Milton's juvenile records and as to why Milton was falsely accused in the first place.

—Joanne Reed

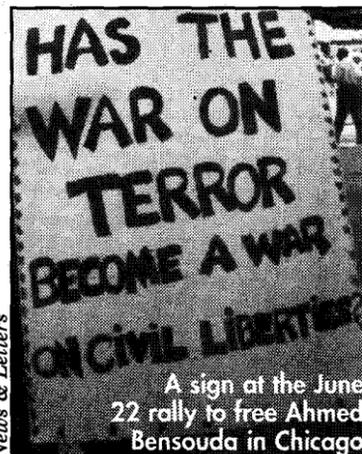
Arab student harassed

Chicago—Supporters of Ahmed Bensouda, an Arab activist and former student at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, report that he was freed from an Immigration and Naturalization Service detention center on \$10,000 bond on June 21. Bensouda was arrested at his home in Urbana-Champaign on May 30 and charged with violating his visa.

Bensouda is active in organizing support for the Palestinian cause and his supporters suspect that he was singled out for this treatment by the government for his political views. At least one of Bensouda's immigration hearings was closed to the public and the government claimed that it would employ secret evidence in its case against him.

A network of friends and supporters of Bensouda scrambled to publicize his case immediately after federal agents seized him. This coverage may have contributed to his release, although Bensouda is now waiting for a new hearing to determine whether or not he will be permitted to stay in the country.

—Kevin Michaels



News & Letters

Confronting sexism in Memphis

by Jen Ainbinder

A few weeks ago, I went to Memphis to give a presentation. In planning the trip, my comrade and I didn't realize that the weekend we chose was also the weekend of the Tyson-Lewis fight. I don't pay a lot of attention to professional boxing, but the last that I had heard, Mike Tyson was not allowed to fight in Las Vegas, and the fight was going to be moved to Washington, D.C.

Apparently, the powers-that-be in Memphis lobbied hard to get Mike Tyson and Lennox Lewis to fight in their city, citing the goodies that the publicity would bring to Memphis. And it worked—sort of. On Saturday, June 8, movie stars and B-list celebrities rented out most of the clubs and bars on Beale Street.

People dressed up in their best party clothes and paid hundreds of dollars to watch a convicted rapist try one more time to become the "heavyweight champion of the world." And Memphis got more publicity in one weekend than it had cumulatively for the last ten years.

More accurately, parts of Memphis got publicity. The Pyramid, where the event was held, the ugliest building that I have ever seen with my own two eyes, received more than its share of publicity. The Gay Pride parade and celebration held the same day of the fight got very little attention, and the Women's Action Coalition of Memphis was invisible to all media. While the local media did note (very briefly and inaccurately) that some "Gay Rights" organization was protesting Tyson for his homophobia, they left out crucial points of the protest.

The fact is that Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender groups, WAC, and News & Letters were protesting not just Tyson's homophobia and the fact that he is a convicted rapist. They were protesting boxing as a blood sport, but they were also protesting the way that the mayor and the city of Memphis spent a great deal of public resources for one fight which contributed very little to the long-term well-being of the city.

What could not be televised was the quality of human interactions. I was privileged to give a presentation, sponsored jointly by N&L and WAC on "Sexism, the Youth Movement, and Women's Liberation" to a group of intelligent, thoughtful, committed young people.

Clearly, in any group there will be points of disagreement, but the way that this group handled the discussion was wonderful. The goal seemed to be a common understanding of the points of discussion, not absolute agreement. A sizable percentage of the people came to the Left out of the anarchist tradition. Consequently, an underlying thread in the conversation was the individual vs. collective responsibility question.

It is people like these who reaffirm my hope that the youth movement has much to contribute to the Left and to the larger political debate. Youth issues encompass all of the forces of revolution. Youth issues are women's liberation issues; youth issues are labor issues, and the youth that I met in Memphis were asking important questions about the kind of work that people should be doing.

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry

Ariel Sharon has again used the inhuman suicide bombings by Palestinians inside Israel to justify launching another massive invasion of the West Bank. This time however, Sharon and his cabinet declared that Israeli troops will not withdraw.

The invasion began on June 19, with aerial bombing from U.S.-supplied Apache helicopters, followed by shelling from tanks. Troops have once again attacked all Palestinian cities in the West Bank and have placed residents under curfew. Many men between the ages of 15 and 45 have been rounded up and arrested. Troops are also conducting house to house searches, exploding houses, looting and vandalizing stores.

Israeli tanks opened fire on a crowd of people in the Jenin city market as people had rushed out of their homes for a one hour break from curfew. Three children and a teacher were killed. Near Nablus, settlers went on a rampage and killed a young Palestinian man after Palestinian gunmen attacked the house of a settler family and killed three. Israeli troops have also bombed the Jabaliya refugee camp in Gaza, but the brunt of the attack concentrates on the West Bank.

