

EDITORIAL The departure of Aristide: The tragedy of Haiti

It was a sad day for Haiti and for all those who have supported this Black republic's two centuries of struggle for independence and liberation. On Feb. 29, the elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide was deposed by an unholy alliance of remnants of the old military-terror networks, U.S. and French pressure, and a "democratic" political opposition willing to work with all of these forces. A U.S. diplomat admitted that he and his armed escort had been present while Aristide signed an obviously coerced letter of resignation. This touched off a wave of anger among African Amer-

icans. The National Conference of Black Lawyers stated, "The United States has resorted to the methods of petty gangsters by kidnapping Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide at gunpoint, orchestrating a coup and forcing [him] into exile."

The armed and uniformed rebels who began to take over Gonaïves, Cap-Haitien and other northern cities in February did not emerge out of nowhere. Their leaders included Louis-Jodel Chamblain of FRAPH, a notorious CIA-funded death squad that had terrorized Haiti from 1991 to 1994. Driven from power in 1994, they had

never been disarmed, but simply faded into the background or exile. In recent years, these rebel forces were armed and supported by right-wing Haitian exiles and allowed bases in the neighboring Dominican Republic by its military. In a region where the U.S. regularly makes and unmakes governments, it is unthinkable that the Dominican military would have done so without at least tacit support from the Bush administration.

Now that Aristide is gone, U.S. and French troops are making the armed rebels from FRAPH assume a low

Continued on page 9

NEWS & LETTERS

"HUMAN POWER IS ITS OWN END"—KARL MARX

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WORKSHOP TALKS

Where education is a luxury option

by Htun Lin

Contra Costa County in California is multi-ethnic and culturally diverse overall, yet separated into communities stretching from predominantly white conservative Concord to white affluent Walnut Creek to poor working-class ethnic minority Richmond. But the one thing all these disparate communities share is the loss of health care and schools from disappearing city budgets due to our nationwide epidemic of state fiscal crises.

Hospital and school closures follow plant closures. In Richmond, the city's budget office announced that all school libraries and sports and music programs would be eliminated because of the city's mounting debt. The Bush gang's American dream of a booming economy is turning out to be our nightmare of a jobless recovery. Productivity increases while health care and other social resources workers need such as schools, libraries, and day care, decrease or disappear.

Economists express consternation at this seemingly contradictory and "disturbing" trend. But we workers are not surprised. Why should anyone be surprised that the capitalists' gain is workers' pain?

Workers produce everything that is created under capitalism. Not just all the contents in the house, the goods and furnishings that are stolen from us, but the house itself, the governmental institutions we use like

Continued on page 3

BLACK/RED VIEW

Harriet Tubman

by John Alan

The first biography of Harriet Tubman, the most renowned conductor in the "underground railroad," was published in 1943. *General Harriet Tubman*, written by labor activist Earl Conrad, didn't get many buyers and was soon out of print.

Since the 1960s, however, there has been a growing interest in Tubman. It created a controversy over the 1994 National History Standards. Lynne Cheney, former head of the National Endowment for the Humanities, attacked those standards as "revisionist" because they gave equal attention to Tubman and George Washington. Harriet Tubman, if she were alive, might consider this controversy totally absurd because Washington was a slave owner and she was an active abolitionist opposing the system of slavery.

There are three new Harriet Tubman biographies in print. They were recently reviewed by the historian James M. McPherson for *The New York Review of Books*.

McPherson states, "Each of these books have particular strengths that complement the others and add up to a remarkable collective achievement. The most readable and the one that provides the clearest context of slavery and the Civil War is Catherine Clinton's *Harriet Tubman*." Clinton lets her reader know immediately that the life of a slave was a process of dehumanization from birth to death. Thus, when Harriet Tubman was born in Dorchester County, Maryland in 1820 or 1822, she was just another commodity to be bought and sold.

Slaves never knew the actual year of their birth. But

Continued on page 8

Fight the Christian Right's attacks on women's lives

by Terry Moon and Gerard Emmett

On April 25, hundreds of thousands of women, children and men will demonstrate in Washington, D.C., in the "March for Women's Lives." One reason the march will be huge is that women know President George Bush is a liar. He lied about weapons of mass destruction; he lied about the link between Al Qaeda and Saddam Hussein; and he lies about women. While Bush appropriates the language of "feminism" as a way to give a moral justification for his immoral wars, he at the same time wages war on women in the U.S.—and for that matter, the world over through his global gag rule, among other things.

The march follows on the heels of the Democratic primaries where the desperate need to stop Bush was palpable. It was why the most widely used word was "electability." The damage Bush has done to women globally is so deep and wide-ranging that many feel it is a life-and-death issue to get him out of office.

It is not only that under Bush's reign the quality of women's lives has been undermined in many concrete ways—abortion rights, that is, women's right to control their own bodies; healthcare; welfare rights; literacy; privacy; trafficking of women and girls; rape in the military and on U.S. playing fields; and the list can go on and on and on. It is also that being destroyed is what it means to be a woman—women's humanness is being devalued. Bush is initiating the Talibanization of America.

Bush's ideological attack on women goes hand in hand with his drive to make the U.S. the single world power dominating the entire globe, both economically and ideologically. Bush uses the rhetoric of "democracy," of "feminism," of a "compassionate" Christianity, as he does everything within his considerable strength to bolster U.S. capitalism.

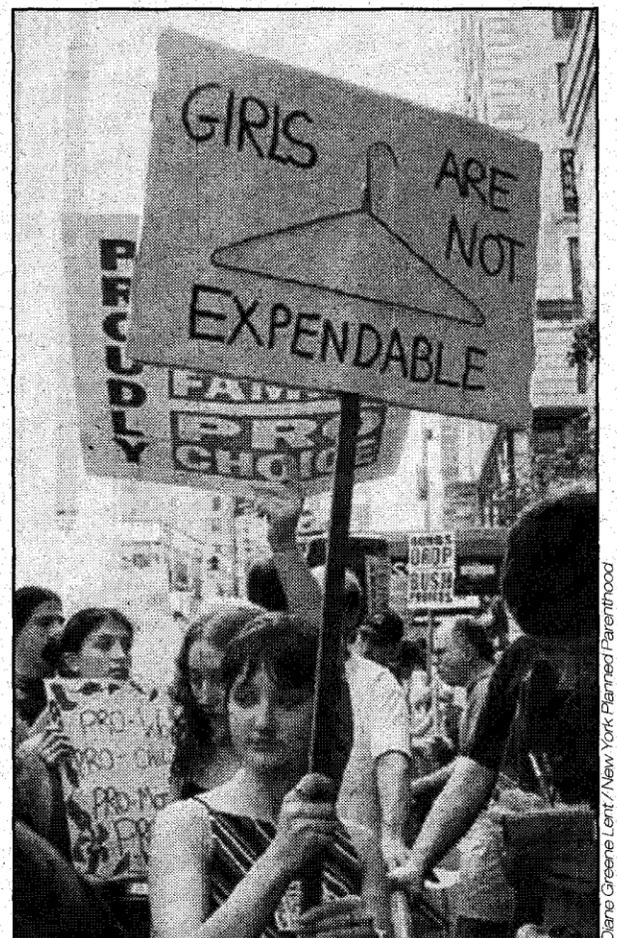
INTERNATIONAL SEXIST

In Iraq and Afghanistan this means that women's very lives are subordinated to U.S. interests. The U.S. put in power the Northern Alliance warlords in Afghanistan, who espouse a rabid political fundamentalist anti-woman Islam. Bush has done nothing in Iraq to stop the widespread rape of women, nor the kidnapping and selling of girls that has now reached epidemic proportions. The fact that he is doing this because U.S. capitalism prefers relying on local surrogates to do their bidding, rather than direct imperialistic control, reveals how capitalism not only works hand in hand with sexism but also exacerbates it.

In the U.S. that intensification of women's oppression means the gutting of welfare that Clinton began is being accelerated, even as the economy worsens and more women and children are thrown into poverty. It serves capitalism when women on welfare are forced to work, even if conditions are unsafe, even if the job doesn't pay a living wage, even if they have to be bused for hours to get to the job and then cross a picket line to get in. Capitalism's interests are served when women have become so demoralized from the constant attacks on their humanness that they either end up thinking that they are less than human, or become so depressed at what the world has become and how it views them that they become incapable of fighting back.

That is why Bush doesn't have to be directly behind every attack on women. It is his personification of the present stage of capitalism that sets the rabid misogynist tone of his rule and has given reactionaries a green light to put into practice any and all retrogressive, anti-women ideas that the Women's Liberation Movement had forced them to suppress.

As Bush works to bolster U.S. capitalism as the best



New York City abortion rights demonstration.

of all possible worlds, every horror that exists in developing countries is now plaguing women in the U.S.

• Sex slavery now exists in the U.S. on an unprecedented level. It has two manifestations:

1. Women and girls—some as young as 13—are trafficked from all over the world and end up confined in unspeakable conditions, housed in middle-class neighborhoods as sex slaves. One anti-slavery organization estimates that there are 50,000 sex slaves in the U.S. at any given time. A State Department advisor admitted, "We're not finding the victims in the U.S. because we're not looking for them." (1)
2. Some 300,000 U.S. children are sexually exploited every year in America. One young woman who began working in a massage parlor at the age of 12, confided, "Not only was I not seen as a victim, but I was seen as a criminal." (2)

• What women now have to endure to achieve an abortion is coming close to conditions in countries where it is illegal. U.S. women have to negotiate a gauntlet of persecutions reminiscent of Jim Crow laws

Continued on page 10

ON THE INSIDE

FROM THE WRITINGS OF RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA
• Uprooting the law of value Page 4
PHILOSOPHIC DIALOGUE • Ben Watson
on 'Power of Negativity' Page 5
Spain: Bush, terrorists rebuffed .. Page 12

International Women's Day 2004

In many parts of the world, International Women's Day 2004 was marked with rallies against domestic violence and sexual harassment, along with demands for equal rights.

AFGHANISTAN

While President Hamid Karzai reported that girls and women had begun to return to school and the workforce, UN special representative Jean Arnault used IWD to deplore recent attacks on girls' schools in a region where they were banned under Taliban rule.

Women in burkas gathered outside Kabul's 90-year-old Welayat Prison as UN and Women's Affairs Ministry officials held the first IWD celebration giving the 41 woman inmates gifts and flowers. It was considered a symbolic move towards ensuring women's rights with the message "you are not alone." Many of the young women were imprisoned under the Taliban, where women had no rights forcing them to commit "crimes" as a last desperate alternative. The prison still lacks adequate space and medical care.

ZIMBABWE

Women staged marches in Harare and Bulawayo after the arrest of three women for organizing protests against food shortages.

SRI LANKA

Women celebrated IWD throughout the country. While the government and non-governmental organizations focused on "a better world, with equal rights for women," independent women's liberationists used the

IWD in Iran

Following the recent sham election in Iran, protests have been taking place around the country, including on International Women's Day. Below is an eyewitness account of that gathering from a woman participant.

TEHRAN—International Women's Day was to be celebrated in the open amphitheater of Laleh Park with a call for opposing violence against women. When I entered the park, plainclothes police were roaming the area. Thirty to forty women had already gathered. They announced that the Ministry of Interior had cancelled the gathering as of 11 a.m. But the women said they would not leave. We sat on the steps of the amphitheater as we were surrounded by the police. We could see about 500 women, some with their husbands and small children, gather on the other side of the police barrier.

We started to clap and join hands and sing and circle the area. Then we all sat down again. We listened to each participant read a prepared text or raise a slogan: "Sign The Human Rights Convention Against Violence Against Women"; "Free Afsaneh Noorozi" (a woman sentenced to death for having killed her rapist—a police chief—in self defense); "Free Kobra Rahmampour" (a woman sentenced to death for killing her mother-in-law in self defense after she attacked her with a kitchen knife); "Provide Support For Runaway Girls"; "Abolish Sexual Discrimination."

As we were leaving the area, one of the participants who was interviewed by the BBC and the Voice of Germany, gave the following statement: "For centuries women have been taught to be quiet, take head blows, be slaves. But I am not a slave, I will not remain silent. I will not be patient. I am rebellious. I am a mother, generous and kind. But I will defend my rights with sharp claws and more importantly with a passionate mind and language. I am a woman rebelling against all tradition and defending my wholeness as a woman."

Suddenly the police presence increased threefold. The plainclothes policemen were trying to find the woman who gave that interview. They caught two women and said, "here are the political ones." They started attacking us viciously with sticks and pouring insults at us. We ran away.

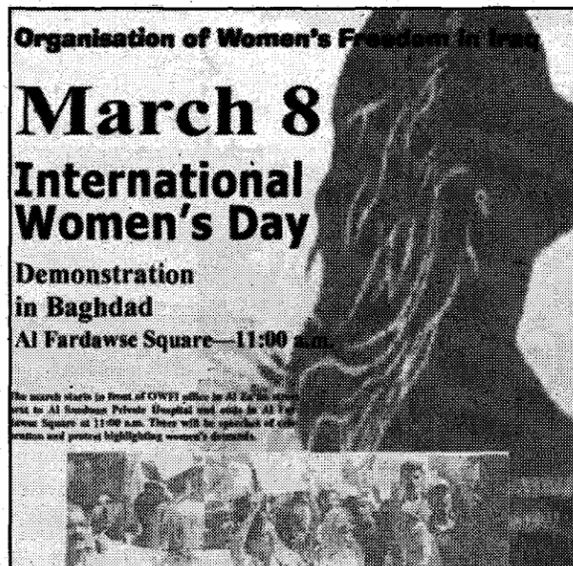
occasion to demonstrate against injustices ranging from discrimination to rape. In the Jaffna district, the theme was "We want our land," and the Jaffna District Forum Against Sexual and Other Violence on Women organized parades and cultural events related to women's liberation.

THAILAND

Women in Bangkok called for greater awareness among women about HIV/AIDS, saying lack of attention to women's rights is fuelling the HIV epidemic.

IRAQ

In her IWD greetings this year, Yanar Mohammed, head of the Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq, reported: "Although burdened by veil, insecurity and deprivation, almost 1,000 demonstrators (mostly women) gathered in Baghdad's Al Fardawse Square to demand secularism. While the Governing Council convened to sign the constitution that jeopardizes the lives



Organisation of Women's Freedom in Iraq

March 8
International
Women's Day

Demonstration
in Baghdad
Al Fardawse Square—11:00 a.m.

The march starts in front of OWFI office in Al Fardawse Square and to Al Fardawse Prison (Shahid) and ends in Al Fardawse Square at 11:00 a.m. There will be speeches at demonstration and protest highlighting women's demands.

Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq

of millions of Iraqi women, activists announced to the whole world that they will not recognize a constitution that is mainly based on religion. March is our IWD and we will not agree to change it into a newly invented Islamic day that isolates Iraqi women from the international women's movement."

CANADA

Outside the Manitoba legislature, aboriginal groups demanded that more public attention be given to finding the more than 500 aboriginal women that have vanished over the last decade. There are missing women in every major Canadian city. In Vancouver, more than 60 women have disappeared and one man faces 22 charges of first degree murder. In Ottawa about 30 aboriginal women chanting "Remember our sisters!" marched on Parliament Hill. Dawn Harvard, Ontario president of the Native Women's Association of Canada, questioned whether the cases would get more attention if so many of the missing women weren't poor, substance abusers, or working in the sex trade. "If 500 white women went missing from Toronto and Montreal," said one journalist, "I think there'd be absolute panic and outrage."

Support Iraqi women

NEW YORK—At a demonstration at the Federal Building here on March 3, we expressed solidarity with Iraqi women's struggles—against the U.S. occupation, against the U.S. alliance with political Islamists, and for women's equality and freedom. We celebrated the recent defeat in the Iraqi Governing Council of Resolution 137, which would have destroyed what rights Iraqi women have at least on paper (see March N&L).