On June 17 and June 19, two suicide bombings in a Jerusalem bus and at a bus stop killed 27 mostly school children and severely injured many more. Prior to these

French Right in power

France's June parliamentary elections placed the Right firmly in power, with a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly. Combined with the election of conservative Jacques Chirac to the presidency, this bodes ill for Western Europe as a whole. With Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, and now France under conservative rule, many fear that the Right, with its anti-labor and anti-immigrant policies, could also come to power in Germany in September.

Surely the anti-immigrant backlash since September 11 was a factor, in France as elsewhere. But how could the French Left experience such a stinging defeat, after the demonstrations of April and May that brought millions into the streets to oppose the neo-fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen?

One answer is that many younger voters—whether students, workers, or immigrants—could not bring themselves to vote to return to power the established left parties—Socialists, Communists, or Greens—that had done so little while in power to combat unemployment or racism. Earlier, this radical youth constituency turned out in large numbers to help create an 11% vote for the Trotskyists in April and then held its nose to vote for Chirac over Le Pen in May. While this new generation, impacted by the anti-globalization movement, is sure to challenge Chirac on the streets, it will now begin to feel the effects of an openly right-wing government, as seen in the canceling of a previously planned July 1 increase in the minimum wage.

Middle East conflict escalates further

bombings, on June 16, the Israeli army had started building a concrete wall around the West Bank that clearly violated the internationally recognized border called the Green Line. The suicide bombers only made it easier for Sharon to take the steps toward a permanent invasion of the West Bank which he has always had in mind.

On June 24, in a burst of imperial arrogance, George W. Bush gave a speech many said Sharon could have written ordering the Palestinians to change their leadership. He did not criticize Israel and relegated the idea of an independent Palestine to a distant future.

The disastrous phenomenon of suicide bombings and disturbing polls showing that a majority of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza support these acts, have finally prompted a group of prominent Palestinian intellectuals to take an explicit public stand against these bombings in Arabic-language publications.

An ad published in the Jerusalem paper *Al Quds* on June 20, drafted by Sari Nusseibeh, a prominent peace activist and philosophy professor, and co-signed by Hanan Ashrawi and 53 other Palestinian intellectuals, declares: "Suicide bombings deepen the hatred and widen the gap between the Palestinian and Israeli people. Also, they destroy the possibilities of peaceful co-existence between them in two neighboring states."

"We see that these bombings do not contribute towards achieving our national project that calls for freedom and independence. On the contrary, they strengthen the enemies of peace on the Israeli side." Earlier, the Palestinian writer Edward Said had stated in Egypt's *Al Ahrām* weekly of June 13: "If there is one thing along with Arafat's ruinous regime that has done us more harm as a cause it is this calamitous policy of

killing Israeli civilians, which further proves to the world that we are indeed terrorists and an immoral movement....It must be up to us to project the idea of co-existence in two states that have natural relations with each other on the basis of sovereignty and equality... A just cause can easily be subverted by evil or inadequate or corrupt means."

One hopeful development within Israel was a rally for peace on May 12, attended by tens of thousands in Tel Aviv who called on Israel to pursue the Saudi Peace Plan. Another important event was the first Jerusalem Gay Pride march on June 7, attended by hundreds of gays, lesbians, and their supporters, who also took a stand against Israel's illegal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

—Sheila Sahar
June 24, 2002

EU protests in Spain



Trade unionists demonstrated in Seville against new general labor laws, June 20, during the national general strike.

The European Union summit meeting in Seville, Spain faced a number of challenges from labor, anti-racist, anti-globalization, and anti-capitalist activists. Those challenges began on June 20, when Spain's conservative Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar delayed opening the summit for several hours.

This was because labor unions had shut down transport services, including taxis, as part of a nationwide general strike to protest efforts by Aznar to force workers to take low-paying jobs far from their homes or risk losing their unemployment benefits. The current unemployment rate is "only" 11%, down from 20% six years ago.

At the summit itself, the main topic debated by leaders was curbing immigration. Immigrants and students had to face thousands of heavily armed police as they held small demonstrations in support of immigrant and student rights at the University of Seville.

Finally, on June 22, as the summit closed, over 100,000 anti-globalization and anti-capitalist demonstrators from across Europe and beyond filled the streets of Seville. This mass demonstration for workers and immigrants' rights included slogans such as "Freedom of Movement."

Southern Africa famine

The specter of famine looms over six countries of southern Africa: Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. These countries, with a combined population of over 50 million, have seen their food stocks dwindle, with seven million now facing starvation. Many more, weakened by AIDS, are extremely vulnerable.

How could this be happening in countries that have some of the world's richest farmland? Climate changes caused by global warming have resulted in a two-year drought punctuated by occasional floods, which has devastated crops. The impact of globalized industrial capitalism is clear.

Local ruling classes have played no small role in bringing about the crisis, however. Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe has disrupted agriculture by instigating a near civil war to intimidate the democratic opposition. The corrupt and authoritarian governments of Zimbabwe and neighboring Malawi also took the disastrous step of selling off their countries' emergency grain reserves, by some reports allowing corrupt officials to pocket the profits.

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