The rally was also in support of Yanar Mohammed of the Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq (OWFI), who has received two serious death threats. OWFI has been in the leadership of the fight against political Islamist movements that seek to end secular rights and impose Shar'ia (religious) law.

The New York demonstration was endorsed by several feminist and political organizations, including News and Letters Committees. OWFI supporters from Canada attended. One of them, Khayal Ibrahim, spoke about the impact on women of the two U.S. wars on Iraq, the sanctions, and Saddam Hussein, who weakened women's rights. The 2003 war, she said, destroyed civil society and unleashed reactionary religious movements against women. "We are against the U.S. occupation," she explained, "not out of nationalism, but because the U.S. is creating a dark future for us." She also warned about the threat to establish a Shar'ia court in Canada, which was recently demanded by political Islamists in Toronto. She can be contacted at HOMAWPI@rogers.com.

The small turnout shows that the U.S. Left continues to ignore this issue instead of putting it in the forefront of the anti-occupation movement. Anne Jaclard of News and Letters Committees warned that Iraqi women face a future like Afghanistan's, which just adopted an "Islamic" constitution. She urged us to challenge the Left to solidarize with women and working people's fights for liberation in Iraq, instead of limiting the movement to anti-U.S. imperialism.

—Participants

Tennessee Gay rights rally draws reactions

MEMPHIS, TENN.—For three weekends in a row 20 to 25 demonstrators stood at a busy intersection to show our support for gay and lesbian rights, especially gay marriage. The demonstrations were called by the Lesbian and Gay Coalition for Justice and the Memphis Gay and Lesbian Community Center. Other participants included people from News and Letters Committees and Women's Action Coalition. Two transvestites also felt empowered to join.

One of the extraordinary things was the overwhelming support given by people driving and walking by, and this was everyone, men and women, Black, white, old and young. People honked their horns in response to our sign "Honk if you support gay marriage," and gave us thumbs up signs. One woman, a bishop, walked by and shook all of our hands and introduced herself.

One guy stopped his car and started screaming: "I HATE George Bush." We weren't sure if he understood why we were there, but then he grinned and gave us the thumbs up sign. We only got a few thumbs down and one woman threw a tract at us; it was about Mel Gibson's anti-Semitic "Passion of the Christ" movie.

We carried other signs too. One had a picture of George Bush that read "I'm a bigot." A woman had a picture of herself and another woman on her sign and it read: "This is love too." They will try to get a marriage license here. My sign said "Fundamentalism is Fascism! Equal Rights Now!"

I talked to the TV media and the newspapers were there too. I told the reporter that there was this outpouring of people who demand their rights because the U.S. has a history of people demanding their freedom. We oppose a narrow view of what an American is or can be. Bush is playing on people's fears.

This is an ongoing activity and we will move to another street corner next week.

—Activist

Writings from women prisoners

Wally Lamb has done a real service to women in prison in holding writing workshops, in giving the women inside the encouragement and skill to tell about their lives. He has done a real service to everyone inside and out by publishing this collection of their writings.

Prison is meant to isolate the prisoners, to cut them off from society. The current political climate demonizes "criminals," blames all of society's ills on crime. This book gives a reader an inside look at the making of "criminals." And, not surprisingly, the criminals turn out to be not that much different. They are human. Most of their lives have been hard. Most have been abused as children. Most were poor. What the writing workshop helped them do, is to speak of who they are, what they make of their lives.

Each story truly is a work of art, a "good read," a view into another life. Universally the women speak of what writing meant to them. Michelle Jessamy says, "The prison environment causes you to shut down and distrust other people, but writing has the opposite effect. By exploring my past through autobiographical fiction and sharing it with others, I am learning how to come to terms with the 'whys' of my past actions and how to release my spirit from its prison." This sentiment is echoed by all the writers in the book.

As the editor of *The Fire Inside*, the newsletter of the California Coalition for Women Prisoners, I know how powerful women's stories from within prison can be. I edited and printed many of them myself. I love the eloquence these women developed as well as the impact of their stories told so well.

For all that, I came away from this collection disappointed. All growth and development presented in the book is confined to the individual women learning how to function in this society, whether in or out of prison. The important question raised by each story is only implicit: why does society keep reproducing the poverty, racism, sexual and physical abuse these women experienced very early in their lives?

They write of their childhoods. While it makes for a good story, the standpoint of the child is necessarily limited to facing the world she did not make. It is only in the short summaries about the writers that you get a glimpse that now, as they grow, the women also want to help others, want to change more than themselves.

I see the act of sharing your story, of speaking of the abuse you suffered, as a very important first step on the road to becoming an activist: for women's rights in prison, for children's rights, for a right to have a family, in short for a different world. As the poet Adrienne Rich said: "she would recognize that poetry isn't revolution but a way of knowing why it must come."

—Ursula Wislanka

The ROSA LUXEBURG Reader

Edited by Peter Hudis & Kevin B. Anderson



The Rosa Luxemburg Reader

"Rosa Luxemburg travels into the twenty-first century like a great messenger bird, spanning continents, scanning history, to remind us that our present is not new but a continuation of a long human conflict changing only in intensity and scope. Her fiery critical intellect and ardent spirit are as vital for this time as in her own. With meticulous care, including valuable endnotes, editors Hudis and Anderson project her in the fullness of her being and thought."

—Adrienne Rich

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Quebecor drive for union and respect

OLIVE BRANCH, MISS.—We've been organizing for about six months at the Olive Branch plant of Quebecor, a printing company based in Canada. There are 400 workers at this plant on three shifts. Our first meeting was about a dozen workers meeting at the side of a gas station with an organizer from the Graphic Communications International Union (GCIU).

Last month 10 or 12 of us went into Victoria's Secret in Memphis and handed out fliers to customers, saying, "Victoria's real secret: Workers face harassment and injury at company that prints the Victoria's Secret catalog. There's nothing sexy about getting burned or losing a finger at work." And so on. People were taking them like hotcakes.

Quebecor has plants all over the U.S. and in 16 other countries. All seven non-union plants in the U.S. are moving together to unionize, so they can't move work from a plant that unionizes to one that's non-union. We have the same issues: lack of health insurance, racism, lack of respect, safety, environment, wanting to have a voice.

Our plant is 90% Black. No Blacks are in management. In accounting, purchasing, pre-press and customer service, there are also no Blacks. All of the

minorities are in production. This is 2004!

The promotion system is by favoritism. This is the first place I've worked where there is no on-the-job training. The people who are on production know their jobs, but the managers and supervisors don't have a clue.

Quebecor has their own doctors that they send you to when you get hurt. You lose two or three fingers, you go to their doctor. Whatever they do, for the rest of your life you will no longer have those fingers. When they release you to come back to work, no way is that hand fully healed.

One young man called in to his supervisor and tried to get the day off to take his daughter to the hospital. His daughter had lupus. His supervisor told him, if you don't come in, you will probably be terminated. He needed his insurance from the job to cover his daughter's medical expenses, so he came in. The machine that he was working on wasn't even up and running. About 45 minutes later, he got a phone call from his wife telling him their daughter had died.

We took it upon ourselves to do something about it. We signed a petition saying we don't want this to happen to anyone else. Our families come first. We got all the names and went up to the general manager. There were about 10 or 12 of us and we let him know that this march-in for our co-worker was not GCIU-driven. He called us into a conference room. It sounded like he was just patronizing us.

We said to the general manager, when we lose loved ones, why don't we get any type of human touch in the plant, especially from our supervisors? Out there it's all about what comes out of the press room, what comes out of the bindery, numbers and dollars. We told him they could probably get two or three times more production if they just treated us with more respect, instead of like robots or animals.

This was our second march-in. The first one was to let them know we wanted a fair process. That first time, the general manager wouldn't hear us out. He said he couldn't receive us in numbers. We said, no. We come in numbers to let you know that we all feel the same way, have the same issues and would like a voice in the workplace.

—GCIU member

LA grocery picketers reluctantly return

LOS ANGELES—The unfortunate settlement of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) against Southern California grocers has discouraged many workers who for month after month participated in one of the longest recent strikes and lockouts. A worker told me, "I spent five months of my life for nothing, with \$8,000 in charges added to my credit card."

Some of the dispirited workers have not bothered to return; some who did return are looking for other jobs, even after 20 years of work for the markets. The only bright side of the settlement was "just to have a job" to pay the bills.

"Overall my wages, including the retirement and health plan, are reduced from \$19 an hour to \$15 an hour," said one worker. "I'm going to get only 60% of my retirement benefits. It is like living just to work rather than working to live."

It is hard to listen to workers who lost in the strike. Everyone who works for a living lost in that battle, but the fight for better working conditions will continue. The inherent contradictions under capitalism lead to forcing workers to give up wages and benefits. Workers are working longer hours, and working faster and harder, just to live. They are forced to fight not only their bosses but also their union. Hopefully this will help unite workers to come together and fight back.

—Manel

UFCW defeat clouds next grocery pacts

OAKLAND, CAL.—The defeat of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) in Los Angeles couldn't have come at a worse time. Grocery workers in Southern California settled for a contract which introduces a second tier of low-paid workers. Everyone feels the lower wages will be used to undermine older workers' job security.

The contract also puts health care co-payment burdens on workers. With employers winning such a major reduction in labor costs, in effect Wal-Mart has arrived at Safeway—and threatens to spread to every other major grocery outlet, union or not.

This will undermine contract battles coming up for grocery workers and other workers everywhere, in the same way the Teamsters' Union undermined the grocery workers when they suddenly withdrew picket support. In May, the precedent here could undermine UFCW efforts in Seattle.

In September, contracts are up here in Northern California and in Denver and Las Vegas. Meanwhile, workers in Arizona and Indiana who stayed on the job and continued to bargain after their contracts expired will have a tougher time turning away concessions.

At the Safeway in Oakland near where I work, some of the stockers and shelvers on the night shift seemed dejected. They felt that "whatever they got down there is coming up here. And they got a lot worse than before the strike started."

One angry young worker insisted, "It was the pickets, plain and simple. We couldn't hold the picket line. It was too weak. The union didn't support our own picket line. People then started to cross when it got too painful."

The California Attorney General had brought a lawsuit against grocery chains for possible anti-trust violations when the employers embarked on a revenue sharing scheme during the strike. But one worker said, "Forget about it. He's already dropping the suit. They got away scot-free. Sure they cheated, but it's all legal. You don't win strikes in the courts."

Many workers couldn't believe that UFCW President Dority continues to call the strike a success. Some workers felt that the long, arduous, four-and-a-half-month struggle was an object lesson in the importance of solidarity, organization, mutual financial support and standing one's ground. Unfortunately, it was the employers who learned that lesson this time around—not our own union leaders. They were too busy lobbying politicians.

—Huan Lin

WORKSHOP TALKS

Continued from page 1

schools, hospitals and public utilities and infrastructure. Neither government nor private companies "provide" workers with these public goods. It's the other way around. Workers provide all these goods, public or private, by producing them with the sweat of our labor.

When they tax our income, they are taxing us for something we produce. We have already been "taxed" before the government steps in. The first real tax is when the capitalist extracts our surplus labor each work day, with each and every product we make.

Felix Martin, *News & Letters* Labor Editor for many years, once wrote that it takes less than the first hour of his work day to produce all the value needed to pay for the worker's livelihood—to pay for his food, shelter and other expenses—to keep the worker sustained, as Marx wrote, "so that he can return to work another day." After the first hour, after producing enough to pay for the worker's sustenance, what the capitalist likes to call "variable cost" of labor, the rest is surplus labor.

Part of this surplus goes to the state coffers as income tax to pay for public institutions. The rest goes into the capitalist's pocket as profit, what Marx called surplus value.

LEAVING WORKERS WITH ZERO

It has turned out not so strange after all that they choose to use the strange term "variable cost" to describe our living expenses. The more they "vary" that cost of labor down, as close as possible to zero—either, for example, by speeding us up, laying us off, or taking away our health care—the higher are their profits. There is an inversely proportional relationship between our poverty and their wealth. All surplus value comes from living labor—living and breathing human workers. Machines don't create capitalist value. People do.

In an attempt to stop the hemorrhaging of school budgets and programs, many parents who can afford to, like parents in affluent Walnut Creek, have reached into their own pockets to pay for what has already been paid for, but will otherwise disappear if we don't pay again. It's quickly becoming education's version of "co-pay" burdens put on workers' backs for health care. But poor minority working-class Richmond is in no position to use private funds to save their public schools.

SCHOOLS UP FOR BID

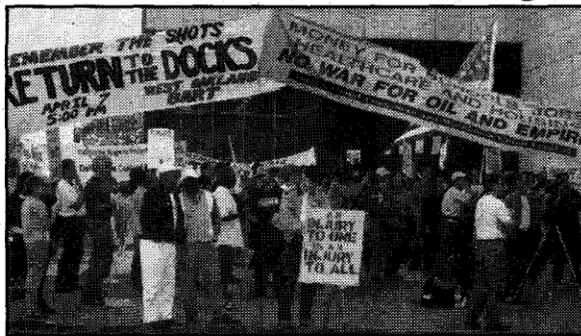
Some school officials have even resorted to allowing commercial advertisers on school property in order to pay for sports programs. It's a kind of hostile takeover of public sector assets by the private sector. One school principal said, "We have to think outside the box. The days of state-guaranteed educational resources are over."

The Contra Costa Times reported that high school students demonstrated "violently" following the devastating news of the disappearance of their libraries and school programs. Many of the students' signs read, "You cut our budget, we cut classes." It was reported that many students then took their anger out by stomping on parked cars and looted a nearby store.

The Richmond Police Chief stated that he sent his officers with video cameras to "identify the looters and to pursue criminal prosecution against those students who committed these crimes." He said, "We simply cannot permit this kind of behavior to continue."

But who will investigate and identify the looters who took off with our public schools? Who will pursue the thieves who have stolen not only all the goods and furnishings in our house, but have destroyed our house by deliberately and methodically dismantling our public schools and hospitals and other publicly owned institutions and state resources? Who will look for the criminals who have stolen from our community's past and our future?

Global anti-war day



SAN FRANCISCO—Longshoremen rallied at the Oakland courthouse the day before shutting down the docks March 20, a day of international protests against the U.S. occupation of Iraq. See page 11 for more reports on anti-war actions from around the country.

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MARX'S CONCEPT OF INTRINSIC VALUE
On the unity of value, fetishism, and the analysis of capitalist production in Capital
To order, see Page 7

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FROM THE WRITINGS OF
RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA
 MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

The article from *Pod Znamenem Marxizma* (*Under the Banner of Marxism*), which is published in this issue [of *American Economic Review*], appears to be merely a criticism of the old methods of teaching political economy in the "curricula and textbooks" of the higher Soviet schools. (1) Actually it is no mere reproof of pedagogical error. Its *raison d'être* is contained in the argument that the law of value, in its Marxian interpretation, functions under "socialism." This is a clear departure from the former economic doctrine which prevailed not merely in the schools but in the most authoritative and scholarly publications as well as throughout the Soviet press. That this treatise appears now is an indication of the lines along which Soviet political economy may be expected to develop in the post-war period.

Foreign observers who have carefully followed the development of the Soviet economy have long noted that the Soviet Union employs almost every device conventionally associated with capitalism. Soviet trusts, cartels and combines, as well as the individual enterprises within them, are regulated according to strict principles of cost accounting. Prices of commodities are based upon total costs of production, including wages, raw materials, administrative costs, amortization charges and interest plus planned profit and the various taxes imposed as revenue for the maintenance of the state. Essential to the operation of Soviet industry are such devices as banks, secured credit, interest, bonds, bills, notes, insurance, and so on. As the present document explains it, "denial of the law of value created insurmountable difficulties in explaining the existence of such categories under socialism." (2)

The article, "Some Questions of Teaching of Political Economy," (3) contends that although the law of value operates in Russia, it functions in a changed form, that the Soviet state subordinates the law of value and consciously makes use of its mechanism in the interest of socialism. In order to show that the operation of the law of value is consistent with the existence of socialism, the article cites those passages from the *Critique of the Gotha Program* in which Marx states that in a socialist society, "as it emerges from capitalist society," the laborer will receive in return for a given quantity of work the equivalent of such labor in means of consumption. (4) The present authors reject, however, the formula that flows from these passages, namely, that labor will be paid by "the natural measure of labor": time. (5) This, the document states, is not in consonance with the experience of Russia, where labor is highly differentiated according to degree of skill and as regards intellectual and physical differences. The authors therefore propose a new slogan: "distribution according to labor." (6) They consider that they have thus translated the law of value into a function of socialism. It should be noted that they thereby completely identify "distribution according to labor" with distribution according to value.

THERE IS INCONTROVERTIBLE EVIDENCE that there exists in Russia at present a sharp class differentiation based upon a division of function between the workers, on the one hand, and the managers of industry, millionaire *kolkhozniki*, political leaders and the intelligentsia in

EDITOR'S NOTE

"A New Revision of Marxian Economics" is the original title of the essay we reprint here. It is Raya Dunayevskaya's 1944 rejoinder to the Stalinist perversion of Marx's greatest work, *Capital*.

The article explores Marx's views on the lower phase of communism and of the new society in his *Critique of the Gotha Program*. News and Letters Committees will discuss this piece in meetings on "Alternatives to Capitalism" this spring. See the announcement below.

Notes by Dunayevskaya are so noted. Bracketed words and other notes are by the editors. The original text is in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 209, and was reprinted in *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State Capitalism*, pp. 83-87.

Can the law of value be uprooted?

general, on the other. It is this which explains certain tendencies which began to appear after the initiation of the Five Year Plans and have since become crystallized. The juridical manifestation of this trend culminated in 1936 in the abolition of the early Soviet constitution. The constitution which was adopted in its place legalized the existence of the intelligentsia as a special "group" in Soviet society. This distinction between the intelligentsia and the mass of workers found its economic expression in the formula: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor." (7) This formula should be compared with the traditional Marxist formula: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." (8) "Each according to his need" has always been considered a repudiation of the law of value. The document, however, states that "distribution according to labor" is to be effected through the instrumentality of money. This money is not script notes or some bookkeeping term but money as the price expression of value. According to the authors, "the measure of labor and measure of consumption in a socialist society can be calculated only on the basis of the law of value." (9)

The whole significance of the article, therefore, turns upon whether it is possible to conceive of the law of value functioning in a socialist society, that is, a non-exploitative society.

Marx took over from classical political economy its exposition of the law of value in the sense that labor was the source of value, and socially necessary labor time the common denominator governing the exchange of commodities. Marx, however, drew from this labor theory of value his theory of surplus value. He criticized classical political economy for mistaking the apparent equality reigning in the commodity market for an inherent equality. The laws of exchange, Marx contended, could give this appearance of equality only because value, which regulates exchange, is materialized human labor. When the commodity, labor power, is bought, equal quantities of materialized labor are exchanged. But since one quantity is materialized in a product, money, and the other in a living person, the living person may be and is made to work beyond the time in which the labor produced by him is materialized in the means of consumption necessary for his reproduction. To understand the nature of capitalist production, it is therefore necessary, Marx contended, to leave the sphere of exchange and enter the sphere of production. There it would be found that the dual nature of commodities—their use-value and value—merely reflects the dual nature of labor—concrete and abstract labor—embodied in them. For Marx the dual character of labor "is the pivot on which a clear comprehension of political economy turns." (10)

MARX CALLED THE LABOR PROCESS OF CAPITAL the process of alienation. Abstract labor is **alienated labor**, labor estranged not merely from the product of its toil but also in regard to the very process of expenditure of its labor power. Once in the process of production, the labor power of the worker becomes as much a "component part" of capital as fixed machinery or constant capital, which is, again, the workers' materialized labor. According to Marx, Ricardo "sees only the quantitative determination of exchange value, that is, that it is equal to a definite quantity of labor time; but he forgets the qualitative determination, that individual labor must by means of its alienation be presented in the form of **abstract, universal, social labor**." (11)

In its Marxian interpretation, therefore, the law of value entails the use of the concept of alienated or exploited labor and, as a consequence, the concept of surplus value.

Hitherto all Marxists have recognized this fact. Hitherto Soviet political economy adhered to this interpretation. In 1935 Mr. A. Leontiev, one of the present

editors of *Pod Znamenem Marxizma*, wrote: "The Marxian doctrine of surplus value is based, as we have seen, on his teaching of value. That is why it is important to keep the teaching of value free from all distortions because the theory of exploitation is built on it." (12) And again: "It is perfectly clear that this division of labor into concrete and abstract labor exists only in **commodity production**. This dual nature of labor reveals the basic contradiction of commodity production." (13)

The new article contradicts this theory and its past interpretation. It recognizes the existence in Russia of concrete and abstract labor but denies the contradiction inherent in the dual nature of labor. It recognizes the pivot upon which political economy turns, but denies the basis of exploitation which to all Marxists as well as to opponents of Marxism has hitherto been the essence of the Marxist analysis. This is the problem the article must solve. It is interesting to watch how this is done.

IN PLACE OF THE CLASS EXPLOITATION, which was the basis of the Marxist analysis, the new theoretical generalization proceeds from the empirical fact of the existence of the USSR, assumes socialism as irrevocably

established, and then propounds certain "laws of a socialist society." These are 1) the industrialization of the national economy, and 2) the collectivization of the nation's agriculture. It must be stated here that both these laws are not laws at all. Laws are a description of economic behavior. The "laws" the article mentions are statements of fact. What follows the laws as a manifestation of the "objective necessity of

a socialist society"—"distribution according to labor"—does partake of the character of a law. "Objective necessity," it must be remarked, does not arise from the economic laws; the economic laws arise from objective necessity; it may, of course, manifest itself differently in the Soviet Union, but the manifestations the present authors cite are precisely the ones that emanate from capitalist society. The document fails to make any logical connection between the new basis, "socialism," and the law characteristic of capitalist production—the law of value. The implication that the state is **really "for"** the principle of paying labor according to needs, but is forced by objective necessity to pay according to value is precisely the core of the Marxist theory of value. The supreme manifestation of the Marxian interpretation of the law of value is that labor power, exactly as any other commodity, is paid at value, or receives only that which is socially necessary for its reproduction.

This startling reversal of Soviet political economy is neither adventitious nor merely conciliatory. That is the real significance of the article. It is a theoretical justification of social distinctions enshrined in the Soviet constitution. That this elaborate theoretical justification is made is proof that the Russian people are being prepared for the continuance of a social relation which had no place in the conceptions of the founders of communism or the founders of the Soviet state. The article argues that the law of value has operated not only in capitalism but also has existed from time immemorial. As proof, its present existence in the Soviet Union is cited and a reference is made to Engels' statement that the law of value has existed for some five to seven thousand years. Engels' statement, however, is contained in an article in which he deals with the law of value only in so far as commodity prices reflect the exact value of commodities. The Marxian thesis is that the more backward the economy, the more exactly do prices of individual commodities reflect value; the more advanced the economy, the more commodity prices deviate; they then sell at prices of production though in the **aggregate** all prices are equal to all values. In that sense, Engels states, the law

Continued on page 9



Alternatives to Capitalism

How Marx's critique of capital illuminates the path to overcoming the dominance of capitalism today — a series of discussions

Today's crises of imperialist war and terrorism call on us not only to oppose both sides of the conflict but also to take responsibility for developing a liberating alternative to this racist, sexist, class-ridden society. If we fail to do so, we will forever be confronted with having to choose between "the lesser evil" or some false alternative. Developing a vision of a new society does not simply mean being for practical struggles for a new society once they arise. It also means theoretically discerning the elements for creating a new society before such struggles arise. This series of open discussions aims to achieve this by exploring how Marx's critique of capital illuminates the path to overcoming today's dominance of capitalism. Marx's critique of capital has two dimensions. One is his critique of capital as a social relation. The second is his critique of leftist alternatives that fall short of a total uprooting of capitalism. Both dimensions of Marx's critique constitute the focus of these meetings:

- 1: Alienation and Humanism: Marx's Critique of the Radical Alternatives of His Time
- 2: Value, Exchange Value, and Freely Associated Labor
- 3: Marx's Critique of Those Who Oppose Capitalism Without Opposing Socially Necessary Labor Time
- 4: Abstract and Concrete: The Dual Character of Labor
- 5: The Fetishism of Commodities and Its Transcendence
- 6: Money, Exchange, and Reification
- 7: How Deep Must Be the Uprooting of Capitalism? Marx's Writings of His Last Decade on Gender and the Non-Western World

For schedules and readings, contact your nearest News and Letters Committee... See page 3.

PHILOSOPHIC DIALOGUE

Negativity, dialectics, and desire

Editor's note: This review of Raya Dunayevskaya's The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx, edited by Peter Hudis and Kevin B. Anderson (Lexington, 2002) first appeared in Radical Philosophy, 116, November/December 2002.

by Ben Watson

Born in Ukraine in 1910, Raya Dunayevskaya emigrated to the U.S. in her teens. By the age of 20 she was active on the U.S. Left, her ability to read Russian giving her an advantage in interpreting the contradictory messages emerging from revolutionary Russia. She served as Trotsky's secretary in 1937-38, but broke with him over the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939. Trotsky stuck to his analysis of Russia as a "degenerated workers' state"; Dunayevskaya would not swallow the idea that a workers' state, however degenerate, could ally with a fascist one.

Her subsequent investigations revealed exploitation by the bureaucrats and extraction of surplus value from labour; she and her comrade C.L.R. James therefore defined the USSR as "state-capitalist." Having formed the Forest-Johnson Tendency, named after their clandestine pseudonyms in the (American) Socialist Workers Party, they also abandoned the Leninist concept of the vanguard party. They then dissolved their Tendency, since tendencies only have meaning within a party's factional fights.

Dunayevskaya's economic analyses of Soviet statistics about Five Year Plans in 1942 run parallel to those circulated in 1948 by Tony Cliff, founder of the (British) Socialist Workers Party. Both used Marxist categories to diagnose capitalist relations of exploitation in Russia. However, reacting against the "materialist" economism of the Stalinists, Dunayevskaya argued her case by calling for a return to Marx's philosophy. To distinguish it from both pre-1914 social democracy and communism after Lenin's death and Trotsky's defeat, Dunayevskaya named her philosophy "Marxist-humanism." Lenin and the Russian revolutionaries of 1917-23 were the sole exceptions in her universal condemnation of "post-Marx Marxists" (including Engels and Lukács).

Her involvement with Hegel was not casual, and, despite harsh words about academics, she spoke at Hegel conferences and engaged non-Marxist Hegelians in lively correspondence. Nevertheless, her conviction that no one else had understood the last three syllogisms of *Science of Logic*, and that these provide an opening into a new epoch for humanity, can sound slightly crackpot, especially when repeated in talk after talk, letter after letter. Her "revelation" of 1953, when she grasped the significance of Hegel's Absolute, is returned to again and again with an obsessiveness worthy of Philip K. Dick. But—again like Dick—this obsessiveness is infectious, and at times moving.

Dunayevskaya's belief that philosophy must step out into the world unmediated by politics or concrete demands struck James as hopelessly unrealistic, and they parted ways. What had been a weapon for criticizing Stalinist residues in Trotskyism—revival of Hegelian dialectics—now became the core of Dunayevskaya's thought. Although influential within the New Left of the 1960s, she eschewed both academic and party positions until her death in 1987. There are tributes on the back of this volume from academics such as Douglas Kellner and Susan Buck-Morss, but she was proudest of her correspondence with worker-militants like Charles Denby and Harry McShane. By the 1980s her small circle of supporters resembled a cult: but, cult or not, it has provided excellent editors—the introduction and footnotes here are wonderfully informative, conscientious and accurate.

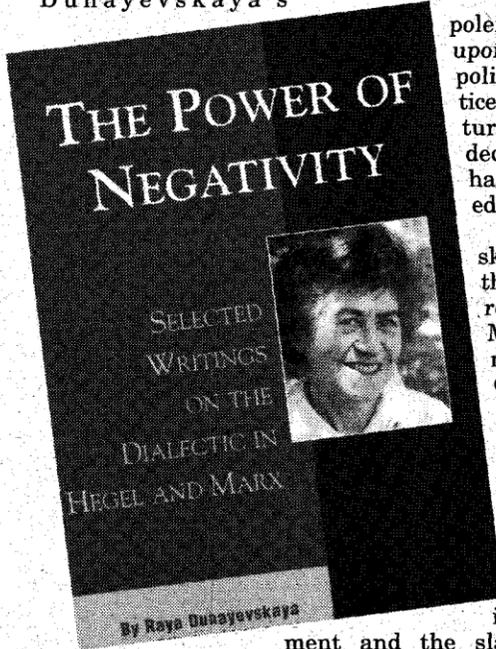
This collection allows us a glimpse of Dunayevskaya in action: how she attempted to communicate her new philosophy without the usual Marxist mediations of party, votes, leadership, theoretical journal, internal bulletins, newspaper and propaganda.

The idea of taking Hegel straight to the masses is not as absurd as it sounds. When she spoke to students, auto workers and anti-war activists in Tokyo in January 1966, or to a similar audience at the Black-Red Conference in Detroit in January 1969, or after the Soweto revolt in South Africa in December 1976, her words have a conviction and clarity which is hair-raising. She may not have cited facts and figures about overtime rates and pay deals, which peppered the speeches Cliff gave to mass meetings of workers in the early 1970s, but she transmits an equally revolutionary message. Perhaps the publishers were thinking of the anticapitalist movement and the publishing success granted Naomi Klein, Susan George and Toni Negri when they issued this collection.

Like her classic *Marxism and Freedom* (1958), this book is centered on Lenin's aphorism that a whole generation of Marxists had failed to understand *Capital* because they hadn't understood Hegel's *Science of Logic*. Dunayevskaya then caps this with the idea that because he himself hadn't gone far enough into Hegel because he stopped at the transition of Logic into Nature (Practice), rather than going on to the Absolute Idea (Freedom). Unfortunately, such a direct translation of philosophy into politics is only likely to convince those who have already discovered in Hegel and Marx a basis for collective political action.

Despite recent attempts by star intellectuals such as

Zizek and Jameson, discussion of Lenin and dialectics without the democracy and decision-making of a Marxist party seems unreal and ungrounded. As the meetings of her followers attest, Dunayevskaya's ideas are mainly attractive to ex-members of various Marxist groups, united in their bitterness about past attempts to lead and orient them in the struggle. In other words, Dunayevskaya's



polemics rely upon the very political practices and structures she declares she transcends. Dunayevskaya traces the American roots of Marxism, not to the General Congress of Labor in Baltimore in 1866, but further back to the abolitionist movement and the slave revolts which led to the Civil War. This is an excellent way of exploding the Reformist recuperation of Marx's writings on the U.S. However, despite a plethora of good moments, the book as a whole lacks force. Away from her factional fights and debates, Dunayevskaya can appear to lack a strategic vision of the object of attack. Anticapitalism seems worlds away from her obsessive

readings of Hegel, and orthodox Trotskyism too small and frail a boat—already riddled with holes, shot from both inside and outside—to rock with revolutionary conviction.

Dunayevskaya's reading of Hegel is persuasive because it pours real history and political experience back into his categories. The manner in which she and James wrestled with Hegel was a breakthrough for radical philosophy, rescuing some of the most difficult texts in Western philosophy from the professionals.

Dunayevskaya argues that the "incomprehensibility" of Hegel is political in itself, due to his insistence that concepts are not inert counters in an eternal game of logic, but fluid, self-moving "notions" with their own tendency. History and change are therefore the substance of thought, not its corruption, as Plato believed. Lenin made the point that this fluidity, when not sophistry and subjectivism on the part of the thinker, results from the fact that notions reflect objective developments in the world.

The unabashed and exaggerated manner in which Dunayevskaya revelled in Hegelianism has something of the poet about it. Towards the end of her life, she used phrases like "the Idea itself thinking." This echoes the idealist climaxes of Hegel's great works, which have the soaring self-congratulation of prayers and wish-fulfilling dreams, a vertigo eagerly sought by poets. Beginning with Heine and on to Mayakovsky and Breton, authentic Marxism has always had a fruitful relationship with poets—but it also has a tradition of criticizing such formulations as "idealist."

James and Dunayevskaya were correct to see that disinterest in Lenin's ruminations on the *Greater Logic* were part of Stalinist suppression of the speculative, subjective side of Marxism, and that this side is crucial. Like Walter Benjamin's image of official communism's "historical materialism"—hiding away the dwarf of theology inside a chess-playing robot—the claim that Marxism is positive science ("economics") rather than

Continued on page 8

Consciousness and revolution

A response to Ben Watson

by Dave Black

Ben Watson's critique of Dunayevskaya's *The Power of Negativity* centers on the nature of "consciousness," in particular a statement by her in 1984 on "the actual participants in revolution": "Whether or not they were conscious of actually being the history-makers, they were exactly that."

In the next sentence (which Watson doesn't quote), Dunayevskaya referred, as example, to the milkmaids who initiated the Paris Commune in 1871 when they raised the alarm against the bourgeois government's attempt to remove the city's artillery defences. But to simply point out that "of course" the milkmaids weren't conscious of the fact that their action would overthrow the government would not be enough to answer Watson's charge that Dunayevskaya was "saying that the revolutionary masses can make history unconsciously. Her enthusiasm for social movements finally betrays her philosophy." His critique calls for a serious philosophic response.

Watson, as a good anti-Stalinist, is of course aware of the denigration of "consciousness" as "subjectivity" during the epoch, post-1917, of counter-revolution-within-revolutions. Dunayevskaya, in 1964, wrote that "two kinds of subjectivity characterize our age of state-capitalism." One was represented by Mao Zedong ("no regard for objective conditions... as if a party of the elite that is armed can both harness the energies of men and remold their minds"). The other kind was the "second type of subjectivity" which rested on the Hegelian "transcendence of the opposition between Notion and Reality"; a subjectivity that had "absorbed" objectivity, that is to say, through its struggle for freedom it gets to know and cope with the objectively real" (*The Power of Negativity*, p. 157).

A year later (1965) however, she found this class divide (between petit-bourgeois and proletarian) to be incomplete and told her Japanese audience that this "second subjectivity" had to be broken into two kinds of revolutionary subjectivity: firstly, what the workers were going to do anyhow (whether the theoreticians listened or not); and secondly, "what the theoreticians must do" who have listened (p. 144).

Because historical development negates all of the forms that have gone before (such as the vanguard party), these two second types of subjectivity must also be the two sides of the one "second negativity" which creates the new society. It is precisely these insights which explain why, as Watson puts it, "she was proudest of her correspondence with worker-militants like Charles Denby and Harry McShane."

Watson offers an eclecticism that wants to humanize the vanguard party project by "turning Hegelian concepts into accessible slogans" and promoting a "revolutionary interpretation" of "the unconscious." He expresses "frustration" at Dunayevskaya for not "relating to the French tradition of Charles Fourier, surrealism and the Situationists."

"Tradition" however is itself at the mercy of the power of negativity. A "surrealist Hegel," which Wat-

son thinks "would provide just the ally Dunayevskaya needs" for entering a "new era" of revolutionary thought, was precisely what the Situationists rejected. Guy Debord, whilst praising the surrealists' assertion of the "sovereignty of desire and surprise," at the same time pronounced that their "idea of the infinite richness of the unconscious" was the "error at the root" of their project.

Dunayevskaya's critiques of council communism and Lukács's theory of the "reification" of consciousness (chapters 1 and 12) in my view shed much light on Debord's attempt to fuse the two.*

(I cannot incidentally see in Stewart Home's cold-blooded porno-punk fiction anything that "might help to translate the extreme subjectivism of Hegelian rhapsody into more materialist, Marx-friendly terms," let alone "[burst] the religious afflatus" of Hegel's Absolute Knowledge.)

Watson charges Dunayevskaya with an "uncritical embrace" of "new social movements" over and against the "crew of unhip grumblers" who sail the sinking ship of "post-Marx Marxism." Clearly though, judging by her writings throughout this book (covering from 1949-87), her "embrace" was never uncritical. For if mass movements were beyond criticism there would have been no need for her to write any of her books in the first place or for Watson to review them.

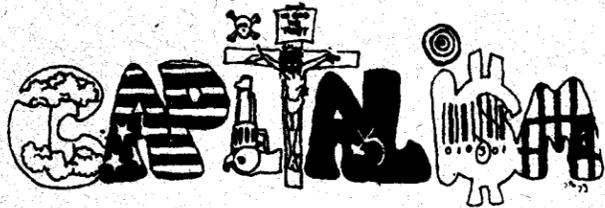
When Watson says "Unfortunately, radical philosophy, unsupported by political party, academia or celebrity is a thin—if occasionally head-spinning—broth to live by," he does identify the challenge facing Marxist-Humanism. After all, in the history of post-Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanism, there have been those who could not accept her determination not to allow philosophy and organization to exist side-by-side in separate "enclaves." But to "choose" between the "Practical" and "Theoretical" fails to realize that both tend to fall apart in separation.

At the end of her life, in 1987, Dunayevskaya, in continuing to develop the "philosophic moment" of 1953 on Hegel's Absolute Idea, categorized the dialectics of philosophy and organization as the "ground and roof" of her and her colleagues' project. The 2003-2004 Perspectives of News and Letters Committees, addressing the error of treating philosophy as only theoretical and organization as only practical, asks:

"Why shouldn't we exercise [the theoretic power of philosophy] in class struggles, in Black struggles, in the anti-war movement, in youth and Womens Liberation struggles. In a word, why not project Marxist-humanist philosophy **organically** as the power that is both the form for eliciting from the masses their thought and projecting Marxist Humanist perspectives to them?"

Watson's readable and provocative review of *The Power of Negativity* is most welcome, but the question remains: "why not?"

*See "Art, Reification and Class Consciousness in the Situationist International," by David Black, *Hobgoblin* 4, at: <http://members.aol.com/THEHOBGOBL/Hobgoblin4.html>



READERS' VIEWS

Never in history have the coffers of this nation been so blatantly thrown open for corporate pillaging as they are now under the Bush administration. The rapacious hunger of capital is being served as never before and is increasingly transparent in every sphere of life in America—in the jobless economy, the health care industry, the burgeoning monopolistic developments in the media, airline industry, finance, auto industry, electronics, pharmaceuticals, agriculture, energy and the military-industrial complex. And the horrors of this greed are nowhere more clearly revealed than in the U.S. imperialistic involvement in Iraq and the human and financial toll that it is extracting.

What we are experiencing today is the ruthless new stage of what Karl Marx analyzed 150 years ago as he traced the laws of capital. What is demanded is the total uprooting of this deadly system if humanity is to survive.

Andy Phillips
Detroit

We hear every day that they are freeing everyone over there in Iraq but we're losing our freedom here to things like the Patriot Act. We have to look at what it's costing us to supposedly "give" them their freedom, when there's not enough money for education or even rat control here.

Retired Black worker
Memphis

During his presidency, Ronald Reagan tried to call ketchup a "vegetable" for school lunch programs which he was trying to eliminate. Bush is doing him one better by trying to eliminate the kinds of school programs that would give our youth the education and training needed for all those supposed "higher end" hi-tech jobs to replace the "low-end" jobs going to India and China. Taking a cue from the Reagan era, he is trying to call flipping burgers at fast-food chains a "manufacturing job." Manufacturing fries and burgers? I can hear the new welcome to McDonalds: "Would you like some right-wing vegetable to go with your order, sir?"

Fed up
California

Last month's "Workshop Talks" reminded me that every job that moves "offshore" goes to another worker—a human being with hopes, needs and dreams similar to any of us working in the U.S. The Pakistani worker who threatened to release confidential medical records to obtain her back pay represents workers everywhere rebelling against capitalism's exploitation. When Marx wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* "Workers of the world unite," he foresaw capitalism's ability to pit worker against worker in different industries and different countries. He saw the problem has to be solved globally so one group of workers would not gain at the expense of others. We have to continue to support international organizing by workers. One small way might be to avoid terms like "cheap labor" when the real problem is "cheap capitalism."

Susan Van Gelder
Detroit

I've been a nurse at Kaiser before the AFL-CIO labor-management partnership came in, and even before the landmark "Quality-Care" contract was won by the California Nurses Association. That was a great victory, but then the unions imploded. The more things change, the more they stay the same. They said "change is coming" but where's the real change? I'm still skipping my lunches and my breaks like I did a decade ago, just so my patients won't get worse. Where's the partnership? Where's the change?

Registered nurse
California

Here in Britain we're told we have never had it so good in 200 years. The "we" must be the ruling class and its servants in Parliament. So greedy are our political masters that they now have the best pension fund in the country. Tony Blair is thought to have over 1.4 million pounds (\$2.8 million) in his. This kind of affluence is also true of the trade union leadership and the secondary layer throughout Parliament and local government.

Meanwhile the poor, the weak, and the needy are to be punished even further. For those who are employed, increasing productivity and longer working days are the norm. The relentless drive for profit and the methods to extract it are not new. But the difference is that in the past some kind of network and safety net existed. Britain today may be the fourth richest country in the world but it occupies a 10th rating in health and longevity.

Pat Duffy
England

One of the things I remember best from reading Frederick Douglass' autobiography was his observation that when he moved North, he didn't see the workers singing as they worked, the way he remembered the chattel slaves doing when he lived in the South. He said it seemed to be a characteristic of enslaved workers and that once they were freed of their chains they didn't seem to require singing to get through the day.

It reminded me of all the postal workers I worked with who are equipped with Walkman headphones and I wondered if it marked a new form of slavery?

Ex-Postal worker
Battle Creek, Michigan

WHO SUPPORTS BUSH'S WAR?

Perhaps a thousand took part in the anti-war demonstration in Spokane. It included a march to a local recruiting station where a brief "die-in" was staged. For every motorist on a busy arterial who flipped us the bird, perhaps as many as four out of five honked in support or flipped us the peace sign. The second America does not support this war. We are not alone. In the U.S. and all around the world, majorities have come forward to say no to Bush's war. We belong to a global majority.

Protester
Spokane

In comparison to the demonstrations a year ago, two things struck me this year. One, there are a great many more families of soldiers participating in the protests and being very vocal about their opposition to the war. Two, the pro-war demonstrators—despite the way the press insists on giving them "equal time" even when their numbers are tiny—were not present this weekend at all.

March 20 protester
San Francisco

When my neighbor heard that Bush would be speaking on March 6 on campus to a select group, he quickly gathered a number of friends who met with around 400 other demonstrators in front of Shrine Auditorium. Most were students demonstrating against the war for the first time. One explained that it is now impossible to ignore Bush's dangerous attitude.

Observer
Los Angeles

ELECTIONS 2004

The Republicans are launching a voter registration drive. Nothing unusual about that, but their mechanism is a truck called the "Reggie the Voter Registration RIG." Yes, I know the Democrats have been doing this sort of thing for decades, but the fact that the Republican National Committee is openly calling theirs a RIG strikes me as being especially appropriate. Are they telling us they intend to rig the next election, too?

Registered voter
Illinois

It was important the way the March lead article took up Kerry's half-hearted opposition to Bush. Kerry was an anti-Vietnam war activist but buried the real meaning of his past for the cause of electability. We can't be under any illusions that Kerry will solve our problems. We become short-sighted if we get so desperate that we forget he's at best the lesser of two evils.

Longtime anti-war activist
Memphis

Did you know that there's an Impeach Bush website that a month ago had 12,000 people signed up and by March had 40,000? It's an opportunity to keep exposing his lies and convince people to vote him out, but I'd say we should impeach him because what he's done is so bad, it's not enough to just vote him out of office.

Environmental activist
Tennessee

Yes, there were monumental intelligence failures with respect to the search for Weapons of Mass Destruction. The most monumental of all was the lack of intelligence in the White House.

Disgusted
California

I'm very glad too see Martha Stewart was found guilty. If you can't get the sharks, at least catch the minnows.

Revolutionary
Chicago

It was a sad day for America when Martha Stewart was found guilty. I'm far, far from being a Stewart fan, but where is the justice in this? She lied about \$50,000 worth of stocks and she might get 20 years in the slammer. Bush lied about millions of dollars and a lot more things that have cost us many human lives. And he might get four more years? In the White House!

Justice seeker
California

TERRORISM IN SPAIN

We have seen another horrible terrorist attack on humanity, this time in Spain. Although the Spanish administration quickly said it was an act of the ETA, it soon turned out to be the work of Islamic fundamentalists. That is what most people in Spain and elsewhere thought of directly. The Spanish government was attempting to cover up their policy of support for Bush in Iraq, despite the opposition of 90% of the Spanish people, by accusing the ETA of the bombings. Although the ETA is a nationalist and sectarian organization, which has used terrorist actions, this attack was not in their line. What it shows is that, once again, people like Bush, Blair and Aznar do not make the world safer but even more insecure. They have only one goal: the profitability of capital. As a result of their policy they strengthen the terror of the fundamentalists. The Marxist-Humanist perspective is proved correct once again—the need is to develop resistance against U.S. imperialism AND Islamic fundamentalism.

K.L.
Netherlands

If the mass murder in Madrid was the work of ETA, then we are living in a

world in which a section of the "Left" has adopted not only the tactics of Al Qaeda but also a strategic mindset which makes more sense to fans of Nostradamus than students of Clausewitz. It has nothing to do with the thinking of left nationalism in the sense that has been understood since 1848.

The question of who did this atrocity was of great importance. The perpetrators have successfully made a mockery of the Spanish election campaign. The Popular Party expected the people to vote not on policy but on alternative candidates for the atrocities: the ETA theory vs. the Al Qaeda theory.

D.B.
Britain

PRO- AND ANTI-MARXISTS

I enjoyed the article "Marx's Concept of Intrinsic Value" in the March 2004 N&L. I would like to see more pro-Marxist articles like that.



This brings me to a line in the article that reads, "Those Marxists who think they have refuted Marx by intoning..." Shouldn't they be called "anti-Marxists" instead of "Marxists"? If they are working to disprove and cloud his meanings aren't they anti-Marxists? If they are all Marxists, how can you tell the pro-capitalist Marxists from the anti-capitalist Marxists? There are "Marxologists" who flout his work. I think they should also be called anti-Marxist.

Sid Rasmussen
Iowa

REAL TIME DIALECTIC

In his fine commentary on Raya Dunayevskaya's letter of March 25, 1979 on the Iranian revolution (see March 2004 N&L), Ron Brokmeyer writes, "Dunayevskaya's account also takes the measure of bourgeois democratic intellectuals like Bani-Sadr who ended by being eaten by the revolution because he didn't challenge Islam with the self-determining forms that come from the masses." While Dunayevskaya had criticisms of Bani-Sadr in March 1979, the fact is that nowhere in her March 25 1979 piece does she so much as mention Bani-Sadr, much less "take the measure" of him.

Moreover, in a later writing of June 25, 1981, Dunayevskaya explicitly called for the defense of Bani-Sadr against Khomeini's drive to remove him from power. She wrote, "It is no small matter that 17 months after Bani-Sadr was elected as the first president ever of Iran by no less than 75% of the population, he has been driven from office by Khomeini. Bani-Sadr isn't any 'second Shah'. Khomeini is. From the very day that Bani-Sadr had been democratically, overwhelmingly elected, the IRP began plotting to make the post of President powerless." At the time, Dunayevskaya's call for critical support for Bani-Sadr involved her in numerous debates with Iranian revolutionaries, including some who considered themselves close to Marxist-Humanism, who opposed her position on ultra-leftist grounds.

The projection of the dialectic "in real time" is surely important, but that involves drawing out the dialectic immanent in the movement of actual events instead of imposing upon them (to borrow a phrase from Marx) some "master-key of a general historic-philosophical theory, whose supreme virtue consists in being supra-historical."

Peter Wermuth
Chicago

WHAT COMES AFTER?

I fully agree with Ron Brokmeyer's critique in "Readers' Views," March 2004, that hearing the voices from below and explaining our present world-historical situation are important dimensions of our work but "not good enough." He is right that the movement to second negation requires us to ask the question now, "What comes after?" Truncating the dialectic in the moment of first negation gives rise to counter-revolution within the movement of revolution itself, rather than continuing to revolution in permanence.

As Marxist-Humanists we cannot afford to underestimate the significance of the question "What comes after?" On the other hand, however, the critique of the mechanistic, deterministic idea of an a priori "blueprint" for the future, as if we already possess an answer to the question. Once we recognize that the answer to the question "what comes after?" is not a royal road to science that can substitute for the patience, the suffering, and the labor of the negative, we are required to clarify the sense of the question itself.

Dunayevskaya insisted on it precisely because, within the compass of post-Marx Marxism, an answer was either uncritically assumed, as though we already knew what "socialism" was, or else the question was never asked. The fulcrum of the "philosophic moment" of Marxist-Humanism is the breakthrough to the absolute: the absolute idea of freedom and the absolute as a new beginning.

**Tom More
Washington**

HAITI

When the illegitimate president in the White House, who was not democratically elected, tells the legitimately elected president of Haiti to leave his own country to the onslaught of armed thugs who want to take over under the "protection" of American armed forces, we have to ask: Who is really protecting whom?

**Anti-war marcher
San Francisco**

THE MANY VOICES OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The U.S. is isolated not only when it comes to the war in Iraq. Bush's reactionary policy on women also isolated the U.S. at the annual meeting of the UN Commission on the Status of Women in Santiago, Chile last month. Women makers on health from 41 Latin American and Caribbean countries met to discuss how to further decisions made at the Cairo Conference in 1994. The U.S. voted against the rights of adolescents to get truthful sex education and to support the family "in all its forms." The vote was 40 to 1 against the U.S.

**Women's Liberationist
Memphis**

So much negativity has been put forward against politicized fundamentalist Islam, that it was great to read about what happened in the Philippines. In Muslim-Mindanao, a *fatwah* was issued recently that encouraged Muslims to practice family planning, including the use of contraceptives.

**Feminist
Tennessee**

I wanted to call attention to the fact that March was Women's History Month, so I addressed some comments to the only African-American woman that has some power over the Chicago Police Department. I called to her attention that there is a tradition many tribes and villages perform on the continent of Africa in which the elder women form a circle and then invite a young woman to enter the circle. I asked Lori Lightfoot, OPS chief administrator, to consider that she had allowed 1,083 days to go by, up to then, without grabbing the three white male Chicago police officers who beat young Timia Williams. I told her that the elder sisters—Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Barbara Jordan and Shirley Chisolm—could not open the circle for her because she proved not worthy to be among them. To be worthy would demand going to Mayor Daley with a letter of resignation.

**George Wilfrid Smith Jr.
Chicago**

WOMEN THROUGH HISTORY

In Chicago you're not safe from police harassment even 60-plus years after death. The Park District proposal to name a city park after Lucy Parsons honoring her work "promoting women's, labor and civil rights in Chicago" is part



LUCY PARSONS

of a citywide effort to recognize more women, when currently only 27 of 557 city parks are named for women. However Lucy Ella Gonzalez Parsons Park is being opposed by Mark Donahue, head of the Fraternal Order of Police, because she defended her husband, Albert Parsons, one of the Haymarket martyrs convicted and executed in 1887. Lucy Parsons remained a life-long revolutionary who spent all of her years working to better the lives of those oppressed by all forms of capitalism, including the police, whom she had been known to call "organized bandits." Looking at the state of police brutality here today, I'd say, unfortunately, her words still ring true.

**Lucy Parsons Park supporter
Chicago**

I was glad to hear that there had been a large gathering in Amsterdam this year to commemorate Rosa Luxemburg's life. Raya Dunayevskaya's book on *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* showed how relevant her thinking was for today. She had been imprisoned many times for her opposition to war which is well known. Her ideas on women's liberation were not as well known, but are more important than ever for us to reflect upon as we mark the one-year anniversary of Bush's war on Iraq. What rings out more strongly than ever for me is her insistence that "Freedom only for the supporters of the government, only for the members of one party is no freedom at all. Freedom is always exclusively for the one who thinks differently."

**Women's Liberationist
Michigan**

GAY MARRIAGE

Did anybody not feel excited when news came out of all the people pouring out to line up to get married in San Francisco without restriction of same-sex couples? It's not that legalization of gay marriage will result in equality and respect for gays, but it's clear that it represented a demand to be recognized as human beings and one could feel a dam burst. This country will never be the same. That doesn't mean we should underestimate the forces trying to install a theocracy.

**Supporter
San Diego**

Only with increasing mass opposition to ruling class laws and restrictions will there ever be changes. Of course, much of the uproar about same-sex marriages today is driven by the born-again end-of-timers. If mainstream Christian churches want to maintain any credibility at all today they will have to renounce all that backwardness. There isn't much credibility left in religion on the basis of what scientific research has revealed since the 1800s.

**Longtime Socialist
Wisconsin**

DEMOCRACY IN AARP?

Most of the that AARP members I speak with agree that the AARP is not a democratic organization and that it has sold us down the river to the drug and insurance companies and undermined the basic principles of Social Security as a government-financed-and-administered social welfare program. I understand that over 10,000 members have quit, but I do not plan to quit. I plan to be part of a national campaign to make AARP a transparent and democratic organization.

The innocence of its "non-partisan stance" belies its sellout to the Republican Party. The drug bill can only be understood in the context of the anti-government philosophy of President Bush and his party. The good name of the AARP has been besmirched.

**Stan Rosen
New Mexico**

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by Robert Taliaferro

After World War II the world became polarized into two armed camps: one espousing democracy and freedom, the other supporting Communism and a form of slavery. These two diverse ideologies were exemplified in Berlin. A Cold War had begun and the Berlin Wall became its ideological icon.

Fast forward 60 years and two other ideologies now clash, and as in Berlin, the icon of that political war is a wall and fence called the West Bank Barrier.

On one side of the Berlin Wall there was the West's idea of freedom and prosperity, while the other side featured a decadent oppression of the populace by an occupying government. On one side of the West Bank Barrier we find Israelis gaining a sense of freedom and prosperity, while on the other side we see the collective punishment of Palestinians living in abject poverty, promulgated by another occupying force.

GLOBAL CIVIL WAR

In each case the respective barriers resonated beyond the borders where they existed. As during the Cold War, Africa, Asia, and the Americas have been equally affected by the policies and ideas espoused in the West Bank, resulting in a global Civil War.

Walls and fences depersonalize, desensitize, and deculturalize a people. Whether they enclose a prison, or a community, they act as blinders to the plight of people held within their confines, making it easier to ignore injustice. What is said to be physical barriers to keep out destructive elements only serve to focus those elements towards a central point of hate.

In the West Bank the barrier is said to restrict access of suicide bombers to Jewish settlements, also restricting the average Palestinian from jobs and education. In a triumph of the human spirit over adversity, Palestinians wishing to work or go to school find ways over and around the barrier, much like East Berliners once risked their lives in search of freedom.

BLACK/REDVIEW

Continued from page 1

as children they "learned the twin maxims of slavery by harsh experience: their labor is not their own, and they could be deprived of kin. Although African Americans toiling in the field might be seen as the quintessential image of slavery, the more potent symbol of the system was the auction block."

Families were destroyed on the auction blocks. Mothers and fathers were sold to one slave buyer and their children to another slave buyer. Harriet Tubman wanted her family to escape this vile fate.

NO MORE AUCTION BLOCK!

Harriet Tubman was to challenge this ruthless economic system that lived by the brutal exploitation of Black slave labor. Clinton points out that both the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 and the prohibition of the importation of Black slaves from Africa and the Caribbean after 1808 "had a profound impact on slavery in the United States—with especially drastic results for slaves in the upper South, where Tubman and her family lived."

One result was: "Suddenly, enslaved African-American women, already expected to perform harsh and exacting physical labor, became the sole legal source of slave labor." In other words, enslaved African-American women were forced to produce both material commodities for the market as well as human laborers who would produce more commodities for the market.

This dual exploitation of African-American women made the Maryland slaveholders extremely wealthy. They sold the children of African-American women to owners of Southern cotton plantations at a high price. Harriet Tubman lost two of her sisters in this diabolic exploitation.

According to Catherine Clinton, Harriet Tubman heard a rumor in 1849 that her master was planning to "sell her down the river" and she had to take action. The white woman who aided her in escaping was undoubtedly one of the many women, white and Black, with whom she had made contact in the area. The white woman gave her a slip of paper to deliver to the home of another white woman, who ordered her brusquely to take a broom and sweep the yard. This was a show to make her appear as a servant, at the very moment she had entered into the Underground Railroad. When the woman's husband came home that evening, he loaded Tubman into his wagon and transported her in the dark to another town where she was directed to another station.

Harriet Tubman later became the most prominent "abductor" on the Underground Railroad. Meaning, she went deep into the South to bring slaves out. Only very few had the courage and the skill to engage in this dangerous activity. Conductors only conveyed slaves from one specific depot to the next depot. The abductor went into the very center of slavery and organized willing slaves into an expedition. "She spread the word along the slave grapevine, informing members of plantation communities about the time and place for her ren-

A new Berlin Wall in the West Bank

In 40 years, we have learned nothing with regard to the futility of such monuments. It is disturbing that the one nation that was created to ensure that extreme ethnocentrism will never again become nationalized as a political premise, is now a supporter of such radical isolationist ideas and practices. So much for the ill-conceived U.S.-led "Roadmap for Peace."

It is sadly indicative of how poorly theorized the "Roadmap" was for a region where roadblocks did not consist solely of reinforced concrete barriers, high-performance aircraft, or armor-clad vehicles. In many respects the roadblocks derive from a bumbling ineptness of Western ideas combined with duly-inspired cultural racism between hard-line Palestinians and hard-line Israelis who often acted as pawns of the Cold War, as puppets of U.S. and Soviet monies, battles, and technologies. The critical mass of that racism eventually became self-sustaining as it expanded to encompass average citizens on both sides who wanted nothing more than to raise their families and exist.

The West Bank has become the world's Chernobyl which radiates the poisons of the cultural meltdown of that struggle into the very marrow of every man, woman, and child in the world.

Every brick, every steel support, every drop of mortar mixed and poured is a tribute to the hatred that exists in the region, and a further step away from peace and freedom for Israelis and Palestinians alike.

In the same light, every young Palestinian man and woman who feels that suicide and terrorism is the only available means to secure freedom and a future for their people, only serves to further enslave their people by giving Israel a reason to react.

WALLS...AND BRIDGES

Hard-liners on both sides act as if they have a lock on the pulse of their respective peoples disallowing thoughts of cohesion, peace, and understanding to flourish. The result is a collective ignorance that is deadly.

Harriet Tubman's story

devious with candidates for escape. She might provide false information at first to flush out any betrayers. Once she found local prospects to her satisfaction, Tub-

man made her final appeal... "She directed them by her songs, as to whether they might show themselves or continue to lie low...No one would notice what was sung by the old colored woman as she trudged along the road."

BLACK WOMEN'S GENIUS

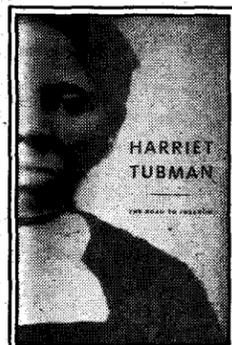
She must have led hundreds of African Americans to freedom. She never learned to read or write, which as Raya Dunayevskaya points out, might have led some to underestimate her intelligence. In 1975, Dunayevskaya said, "Sojourner Truth and sometimes also Har-

riet Tubman are dutifully mentioned, condescendingly admitting their bravery—and of course their suffering as slaves—but never as Reason which drove the educated to face reality: that the Black women were the orators, generals, and, yes, thinkers, whereas they, the middle-class intellectuals, were but subordinates." ("Today's Women Theorists" reprinted in *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*, Wayne State University Press, 1996). As Clinton documents, Tubman was consulted by John Brown about the lay of the land at Harpers Ferry, set the date for his attack, and later became a scout for the Union Army during the Civil War.

Once the war broke out, she knew it had to be about freeing the slaves and **not** saving the Union. She said at the end of 1861 to abolitionist Lydia Maria Child: "I'm a poor Negro; but this Negro can tell Mister Lincoln how to save the money and the young men. He can do it by setting the Negroes free."

This was Marx's criticism of Lincoln at the same time: that he was not winning the Civil War because he did not make emancipation of the slaves the main issue of the War.

This month a statue was erected in Eastern Maryland in honor of the great abolitionist Frederick Douglass in spite of opposition by local veterans who wanted to preserve the court lawn for a statue dedicated to Confederate soldiers. No mention was made of Harriet Tubman, also born in that area, whose participation in the Underground Railroad kept the issue of slavery in the forefront, as a problem that had to be resolved.



Harriet Tubman: The Road to Freedom by Catherine Clinton (Little, Brown, 2004)

PHILOSOPHIC DIALOGUE

Continued from page 5

dialectical humanism has authoritarian implications. It also means that religious or mystical or idealist fads (psychotherapy, existentialism, Nietzscheanism, cultural studies...) come to occupy the "soul" vacated by its soulless materialism. The relationship of radical subjectivity and endless desire to capitalism is a concrete issue that Marxism ignores at its peril. As Dunayevskaya says, "We can no longer, as did Lenin, keep 'our' philosophic notebooks private."

One frustration of Dunayevskaya's thought is that a certain puritanism—always a curse of the American Left—appears to prevent her relating to the French tradition of Charles Fourier, surrealism and the Situationists. Like her, these revolutionaries also talked about "new passions," and the Situationists actually managed to turn Hegelian concepts into accessible slogans. Such a tradition might help to translate the extreme subjectivism of climactic Hegelian rhapsody into more materialist, Marx-friendly terms.

When Hegel quotes Schiller at the end of *Phenomenology of Spirit* ("from the chalice of this realm of spirits/ foams forth for Him his own infinitude"), the Freudian sees the autarchic sex act, or masturbation, but, unlike the radical feminist or Stalinist politico, does not immediately follow this up with moralistic outrage. In his "avant-pulp" novels Stewart Home reminds readers of the affinity between Sadeian sexual fantasy and revolutionary thought. A Home-style sexual-reductionist interpretation of transcendentalism not only bursts the Hegelian religious afflatus; it also begs questions only pro-sex communism—proletarian and feminist—can answer.

"Rediscoveries" are the wellspring of Marxism. John Bellamy Foster recently made a strong case for a socialist ecology by reviving Marx's doctoral dissertation on Epicurus. Likewise, in order to do battle with the post-Deleuzean philosophers of "desire," the new wave of punk writers represented by Home are surely right to revive the scurrilous irreligion and anti-moralism of *The Holy Family* and *The German Ideology* (whose forgotten invective versus Max Stirner's *The Ego and Its Own* now reads like a prophylactic sally against Nietzsche and poststructuralism).

Dunayevskaya's return to dialectics and subjectivity was an essential contribution to the Marxist recovery of the whole person travestied by speciality of thought. However, deprived of the confrontational frankness of the Freudian Left, an insistence on Hegelian subjectivity easily becomes transcendent and unbelievable—in short, religious.

The advantage of the psychoanalytic interpretation over the conventional Marxist charge of "idealism" is it is not driven by repression or moralism. Even if it uses terms which are anathema to Hegelians (and probably to many "post-Marx Marxists"), the pro-sex faction can explain, even celebrate, Hegel's underlying impulse, rather than invoke a taboo. When Wilhelm Reich called orgasm "cosmic plasmatic sensation" he gave it an "infinitude" no materialist can argue with. By reminding us that philosophical writing is a substitute for the ineluctable needs of the human body, a sexual interpretation restores the reader's sense of human equality (this was the thrust of Sloterdijk's revival of Diogenes in *Critique of Cynical Reason*). A surrealist Hegel would provide just the ally Dunayevskaya needs, and could open out into a revolutionary interpretation of dreams, fantasy and the unconscious—and a critique of their exploitation by religion and the culture industry.

However, as shown by her curt dismissal of Freud in 1973 (*Women's Liberation* has declared him sexist, so we can bin him, it is declared in *Philosophy and Revolution*), Dunayevskaya would not be interested. Her direct line between Hegelian philosophy and contemporary political activism meant ignoring the ensemble of revolutionary ideas suppressed by Hitler and Stalin and World War II: the concrete manifestation of the "spirit" of freedom she talks about.

How was the family restored after the worldwide assault on bourgeois respectability in the 1920s? The banning of Freud went together with the attack on dialectical philosophy, working-class organization and women's rights. Although she corresponded with Marcuse and Fromm, it was always about philosophy, never psychoanalysis. (For all his failings over the character-

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Continued on page 10

EDITORIAL

Aristide's departure and Haiti's tragedy

Continued from page 1
profile. However they have not actually disarmed and still control much of the North where they have engaged in brutal reprisals against pro-Aristide forces.

Another indication of the character of Haiti's new order came when Aristide opponents, among them Protestant fundamentalists virulently opposed to the nation's tradition of voodoo, looted and burned the museum of Haitian independence in Port-au-Prince. Aristide, who had disbanded the army in 1994, had established the museum in its former headquarters. The crowd threw priceless works of art out the window and burned works by noted voodoo artists. (Aristide was the first Haitian leader to legalize the practice of voodoo.)

The Fondation AfricAmerica issued a strong protest: "We deplore the destruction by armed crowds and religious fundamentalists of over a hundred works of art, among them invaluable pieces by Pierre Barra, André Eugène, Celeur Jean-Hérard, Ti Pèlen, Ludovic Booz, Edouard Duval Carrié, and Jean Camille Nasson. When the symbols of a civilization are trampled underfoot, tyranny is strengthened." The sculptor Pierre Barra is particularly well known, his work having been exhibited at UCLA's Fowler Museum.

The present crisis in Haiti really began in 1986, when a mass-based revolutionary movement that included Marxists toppled the brutal



The popular voodoo art of Edouard Duval Carrié, portrayer of Baron Samedi, guardian of the cemetery, has fallen out of favor in post-Aristide Haiti.

U.S.-backed Duvalier regime, in power since 1957. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a young priest who espoused the theology of liberation, became the most prominent representative of that mass movement. He did so through his fiery oratory against the oligarchy, which had reduced most Haitians to grinding poverty while itself living a life of luxury.

Swept into power by a landslide (in Creole a "lavalas" or flood) in the 1990 elections, the Aristide government promised radical changes in the conditions of life and labor of the masses. Frightened by such a prospect, the military, backed by the oligarchy, overthrew him in 1991. It ruled by brutal repression and fear, with groups like FRAPH murdering, raping, and torturing at will. In 1994, the Clinton administration reluctantly and belatedly intervened to reinstate Aristide.

Back in office but severely constrained now by U.S. power, Aristide and his Lavalas Party were unable to build the humanist society they had dreamed about. Since Aristide refused to enact the "free market" economic policies that international cap-

ital demanded, the economic aid originally promised dried up, weakening further the economy of what was already the hemisphere's poorest country. Members of the old oligarchy also began to plot against Aristide.

Tragically, in response to these internal and external pressures, Aristide resorted to intimidation and even electoral fraud beginning with the 1997 elections. He used his considerable oratorical skills to blame all of Haiti's problems on his internal and external enemies. Soon Lavalas split, with many of the grassroots activists who had originally supported Aristide now moving away from him. These included leftists like Evans Paul and peasant leader Chavannes Jean-Baptiste. They began to form ties with the conservative opposition around the issue of the country's lack of democracy.

In response, Aristide cracked down harder and harder on the opposition, eventually using violent street gangs whose financial support came from extortion or even the drug trade. Over time, Aristide's support among the masses began to diminish as well. While he still enjoyed passive support in the vast slums and impoverished rural villages, the masses were no longer actively supporting him. This created an opportunity for the ever-watchful forces of reaction and imperialism to move in.

This is the real tragedy of Haiti today. Its harsh lessons will need to be learned, not only by the Haitian people, but also by those the world over who are committed to the struggle against capitalism, imperialism and class rule.

Can the law of value be uprooted?

Continued from page 4

of value has operated for thousands of years, that is, ever since simple exchange and up to capitalist production.⁽¹⁴⁾ That Engels did not in any way depart from value as an exploitative relation characteristic only of capitalist production can best be seen from Mr. Leontiev's own preface to that little booklet, *Engels on Capital*. There the Soviet economist says: "Whereas at the hands of the Social-Democratic theoreticians of the epoch of the Second International, the categories of value, money, surplus value, etc., have a fatal tendency to become transformed into disembodied abstractions inhabiting the sphere of exchange and far removed from the conditions of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, Engels shows the most intimate, indissoluble connection these categories have with the relations between classes in the process of material production, with the aggravation of class contradictions, with the inevitability of the proletarian revolution."⁽¹⁵⁾

Value, Engels has written, is "a category characteristic only of commodity production, and just as it did not exist prior to commodity production, so will it disappear with the abolition of commodity production."⁽¹⁶⁾ It would be sheer absurdity, argued Engels, "to set up a society in which at last the producers control their products by the logical application of an economic category (value) which is the most comprehensive expression of the subjection of the producers by their own product."⁽¹⁷⁾ In the last theoretic writing we have from the pen of Marx, a critique of A. Wagner's *Allgemeine oder theoretische Volkswirtschaftslehre*, Marx castigates "the presupposition that the theory of value, developed for the explanation of bourgeois society, has validity for the 'socialist state of Marx.'"⁽¹⁸⁾

In the opinion of this writer nothing in the article contradicts this firmly established coexistence of the law of value with capitalist production.

THE RADICAL CHANGE in theoretical interpretation that the article presents not unnaturally brings with it important methodological consequences. The authors propose that in the future the structure of *Capital* be not followed and state that the past textbooks which followed the structure violated the "historic principle." Obviously, this is a very grave departure. Engels explains Marx's rejection of the method of the "historical school" by the fact that history proceeded by jumps and zigzags and that, in order to see its inner coherence, it was necessary to abstract from the accidental. The structure of Marx's *Capital* is a logical abstraction seen in its evolution and constantly checked and rechecked and illustrated by historical development.

Marx's dialectic method is deeply rooted in history. However, it utilizes history not as a chronological listing of events but "divested of its historic forms and fortuitous circumstances."⁽¹⁹⁾ Thus the abstract method of Marx does not depart from the "historic principle." On the contrary, the theoretical development of the commodity is in reality the historical development of society from a stage when the commodity first makes its appearance—the surplus of primitive communes—to its highest development, its "classic form"—in capitalism. Where a commodity existed accidentally or held a subordinate position as in primitive, slave or feudal societies, the social relations, whatever we may think of them, were at any rate clear. It is only under capitalism that these social relations assume "the fantastic form of a relation between things."⁽²⁰⁾

That is why Marx analyzes the commodity "at its ripest." He is separating its theoretical potentialities from its historic starting point. Where Marx analyzes a commodity in order to discern the law of its develop-

ment, the Soviet economists now merely proclaim the arrival of the commodity in a "socialist society."

Hence when the authors propose that the structure of *Capital* be not followed in the future, it is not because past Soviet textbooks, patterned on it, violated the "historic principle." It is because of their need to divest the commodity of what Engels called "its particular distinctness" and to turn it into a classless, "general historic" phenomenon applicable to practically all societies.

The ideas and methodology of the article are not accidental. They are the ideas and methodology of an "intelligentsia" concerned with the acquisition of "surplus products." What is important is that this departure from "past teaching of political economy" actually mirrors economic reality. The Soviet Union has entered the period of "applied economics." Instead of theory, the article presents an administrative formula for minimum costs and maximum production. It is the constitution of Russia's post-war economy.

NOTES

1. Published in the *American Economic Review*, Vol. 34:3, September 1944, pp. 531-37, Dunayevskaya's "A New Revision of Marxian Economics" accompanied and critiqued "Teaching of Economics in the Soviet Union," the article she had translated from the Russian theoretical journal *Pod Znamenem Marxizma (Under the Banner of Marxism)*. Her critique provoked great controversy, reaching the front page of *The New York Times* in October 1944, and drawing responses in *American Economic Review* from Oscar Lange, Leo Rogin and Paul Baran. For Dunayevskaya's rejoinder to her critics, see *American Economic Review*, September 1945; also see *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 213.
2. "Teaching of Economics in the Soviet Union," *American Economic Review* (AER) 34, September 1944, p. 523.
3. This is the literal translation of the title the article in *Pod Znamenem Marxizma Dunayevskaya* translated for the AER, September 1944; cf. also *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, 193.
4. AER, op. cit., p. 520; also see Marx-Engels, *Collected Works*, 24:85.
5. AER, op. cit., p. 522; cf. Marx-Engels, *Collected Works*, 25:288.
6. AER, op. cit., p. 521.
7. Ibid.
8. Marx-Engels, *Collected Works*, 24:87.
9. AER, op. cit., p. 522.
10. *Capital* (Charles Kerr, 1909), 1:48. [Also see Vintage, 1:132.]—RD
11. *Teorii Pribavchnoi Stoimosti*, T II, 2, c. 183-84. [Also see *Theories of Surplus Value* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968), 2:504; cf. Marx-Engels, CW, 32:135.]—RD
12. *Political Economy, A Beginner's Course* (New York: International Publishers, 1935), p. 38.—RD
13. Ibid., p. 58.—RD
14. Cf. *Engels on Capital* (New York: International Publishers, 1937), p. 106. [Also see *Capital*, Vintage, 3:1037]—RD
15. *O. Kapitale Marksa*, pp. xi-xii. (*Engels on Capital*.) The English translation does not carry this preface, issued by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute under the supervision of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.—RD
16. *Sochineniia Marksa-Engelsa*, T. XXVII, c. 408. (*Works of Marx-Engels*, Russian ed., 1928-41.)—RD
17. *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* (New York: International Publishers, 1939), p. 347.—RD
18. *Arkhiv Marksa-Engelsa*, T. V., c. 59. (*Archives of Marx-Engels*, Vol. V, p. 59, edited by Adoratsky.) [See *Marx: Texts on Method*, edited by Terrell Carver (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1975), p. 208.]—RD
19. *Frederick Engels on the Materialism and Dialectics of Marx*, included in *Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy* (London: Martin Lawrence, 1934), p. 99.—RD
20. *Capital*, Kerr, 1:83. [Also see Vintage, 1:165.]—RD

Racists in Sierra Club

The right wing is once again angling to turn the Sierra Club into a front group for anti-immigration reactionaries. In 1998 a referendum for the environmental group to adopt an anti-immigration policy garnered 40% of votes, but only because hordes of right-wingers joined just to vote for it. The rabble have returned, this time to elect candidates in the March-April elections for the board of directors who are in bed with racist groups.

White supremacist and nativist groups urged sympathizers to join and elect the anti-immigration slate. Of even greater concern, however, is their endorsement by Paul Watson, head of Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, who was recently elected to the Sierra Club board and wants to turn it into an animal rights group. Watson has a mystique of radicalism because of Sea Shepherd's practice of ramming whaling ships.

UNPRINCIPLED ALLIANCE

Such "direct action" is the prime measure of worthiness to a certain type of middle-class would-be "radical," from reactionaries like Earth First! founder Dave Foreman to Black Bloc anarchists. The ease with which Watson fell into an unprincipled alliance with the racist right should be proof enough of that attitude's emptiness.

The more the true nature of these candidates comes to light, the more likely their takeover attempt is to fail. Resistance within the Sierra Club has come from two directions. One group, Groundswell, is fighting to maintain the club as a "big tent," open to newcomers and haters of immigrants, and to hunters as well as animal rightists, as long as they favor conservation.

Quite different are the environmental justice activists and others who formed Sierrans for Human Rights to counter anti-immigration forces in "the environmental movement as a whole," calling on the Sierra Club to jettison its current neutrality on immigration.

Instead they call for "a deeper analysis into the causes of immigration, many of which are rooted in the inequities inherent in economic globalization...damaging communities and ecosystems alike." And they call for "an unequivocal position in support of justice for immigrants."

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

The success the Right has already had in placing some reactionaries on the board—alongside their chum Paul Watson—highlights the incompleteness of the environmental movement's response to the movement against environmental racism. In the past 15 years mainstream groups like the Sierra Club have tried to attract people of color as staff and members. But the environmental justice movement also challenged the narrowness of ideas—a challenge not to separate environmentalism from the needed social transformation. The official neutrality on immigration is one sign of the failure to respond.

The door was left open to the Right precisely because of the pragmatic refusal to close the gap between environmental activism and the deep, revolutionary transformation needed to steer this society away from its current path damaging both communities and ecosystems. Instead, the mainstream remains tied into the corrupt political system, which has moved drastically to the Right and is dragging the environmental movement along with it.

—Franklin Dmitryev

Fight Christian Right's attacks on women's lives

Continued from page 1

that attempted to keep Blacks from voting after Reconstruction—everything from unnecessary waiting periods lasting days, to lectures full of lies about abortions causing breast cancer, to being forced to have an ultrasound; and now, in Texas, a woman must show her photo ID, which will then be copied and put on file. Several states are trying to ban abortion altogether, some with no exceptions for women whose life or health is endangered or who became pregnant through rape or incest.

- Illiteracy is reaching epidemic proportions. An amazing 50% of women in the U.S. have levels of literacy lower than an average high school graduate; 23% of women have very limited reading ability, while 17% of men fall into that same category.⁽³⁾ The cause? Women drop out of school because of abuse, poverty, pregnancy, undiagnosed learning disabilities. Illiteracy is a symptom of poverty and of the undervaluation of women and girls.

- Religious political fundamentalism as the law of the land is something we've seen women in Iraq and Afghanistan battle. Now we have the U.S. version as the purposefully misnamed "Constitution Restoration Act" (H.R. 3799; S. 2082), introduced in Congress by Republican hardliner Robert Aderholt. It aims to mandate "God as the sovereign source of law, liberty, or government." Among other outrages, the bill would stop federal courts, including the U.S. Supreme Court, from hearing cases involving "expressions of religious faith by elected or appointed officials." The ramifications of such a law would be devastating, opening wide the doors of intolerance and hate.

AMENDMENT TO OBLITERATE HUMANNESS

One of the most retrogressive acts of Bush's presidency has been his support for a new Constitutional amendment to outlaw same-sex marriages. But we can't let Clinton off the hook. In 1996 he signed the Defense of Marriage Act, which defined "marriage" as being solely between a man and a woman, and said that states are not required to recognize marriages or civil unions performed in other states or jurisdictions.

When Democratic Party presidential candidate Sen. John Kerry invokes the notion of "states' rights"—discredited by the Civil Rights Movement—in his own waffling opposition to gay marriage, he is simply remaining within the Clinton paradigm. This would force same-sex couples who marry to move—or perhaps flee—from one part of the country to another because a bunch of fundamentalists can wield control over a piece of territory.

The genuine, mass spontaneity in which gay and lesbian couples seized the moment to make their demands for equality public began, fittingly, with the marriage in San Francisco of Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, decades-long activists for lesbian and women's rights, and founders of the Daughters of Bilitis.

Many in the Gay Lesbian Bisexual Transgender Intersex (GLBTI) movement compare their struggle to the Civil Rights Movement—including GLBTI African Americans. While the comparison is being debated by African Americans, Black legislators in Georgia voted en masse against a state constitutional amendment to ban gay marriage, and Black Representative Phillip West of Natchez, Miss. spoke for many when he declared, "The bottom line is we know what it's like to be discriminated against."

Any comparison with the Civil Rights Movement can't ignore the fact that political emancipation has not equaled human emancipation for the masses of Black people in the U.S. who still face discrimination and oppression in employment, housing, education, health care, and a racist prison-industrial complex that U.S. capitalism created to deal with the whole situation. The history of the gay and lesbian liberation movement shows it reached beyond political emancipation, as did the Civil Rights Movement.

The Stonewall rebellion in New York in 1969 against police harassment of gay men was never a struggle to be seen as "the same" as straight people. Rather it was a fight to be seen as human beings who should be respected regardless of difference. The gay liberation movement of the 1970s and beyond (which was quite clear about what it owed to the revolutionary Black struggle) has shared much of the critique of patriarchal social relationships, including marriage, with the Women's Liberation Movement. Lesbians in the women's movement were often a catalyst towards deepening that critique.

GOING BEYOND EASY ASSUMPTIONS

ACT UP, a radical movement employing creative demonstrations and mass civil disobedience in the 1980s to demand funding for AIDS research and treatment, also demonstrated the necessity of going beyond the easy assumptions of capitalist society. Worldwide,

groups like the Treatment Action Coalition of South Africa pushed this further. From a "simple" matter like health care, the question arose, what does it mean to be a human being? What concretely is meant by "human rights"? What does it mean, in the most profound philosophical sense, when the most oppressed and despised rise up to seize, not only power, but respect, beginning with self-respect, and freedom?

Bush and his ideological allies are nullifying the rights of people who wish to enter same-sex unions. But they are also negating the very existence of a whole class of people who can't so easily be described by the simple terms "man" or "woman." There are hundreds of thousands of transgender, intersex and other people who would be defined as non-persons under Bush's proposed amendment. It is a profound attack on human freedom if the law, in all its arbitrariness, were to substitute for free, human choice. By defining marriage as legally now and forever only pertaining to "a man and a woman," the naked fascism of Bush's proposed constitutional amendment is revealed.

As every new Bush outrage is announced, mainstream women's groups do make their voices heard. Through press releases and email, the National Organization for Women (NOW), Pro-Choice America (formerly the National Abortion Rights Action League), and Planned Parenthood express women's anger and fears. But such responses are woefully inadequate, and, too often, simply reacting to the latest right-wing moves.

We can see how much these groups have taken the ground created by the Right even in how the name of the April 25 march was changed from "Save Women's Lives, March for Freedom of Choice," to simply "March for Women's Lives." So defeatist has the mainstream movement become that first, like Pro-Choice America, they ditched the word "abortion"; and now even the word "choice" is jettisoned for the March.

This is more than an abandonment of words. It is a sign that part of the movement is so mired in fighting what they oppose—because under Bush the retrogression has become so overwhelming—that what we are for has gotten lost. Thus much of the movement has been reduced to reacting to whatever is Bush's latest outrage.

What the GLBTI and women's movement, or any movement for that matter, cannot forget is that oppression of any group is unseparated from the latest stage of capitalism. When the two get separated, women are under the illusion that our lives can be made better within the present degenerate system. But sexist, racist, homophobic capitalism cannot be reformed.

PHILOSOPHIC DIALOGUE *Negativity, dialectics, desire*

Continued from page 8

ization of the new ruling class in Russia, Trotsky was far more alert to the potential of psychoanalysis.) Dunayevskaya's uncritical embrace of new social movements—always superior in her eyes to the "post-Marx Marxists," who are portrayed as a crew of unhip grumblers, ever "fazed" by the new—finally threatened to unravel her Marxism completely.

This flaw (in Trotskyist jargon, "movementism" or "tail-endism") became glaring in late Marxist humanism. It was pinpointed in 1984, when Dunayevskaya said of participants in revolutions: "Whether or not they were conscious of actually being the history-makers, they were exactly that." Everything Dunayevskaya had said in *Marxism and Freedom* about Absolute Mind and Freedom revolved around consciousness. Every human being—capitalist, housewife or cop—"makes history" simply by participating in society: the point of Hegel's "what is rational is real," and Marx's uncovering of surplus value, is that they introduce the measure of truth and consciousness into politics and economics. By saying that the revolutionary masses can make history unconsciously, Dunayevskaya reduces the proletariat to the level of the bourgeoisie, participants in history who blindly create new conditions. Her enthusiasm for social movements finally betrays her own philosophy: moralism replaces enlightenment.

All this means that for the anticapitalist searching

Rather it must be done away with altogether so that a new human society has the space to be born.

Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism, spoke about capitalism's penchant for creating scapegoats and why certain groups are singled out:

"This is due not only to the fact that the ruling class needs a 'scapegoat' for their crime of never being able to solve a single fundamental problem in war or in peace. Nor is it due only to the fact that the perpetuation of exploitation follows the old maxim of divide and rule. Basic as these two factors are, they are not the whole truth.

"Under the open sore of the persecution of a minority is hidden the greater truth of exploitation—that the exploiters, not the exploited, are the minority. Within this greater truth will be found the answer as to why a specific scapegoat is chosen at a particular time at each separate stage of capitalism's development."⁽⁴⁾

Certainly one reason that women have been singled out is their opposition to this stage of capitalism. This will be seen in the outpouring at the March for Women's Lives, that, despite the contradictions of those who called it, will show hundreds of thousands of women's anger and determination to end Bush's attacks on women. It is not only that women are the majority in opposing Bush's wars; it is also that many demands of the women's movement—from the right to control their own bodies, to being able to love and marry whom they please, to peace, to taking their place in the world as complete and recognized persons, to creating a world where what is important is humanity—is in opposition to capitalism's existence.

That it is the limitations of capitalism that exacerbate the misogynist and homophobic ideology makes even more important what the women's and GLBTI movements are achieving. While contradictions in the movements remain and must be worked out, where Bush is trying to dehumanize women and make his gaybashing divide the country to give him political capital and to protect the decaying social order, many in the GLBTI movement have transformed a question of "gay rights" into a question of "human rights" and freedom; and the women's movement continues to be one of Bush's most vigorous foes.

To stop him, the movements must break through their own ideological roadblocks. When we understand that the intensity of Bush's misogyny and gaybashing is a measure, not of his strength, but of his, and capitalism's, weakness, then we see that masses of people suffering under this retrogression can overcome sexist, racist, homophobic capitalism through our own actions and ideas. The elements for transcending the present retrogressive reality, and for creating a new human society, are within the movement itself. We can find that path, but only if we don't shy away from the knowledge of how deep and total any change must be to create a new, truly human society.

NOTES

1. "The Girls Next Door," by Peter Landesman, *The New York Times*, Jan. 25, 2004.
2. "Exploited Girls in U.S. Seek Same Protection Afforded Foreign Women," by Jim Lobe, *OneWorldNet*, March 5, 2004.
3. "Women's Literacy: Not a Given," by Mev Miller, *off our backs*, November-December 2003.
4. "The roots of anti-Semitism," by Raya Dunayevskaya, *News & Letters*, February 1960.

for revolutionary theory, *The Power of Negativity* is not the place to start (unless one isolated "Lecture in Japan on Hegel", 1966; "Presentation to the Black-Red Conference", 1968; and "Logic as Stages of Freedom, Stages of Freedom as Logic, or the Needed American Revolution", 1969; and the correspondence with C.L.R. James between 1949 to 1951, the high point of both their thinking—or had these pages excerpted by a canny pamphleteer). The earlier *Marxism and Freedom* is free of the repetition which makes *The Power of Negativity's* references to Hegel's Absolute Idea sound like a mantra. It is a more powerful and convincing exposition of Dunayevskaya's ideas.

Nevertheless, for socialists, *The Power of Negativity* will provoke soul-searching about party instrumentalism and freedom of thought. Dunayevskaya's brusque, unpretentious and exclamatory epistolary style is exhilarating. She articulates tenets about freedom and subjectivity that are well established in the cosmopolitan working class, though they may not yet have become ensconced in their vanguard organizations at the level of theory. Unfortunately, radical philosophy unsupported by political party, academia or celebrity is a thin—if occasionally head-spinning—broth to live by. If one balks before the exaggerations and fancies of Dunayevskaya's later pronouncements, it is because one wishes to make actual her promise that we have entered a new era.

Protests mark anniversary of Bush's war

NEW YORK—An unexpectedly large group of about 100,000 people rallied and marched on March 20 with the general theme "The World Still Says No To War." The demonstration was organized by ANSWER (Act Now To End War And Racism) and UNITED For Peace And Justice. The marchers, who filled 45 city blocks, were a good mix of people both young and old from New York. Many traveled to New York just for this protest. There were many groups marching together projecting their politics, notable among them the New York based Haitian and Zapatista delegations. The rich and colorful diversity of signs, banners and displays by the marchers went, in some ways, well beyond the more limited anti-imperialism politics of the rally speakers and organizers but, overall, the vision of a new human society has yet to become as prominent as the anti-Bush message.

The New York demonstration was one in a worldwide protest of approximately two million people aimed at the war and occupation of Iraq. In the U.S. there were marches in San Francisco and 250 other cities including Fayetteville, North Carolina, located only five miles from Ft. Bragg. In Fayetteville, the wife of a truck driver in the military in Iraq commented, "Ending this war and bringing them home safely would be the best form of support that I can see."

There were coordinated protests in more than 45 countries including the capitals of many European and South American countries. According to Reuters, "More than a million anti-war protesters poured into the streets of cities around the globe...to demand the with-

drawal of U.S.-led troops." A million people streamed through Rome in probably the biggest single protest. "This is a gigantic demonstration," Nobel prize-winning playwright Dario Fo said as a sea of rainbow-colored peace flags bobbed above protesters marching to a rally in the Circus Maximus. In Japan 120,000 people protested. A Japanese woman expressed fear that the presence of Japan's Self-Defense Forces in Iraq might make her country a target.

—Participants

MEMPHIS—Joining hundreds of thousands around the world in protest, around 200 women, men and children gathered in Overton Park to hear protest songs and talks by local activists and those from the Wheels of Justice Tour—a spectacular turnout for Memphis. The protest's main sponsor was the Mid-South Peace and Justice Center.

The day started slowly with drummers accompanying the reading of 550 names of U.S. soldiers who have died in Iraq in the last year. It was stressed that if we knew their names, we would also have honored the over 10,000 Iraqi civilians and countless Iraqi soldiers who have been killed in the same period.

Over a half dozen religious leaders gave prayers that all lasted longer than their allotted five minutes. One young Black woman wondered: With all these church leaders here, why were so few from their congregations present?

Homemade signs read: "Stop mad cowboy disease," "Fund schools, not war," "Our grief is not a cry for war," and "More trees, less Bush!"

The speakers were, for the most part, excellent, capturing the spirit of the crowd and our desire to stop Bush in his tracks. Notable was a young man, Kyle, who let us know how different are the challenges that face youth than older people. He said that growing up he learned about how the president selects the Supreme Court, but in his lifetime the Supreme Court selected the president. He admonished us to "Kill the TV and read a book." Terry Moon from News and Letters Committees gave the only talk on women, which emphasized that women in Iraq and Afghanistan challenge the peace movement's narrow idea of solidarity.

What ended the day was Black poet J'malo whose last poem was about how Haitian refugees are jailed and discriminated against. He brought the war home by reminding us of what is going on with African-Americans right here in inner-city Memphis.

—Participants

LOS ANGELES—Thousands of demonstrators from all walks of life participated in the grassroots protest on the anniversary of the U.S. bombing of Iraq, in Hollywood. 574 American soldiers and between 5,000 to 7,000 Iraqi people have been killed in this senseless war based on the errors and lies of Bush and his cabinet members at the cost of \$117 billion so far. The protest was against the war, Bush's policies in Iraq, the ties of Halliburton and Cheney, the killing of innocent Iraqi civilians, the U.S. stand on the international scene, and for the return of the soldiers now.

The demonstration was a coalition of many groups of

young and old, Asian, Black, brown, and white; men and women. The variety of slogans indicated how this war has galvanized such diverse participants.

Many demonstrators were questioning the senselessness of going to war to stop terrorism and how war has affected our security.

There were numerous cops and riot police with one armored vehicle spotted in an alley. The heavy presence of police choppers above, and the arrest of seven demonstrators indicates the concern of the ruling class by a show of force. A picket sign with the pictures of Aznar, Blair, and Bush showed an awareness of the international dimension of the war. With the crossed-out picture of Aznar, the message the demonstrator wrote was, "one down, two to go." Another banner summing up the event said, "Regime Change in 2004."

—Manel

LANSING, MICH.—About 200 people appeared in Lansing on March 20 for a march, rally and workshops directed against the occupation of Iraq. The sponsor was the Michigan Emergency Committee Against War and Injustice. Rallies also took place in Flint, Ann Arbor, Detroit and Grand Rapids. The event began with a short march from Riverside Park to the Michigan state capitol. While there was a good range of ages and several African-American speakers, there were unfortunately few African Americans otherwise present. An ambitious set of workshops was scheduled that included such topics as "Reflection and Action as Practice," "Domestic Costs of the War on

Terrorism," "Global [trade and monetary] Agreements," "Global Strategies of U.S. Domination," "War on the Inside: Witnesses to Military Invasion and Occupation," and two separate workshops on the PATRIOT Act.

The format of this rally was more open and participatory than some have been, but there is clearly a need to reach beyond the traditional anti-war constituency to the African American, Latino, and working class communities.

—Dan B.

SAN FRANCISCO—Anti-war protesters filled the parks, streets and the Civic Center on March 20. An estimated 50,000 came to show that, one year after Bush launched a war against Iraq, the opposition to war is not abating. Many issues were raised: from the "weapons of mass distraction," to Bush gutting protection for the environment, to the job-loss recovery, to exercising your political muscle in the upcoming election. Dolores Huerta of United Farm Workers said the most important day for you this year is not your birthday, it's Nov. 7. She especially encouraged young people not to give up on having a voice.

The previous day, the longshoremen, some of whom are still on trial for the police riot at an anti-war demonstration on the Oakland docks on April 7, 2003, held a rally at the Oakland courthouse where they announced that nothing would move through the Oakland port on the day of the national and international demonstrations against the war. In fact, nothing did and longshoremen, as well as other unions, had sizable contingents in the march.

Youth, especially students, talked about the impact of the war budget on their lives. Stephen Funk, the first conscientious objector to go public just before the war, was just released from military prison. He urged solidarity with the new objectors, notably Camilo Mejia, who is the first Iraq veteran to go public with his conscientious objector status. A challenge to Bush's war mongering included a challenge to his playing to the prejudice against gay/lesbian marriage, which is very popular here. Speakers both from Haiti and from the U.S. condemned the coup against the elected leader of Haiti, Aristide. Some worried that Venezuela might be next on Bush's agenda.

—Participants

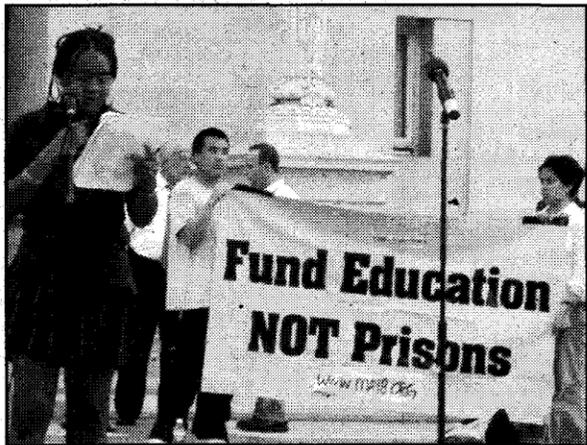
CHICAGO—A large march and rally took place here to protest Bush's wars and the ongoing occupation of Iraq. Anti-war organizers had planned to begin the march at the site where mass arrests halted the spontaneous demonstration of March 20, 2003, which had managed to shut down Lake Shore Drive during rush hour. Almost all of those arrests were subsequently thrown out of court as baseless.

The city refused to issue a permit for the anniversary march to proceed down the Michigan Avenue shopping district and police forced the organizers to accept an alternate and less visible route at the last moment. While uncertainty about the legal status of the march overwhelmed the political content of the protest and may have convinced some not to participate, the large number that did take part did so despite an intimidating and disproportionate show of strength by the police department.

The march ended with a rally and speeches at Federal Plaza. Jesse Jackson of Rainbow/PUSH and U.S. Representative Danny Davis were among the speakers.

—Kevin Michaels

Students fight closings



OAKLAND, CAL.—On March 16, before the Oakland City Council was to hold hearings on the closures of five schools, hundreds of people rallied to support the many students from the affected schools. Targeted are small alternative schools catering largely to African American youth, trying to keep engaged in their own education. In contrast to the supposed saving of \$1.2 million from school closures, Oakland is proposing to spend \$150 million to build a larger juvenile prison.

The same council session also passed a "nuisance" eviction ordinance, allowing landlords to evict tenants on the suspicion of drug involvement. Young people came out to make a statement, whether through poetry or hip-hop. The attitude that every problem is a policing problem with little concern over the development of youth as human beings is at odds with the desire of the Black and minority youth in poor areas to take control of their own lives.

—Supporter

Palestine solidarity activists target Caterpillar

MEMPHIS—A delegation representing the Mid-South Peace and Justice Center, SUSTAIN-Memphis, and the Muslim Society of Memphis visited Thompson Machinery (the largest distributor of Caterpillar equipment in the Mid-South) on March 19. We informed the general manager that a large community in Memphis is concerned about the Israeli, Palestinian, and international innocent victims of violence, and presented our demands that Caterpillar stop selling its equipment to the Israeli military and issue a statement explaining the reason.

Caterpillar corporation has been a target for activists around the U.S. for a few years now. This is because Caterpillar is selling equipment to the Israeli military, which uses it to commit crimes against the Palestinian people. Grassroots direct creative action has taken place at dozens of Caterpillar offices all over the U.S.

Since the Israeli illegal military occupation of Palestinian land began in 1967, Israel has uprooted hundreds of thousands of Palestinian olive trees, and demolished approximately 12,000 Palestinian homes using Caterpillar equipment, leaving well over 50,000 people homeless. Acts of collective punishment committed by an occupying force against a civilian population, such as home demolitions are explicitly prohibited by the Geneva convention and international law. In many cases, homes were razed while families were still in them, killing adults and children. In April of 2002, the Israeli military used D9 Caterpillars to flatten an

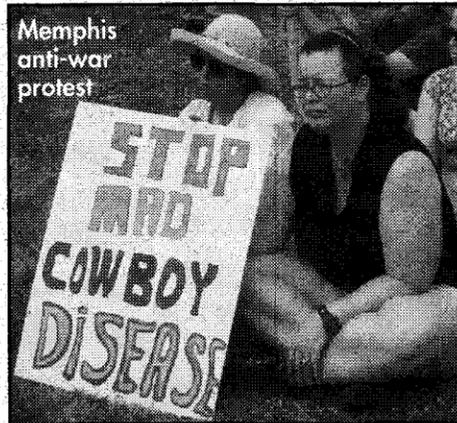
entire neighborhood in Jenin.

Most recent is the Israeli government's construction of the Apartheid barrier—the so-called "security fence"—using Caterpillar equipment. The wall doesn't only separate Israel from Palestinian land, but runs through the occupied territories including as many illegal Israeli settlements and water sources on the Israeli side as possible. When finished, it will leave the Palestinians with less than 50% of the West Bank, surround entire cities like Qalqilya, and separate Palestinians from their farm lands, relatives and friends, children from their schools etc. Israeli and Palestinian peace activists have come together to wage a powerful campaign against the construction of the racist barrier. Daily protests take place on both sides of the barrier, including international activists as well.

The most outrageous Caterpillar havoc for many in the U.S. was the March 26, 2003 murder of 23-year-old American peace activist Rachel Corrie by the Israeli army using a D9 Caterpillar bulldozer. While she was participating in non-violent protest, the bulldozer deliberately ran over her twice. Her death gave us one more reason why we need to stop this brutality.

The outrage against Caterpillar's continuous cooperation with the Israeli military is growing. Jewish Voice For Peace, Along with SUSTAIN (Stop U.S. Tax-funded Aid to Israel NOW), the U.S. Campaign to End Israeli Occupation, and Progressive Portal came together to build a global movement.

—Omar Baddar, SUSTAIN-Memphis



News & Letters/Terry Moon

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

Spain's voters repudiate Bush, Al Qaeda

by Kevin A. Barry

In a stunning electoral upset, Spanish voters returned the Socialist Party to power on March 14. It won a solid parliamentary majority after voters repudiated the way the rightist government of Jose Maria Aznar had attempted to manipulate public opinion in the wake of a horrific terrorist attack.

On March 11, three days before the election, Islamic fundamentalist terrorists with ties to Al Qaeda placed bombs on four Madrid commuter trains, killing 190 and wounding over 1,400. Along with the 2002 attacks in Bali, these were the most deadly anywhere since September 11, 2001. The March 14 vote was also a repudiation of Bush's Iraq war and the Aznar government's support of it despite opposition to the war by as many as 90% of the Spanish people, according to some polls. In addition, it showed great political intelligence in that people refused the expected knee-jerk response to terror of rallying around the existing powers.

Aznar and the conservative candidate for prime minister, Jose Mariano Rajoy, refused for three days to acknowledge obvious evidence pointing to Islamic fundamentalists, a dozen of whom have now been arrested. Instead they attempted to blame ETA, a Basque separatist group. Aznar evidently believed that if the attacks were linked to Al Qaeda, this could focus the elections on the highly unpopular war in Iraq.

Kurdish unrest

A fight between Arab and Kurdish soccer fans erupted in the city of Qamishli, Syria, March 14, when Arab fans began chanting slogans in defense of Saddam Hussein. Syrian security forces fired on the crowd and 14 Kurds were killed. The next day, riots erupted in Hasake, a town of Arabs and Kurds, near Qamishli. Kurdish protesters set fire to government buildings. Dozens were killed, hundreds wounded and hundreds more were arrested.

A few days earlier, Iranian Kurds in the city of Mahabad poured into the streets to celebrate that Kurdish autonomy and control over the Kurdish provinces in northern Iraq had been recognized by the interim Iraqi constitution. The crowd of thousands chanted slogans against the Iranian regime. Iranian troops fired and killed one youth and injured four others.

The Kurds are one of the largest ethnic minorities in the world without a country of their own. There are 15 million Kurds in Turkey, six million in Iran, five million in Iraq and almost two million in Syria. The prospect of autonomy in Iraq has encouraged Kurds elsewhere.

In Turkey, the Kurds are not even recognized as an ethnic minority and have been subjected to brutal repression. In Syria, a campaign of Arabization in 1962 stripped many Kurds of Syrian citizenship, brought in an Arab population to settle in Kurdish villages, replaced Kurdish names with Arab names, and banned the teaching of Kurdish at Kurdish schools. Today 225,000 Kurds in Syria are designated as "foreigners" and 25,000 are categorized as "unregistered."

Syria's Kurds want full rights enjoyed by other citizens. They are demanding the recognition of the Kurdish identity and culture, specifically education in the Kurdish language, human rights, and an end to Arabization.

—Sheila Sahar

On March 12, some 11 million people took to the streets, chanting "No to terrorism." Then, as government efforts to blame ETA began to wear thin, thousands of youth demonstrated spontaneously on March 13. They accused the government of manipulation, chanting "Don't play with our dead." Finally on election day, refusing to be intimidated by terror, a far larger than usual number turned out to vote. In his post-election statements, incoming Socialist Party Prime Minister Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero continued to refer to the Iraq war and occupation as a "disaster," promising to pull out Spanish troops by June unless they were put under UN command. He has also made clear his determination to combat terrorism.



The banner stretched across a bombed train car reads: "Death will not silence our vote."

Pro-war U.S. commentators have accused the Spanish people of appeasing terrorism by voting out the conservatives. *New York Times* columnist David Brooks wrote on March 16 that they had elected a government "whose policies are more to Al Qaeda's liking." These commentators seldom expressed sympathy for those killed and wounded on March 11, a curious attitude for those claiming to lead opposition to Islamic fundamentalist terrorism.

What do such commentators think about New York City, whose people so bravely withstood the September 11 attacks, but also demonstrated 100,000-strong on March 20 on an international day of protest against the war in Iraq involving millions? What of the Italian people who demonstrated against terrorism on March 18 and against the Iraq war on March 20? Are all but the Bush neo-conservatives appeasers of Al Qaeda?

In fact the Spanish election results turned on many factors. The conservatives had consistently manipulated the state-run television stations, prompting a criti-

cism by the Council of Europe for their biased coverage of the June 2002 general strike. They also mishandled the Prestige oil tanker disaster of 2002. Also Aznar arrogantly refused to debate Rodriguez Zapatero before the election.

As Jose Antich wrote in the left of center paper *La Vanguardia*, March 15: "The electorate has punished Aznar... because of the authoritarian way he governed. His decision to involve Spain in the war in Iraq, together with the feeling he was hiding information about the Madrid attacks, sent his party to the grave."

Kosova violence

The worst ethnic violence since 1999 spread across Kosova on March 16, following the drowning deaths of three ethnic Albanian children being chased by an ethnic Serb mob. This took place in Mitrovica where, with tacit UN approval, local Serbs prevented Albanians from entering the northern part of the city.

In the days that followed, Albanian mobs surged into northern Mitrovica and other Serb enclaves, engaging in totally unconscionable and indiscriminate attacks. In the end, 28 lay dead, the majority of them Serbs. Several thousand Serbs fled their homes, many of which were then burned, along with 25 Serbian Orthodox religious buildings. A few Albanian leaders, like the mayor of Decani, intervened to dissuade the mobs, but most delayed any condemnation of the violence. Inside Serbia, these events sparked anti-Albanian demonstrations and attacks on several mosques. In some cases, however, Serbian Orthodox priests intervened to defend local Muslims.

At the root of the current conflict in Kosova is the fact that the province's overwhelming Albanian majority wants independence, but is instead living under a UN administration that grants a measure of autonomy, but nothing more. A second factor behind the violence is the fact that, as against Bosnia, there is little tradition of multiethnicity in Kosova.

El Salvador elections

Shafik Handal of the FMLN lost the presidential election in El Salvador on March 21 to Antonio Saca of the right wing ARENA party, 39% to 60%. The result portends another five years of amiable relations between ARENA, which has controlled the presidency for 15 years, and the U.S., which warned of a deterioration in relations if Handal won.

The campaign was characterized on ARENA's part by references to the FMLN as a "communist" party that would inevitably lead the country into the kind of conflicts seen in Venezuela between Hugo Chavez and the right wing in that country. Television ads warned that the U.S. would cut off remittances from Salvadorans in the U.S. (El Salvador's largest source of income), and the FMLN would supposedly end the free trade agreements with the U.S. whose benefits are "soon to materialize."

This was the most hotly contested election since 1992, when the civil war was ended and the FMLN was transformed from a guerrilla force to a political party. Last year the FMLN made a strong showing against ARENA in legislative elections, winning 31 of 84 seats, while ARENA won 28.

In the past two years the FMLN has aligned itself with movements against neoliberal restructuring, a change that has garnered support and led to speculation that it could win the presidency. However the FMLN's choice of 73-year-old Shafik Handal, head of the Communist Party since 1973 and one of the five-member directorate of the FMLN during the brutal civil war that claimed some 75,000 lives, made it easy for ARENA to succeed with its campaign of fear.

—Mitch Weerth

Sharon's terrorism

On March 22, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's government assassinated Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the founder of the radical Islamist Hamas movement. It did so with a U.S.-supplied missile shot from a helicopter. Virtually every world leader except George Bush and John Kerry has condemned this cowardly attack on a 67-year-old wheelchair-bound religious leader. Some 200,000 Palestinians filled the streets of the Gaza Strip to mourn Yassin. They also vowed vengeance, with some saying that "the gates of hell" would now open up.

It is certainly true that Hamas is a terrorist movement that has orchestrated the deaths of hundreds of Israeli civilians through suicide bombings. It is certainly true that such actions are crimes against humanity. It is also true that Hamas is an anti-Semitic fundamentalist movement that calls for an authoritarian Islamic state in the whole of what is today Israel and Palestine.

But it is equally true that Yassin headed the political rather than the military wing of Hamas; that he had agreed to a long truce last year, which broke down because Sharon insisted on continuing his assassinations of Palestinian leaders during the truce. Why, if Sharon had any other goal than provoking more violence to justify his own violence and walling in of the Palestinian people, did he not arrest Yassin?

NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES

Who We Are And What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxist-Humanists that since its birth has stood for the abolition of capitalism, both in its private property form as in the U.S., and its state property form, as it has historically appeared in state-capitalist regimes calling themselves Communist as in Russia and China. We stand for the development of new human relations, what Marx first called a new Humanism.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcat strikes against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signaled a new movement from practice that was itself a form of theory. *News & Letters* was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation.

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-1987), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the

National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works, *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today* (1958), *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973), and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982) spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

This body of ideas challenges all those desiring freedom to transcend the limitations of post-Marx Marxism, beginning with Engels. In light of the crises of our nuclearly armed world, it becomes imperative not only to reject

what is, but to reveal and further develop the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present. The new visions of the future which Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are rooted in her discovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a new Humanism and in her re-creation of that philosophy for our age as Marxist-Humanism. This is recorded in the documents on microfilm and open to all under the title *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development*.

Dunayevskaya's philosophic comprehension of her creation and development of Marxist-Humanism, especially as expressed in her 1980s writings, presents the vantage point for re-creating her ideas anew. Seeking to grasp that vantage point for ourselves and make it available to all who struggle for freedom, we have published Dunayevskaya's original 1953 philosophic breakthrough and her final 1987

Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (1989), and donated new supplementary volumes to *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*. News and Letters Committees aims at developing and concretizing this body of ideas for our time.

In opposing this capitalistic, racist, sexist, heterosexist, class-ridden society, we have organized ourselves into a committee form of organization rather than any elitist party "to lead." We participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our Constitution states: "It is our aim... to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate mass activities from the activity of thinking. Send for a copy of the Constitution of News and Letters Committees.